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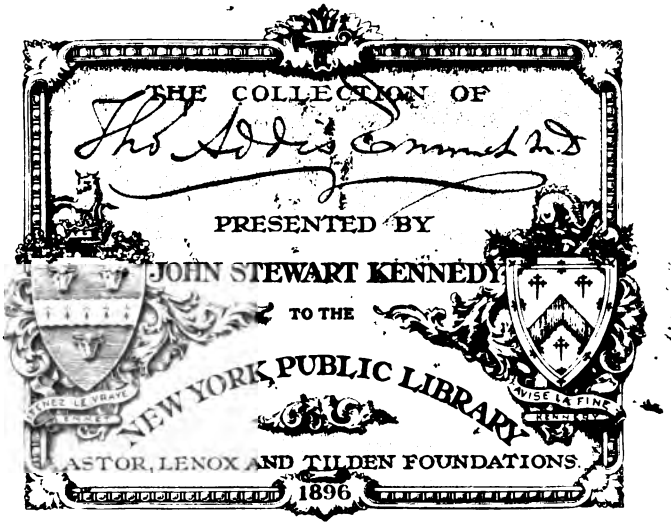
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THE WORKS

OF

HUBERT HOWE BANCROFT.

VOLUME VI.

HISTORY OF CENTRAL AMERICA.

VOL. I. 1501-1530.

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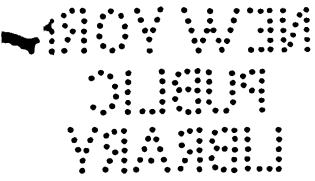

PREFACE.

DURING the year 1875 I published under title of *The Native Races of the Pacific States* what purports to be an exhaustive research into the character and customs of the aboriginal inhabitants of the western portion of North America at the time they were first seen by their subduers. The present work is a history of the same territory from the coming of the Europeans.

The plan is extensive and can be here but briefly explained. The territory covered embraces the whole of Central America and Mexico, and all Anglo-American domains west of the Rocky Mountains. First given is a glance at European society, particularly Spanish civilization at about the close of the fifteenth century. This is followed by a summary of maritime exploration from the fourth century to the year 1540, with some notices of the earliest American books. Then, beginning with the discoveries of Columbus, the men from Europe are closely followed as one after another they find and take possession of the country in its several parts, and the doings of their successors are chronicled. The result is a HISTORY OF THE PACIFIC STATES OF NORTH AMERICA, under the following general divisions:—*History of Central America; History of Mexico; History of the North Mexican States; History of New Mexico and Arizona;*

History of California; History of Nevada; History of Utah; History of the Northwest Coast; History of Oregon; History of Washington, Idaho, and Montana; History of British Columbia, and *History of Alaska.*

Broadly stated, my plan as to order of publication proceeds geographically from south to north, as indicated in the list above given, which for the most part is likewise the chronological order of conquest and occupation. In respect of detail, to some extent I reverse this order, proceeding from the more general to the more minute as I advance northward. The difference, though considerable, is however less in reality than in appearance. And the reason I hold sufficient. To give to each of the Spanish-American provinces, and later to each of the federal and independent states, covering as they do with dead monotony centuries of unchanging action and ideas, time and space equal to that which may be well employed in narrating north-western occupation and empire-building would be no less impracticable than profitless. It is my aim to present complete and accurate histories of all the countries whose events I attempt to chronicle, but the annals of the several Central American and Mexican provinces and states, both before and after the Revolution, run in grooves too nearly parallel long to command the attention of the general reader.

In all the territorial subdivisions, southern as well as northern, I treat the beginnings and earliest development more exhaustively than later events. After the Conquest, the histories of Central America and Mexico are presented on a scale sufficiently comprehensive, but national rather than local. The northern

Mexican states, having had a more varied experience, arising from nearer contact with progressional events, receive somewhat more attention in regard to detail than other parts of the republic. To the Pacific United States is devoted more space comparatively than to southern regions, California being regarded as the centre and culminating point of this historical field.

For the *History of Central America*, to which this must serve as special as well as general introduction, I would say that, besides the standard chroniclers and the many documents of late printed in Spain and elsewhere, I have been able to secure a number of valuable manuscripts nowhere else existing; some from the Maximilian, Ramirez, and other collections, and all of Mr E. G. Squier's manuscripts relating to the subject fell into my hands. Much of the material used by me in writing of this very interesting part of the world has been drawn from obscure sources, from local and unknown Spanish works, and from the somewhat confused archives of Costa Rica, Honduras, Nicaragua, Salvador, and Guatemala.

Material for the history of western North America has greatly increased of late. Ancient manuscripts of whose existence historians have never known, or which were supposed to be forever lost, have been brought to light and printed by patriotic men and intelligent governments. These fragments supply many missing links in the chain of early events, and illuminate a multitude of otherwise obscure parts.

My efforts in gathering material have been continued, and since the publication of *The Native Races* fifteen thousand volumes have been added to my col-

lection. Among these additions are bound volumes of original documents, copies from public and private archives, and about eight hundred manuscript dictations by men who played their part in creating the history. Most of those who thus gave me their testimony in person are now dead; and the narratives of their observations and experiences, as they stand recorded in these manuscript volumes, constitute no unimportant element in the foundation upon which the structure of this western history in its several parts must forever rest.

To the experienced writer, who might otherwise regard the completion of so vast an undertaking within so apparently limited a period as indicative of work superficially done, I would say that this History was begun in 1869, six years before the publication of *The Native Races;* and although the earlier volumes of the several divisions I was obliged for the most part not only to plan and write, but to extract and arrange my own material, later I was able to utilize the labors of others. Among these as the most faithful and efficient I take pleasure in mentioning Mr Henry L. Oak, Mr William Nemos, Mr Thomas Savage, Mrs Frances Fuller Victor, and Mr Ivan Petroff, of whom, and of others, I speak at length elsewhere.

Of my methods of working I need say but little here, since I describe them more fully in another place. Their peculiarity, if they have any, consists in the employment of assistants, as before mentioned, to bring together by indices, references, and other devices, all existing testimony on each topic to be treated. I thus obtain important information, which otherwise, with but one lifetime at my disposal, would have been

beyond control. Completeness of evidence by no means insures a wise decision from an incompetent judge; yet the wise judge gladly avails himself of all attainable testimony. It has been my purpose to give in every instance due credit to sources of information, and cite freely such conclusions of other writers as differ from my own. I am more and more convinced of the wisdom and necessity of such a course, by which, moreover, I aim to impart a certain bibliographic value to my work. The detail to be encompassed appeared absolutely unlimited, and more than once I despaired of ever completing my task. Preparatory investigation occupied tenfold more time than the writing.

I deem it proper to express briefly my idea of what history should be, and to indicate the general line of thought that has guided me in this task. From the mere chronicle of happenings, petty and momentous, to the historico-philosophical essay, illustrated with here and there a fact supporting the writer's theories, the range is wide. Neither extreme meets the requirements of history, however accurate the one or brilliant the other. Not to a million minute photographs do we look for practical information respecting a mountain range, nor yet to an artistic painting of some one striking feature for a correct description. From the two extremes, equally to be avoided, the true historian will, whatever his inclination, be impelled by prudence, judgment, and duty from theory toward fact, from vivid coloring toward photographic exactness. Not that there is too much brilliancy in current history, but too little fact. An accurate record of events must form the foundation, and largely the

superstructure. Yet events pure and simple are by no means more important than the institutionary development which they cause or accompany. Men, institutions, industries, must be studied equally. A man's character and influence no less than his actions demand attention. Cause and effect are more essential than mere occurrence; achievements of peace should take precedence of warlike conquest; the condition of the people is a more profitable and interesting subject of investigation than the acts of governors, the valor of generals, or the doctrines of priests. The historian must classify, and digest, and teach as well as record; he should not, however, confound his conclusions with the facts on which they rest. Symmetry of plan and execution as well as rigid condensation, always desirable, become an absolute necessity in a work like that which I have undertaken. In respect to time and territory my field is immense. The matter to be presented is an intricate complication of annals, national and sectional, local and personal. That my plan is in every respect the best possible, I do not say; but it is the best that my judgment suggests after long deliberation. The extent of this work is chargeable to the magnitude of the subject and the immense mass of information gathered rather than to any tendency to verbosity. There is scarcely a page but has been twice or thrice rewritten with a view to condensation; and instead of faithfully discharging this irksome duty, it would have been far easier and cheaper to have sent a hundred volumes through the press. The plan once formed, I sought to make the treatment exhaustive and symmetrical. Not all regions nor all periods are portrayed on the same scale: but though the camera

of investigation is set up before each successive topic at varying distances, the picture, large or small, is finished with equal care. I may add that I have attached more than ordinary importance to the matter of mechanical arrangement, by which through title-pages, chapter-headings, and indices the reader may expeditiously refer to any desired topic, and find all that the work contains about any event, period, place, institution, man, or book; and above all I have aimed at exactness.

We hear much of the philosophy of history, of the science and signification of history; but there is only one way to write anything, which is to tell the truth, plainly and concisely. As for the writer, I will only say that while he should lay aside for the time his own religion and patriotism, he should be always ready to recognize the influence and weigh the value of the religion and patriotism of others. The exact historian will lend himself neither to idolatry nor to detraction, and will positively decline to act either as the champion or assailant of any party or power. Friendships and enmities, loves and hates, he will throw into the crucible of evidence to be refined and cast into forms of unalloyed truth. He must be just and humble. To clear judgment he must add strict integrity and catholicity of opinion. Ever in mind should be the occult forces that move mankind, and the laws by which are formulated belief, conscience, and character. The actions of men are governed by proximate states of mind, and these are generated both from antecedent states of mind and antecedent states of body, influenced by social and natural environment. The right of every generation should be

determined, not by the ethics of any society, sect, or age, but by the broad, inexorable teachings of nature; nor should he forget that standards of morality are a freak of fashion, and that from wrongs begotten of necessity in the womb of progress has been brought forth right, and likewise right has engendered wrongs. He should remember that in the worst men there is much that is good, and in the best much that is bad; that constructed upon the present skeleton of human nature a perfect man would be a monster; nor should he forget how much the world owes its bad men. But alas! who of us are wholly free from the effects of early training and later social atmospheres! Who of us has not in some degree faith, hope, and charity! Who of us does not hug some ancestral tradition, or rock some pet theory!

As to the relative importance of early history, here and elsewhere, it is premature for any now living to judge. Beside the bloody battles of antiquity, the sieges, crusades, and wild convulsions of unfolding civilization, this transplanting of ours may seem tame. Yet the great gathering of the enlightened from all nations upon these shores, the subjugation of the wilderness with its wild humanity, and the new empire-modelling that followed, may disclose as deep a significance in the world's future as any display of army movements, or dainty morsels of court scandal, or the idiosyncrasies of monarchs and ministers. It need not be recited to possessors of our latter-day liberties that the people are the state, and rulers the servants. It is historical barbarism, of which the Homeric poems and Carlovingian tales not alone are guilty, to throw the masses into the background, or wholly to ignore

them. "Heureux le peuple dont l'histoire ennuie," is an oft repeated aphorism; as if deeds diabolical were the only actions worthy of record. But we of this new western development are not disposed to exalt brute battling overmuch; as for rulers and generals, we discover in them the creatures, not the creators, of civilization. We would rather see how nations originate, organize, and unfold; we would rather examine the structure and operations of religions, society refinements and tyrannies, class affinities and antagonisms, wealth economies, the evolutions of arts and industries, intellectual and moral as well as æsthetic culture, and all domestic phenomena with their homely joys and cares. For these last named, even down to dress, or the lack of it, are in part the man, and the man is the nation. With past history we may become tolerably familiar; but present developments are so strange, their anomalies are so startling to him who attempts to reduce them to form, that he is well content to leave for the moment the grosser extravagances of antiquity, howsoever much superior in interest they may be to the average mind. Yet in the old and the new we may alike from the abstract to the concrete note the genesis of history, and from the concrete to the abstract regard the analysis of history. The historian should be able to analyze and to generalize; yet his path leads not alone through the enticing fields of speculation, nor is it his only province to pluck the fruits and flowers of philosophy, or to blow brain bubbles and weave theorems. He must plod along the rough highways of time and development, and out of many entanglements bring the vital facts of history. And therein lies the richest reward. "Shakspere's capital discovery was this," says Ed-

ward Dowden, "that the facts of the world are worthy to command our highest ardour, our most resolute action, our most solemn awe; and that the more we penetrate into fact, the more will our nature be quickened, enriched, and exalted."

That the success of this work should be proportionate to the labor bestowed upon it is scarcely to be expected; but I do believe that in due time it will be generally recognized as a work worth doing, and let me dare to hope fairly well done. If I read life's lesson aright, truth alone is omnipotent and immortal. Therefore, of all I wrongfully offend I crave beforehand pardon; from those I rightfully offend I ask no mercy; their censure is dearer to me than would be their praise.

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HISTORY

OF

CENTRAL AMERICA.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

SPAIN AND CIVILIZATION AT THE BEGINNING OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

GENERAL VIEW—TRANSITION FROM THE OLD TO THE NEW CIVILIZATION—HISTORICAL SKETCH OF SPAIN—SPANISH CHARACTER—SPANISH SOCIETY—PROMINENT FEATURES OF THE AGE—DOMESTIC MATTERS—THE NEW WORLD—COMPARATIVE CIVILIZATIONS AND SAVAGISMS—EARLIEST VOYAGES OF DISCOVERY.

How stood this ever changing world four hundred years ago? Already Asia was prematurely old. Ships skirted Africa; but, save the northern seaboard, to all but heaven the continent was as dark as its stolid inhabitants. America was in swaddlings, knowing not its own existence, and known of none. Europe was an aged youth, bearing the world-disturbing torch which still shed a dim, fitful light and malignant odor.

Societies were held together by loyalty to civil and ecclesiastical rulers; not by that coöperation which springs from the common interests of the people. Unhallowed were all things real; divine the unsubstantial and potential. Beyond the stars were laid out spiritual cities, and under foot the hollow ground was dismal with the groans of the departed. Regions

of the world outlying the known, were tenanted by sea-monsters, dragons, and hobgoblins. European commerce crept forth from walled towns and battlemented buildings, and peradventure, escaping the dangers of the land, hugged the shore in open boats, resting by night, and trembling amid-ships by day. Learning was chiefly confined to the clergy. Feudalism as a system was dead, but its evils remained. Innumerable burdens were heaped upon the people by the dominant classes who gave them little protection in return. Upon the most frivolous pretexts the fruits of their industry were seized and appropriated by their masters. It was a praisworthy performance for a hundred thousand men to meet and slay each other to gratify the whim of a state minister or a king's concubine. Then came a change, and by reason of their revised Ptolemies, their antipodal soundings, and new geographies, their magnetic needles, printing machines, and men-killing implements, learning began to revive, and the people began in some faint degree to think for themselves.

Under the shifting sands of progress truth incubates, and the hatched ideas fashion for themselves a great mind in which they may find lodgment; fashion for themselves a tongue by which to speak; fashion for themselves a lever by which to move the world.

The epoch of which I speak rested upon the confines of two civilizations, the old and the new. It was a transition period from the dim twilight of the dark age to the brightness of modern thought; from an age of unquestioning faith to one of curiosity and scepticism. It was a period of concretions and crystallizations, following one of many rarefactions; religion was embracing science; astrology was merging into astronomy; magic into physics; alchemy into chemistry. Saltpetre was superseding steel in warfare; feudalism having fulfilled its purpose was being displaced by monarchical power; intercourse was spring-

ing up between nations, and international laws were being made. Even the material universe and the realms of space were enlarging with the enlargement of mind. Two worlds were about that time unveiled to Spain, an oriental and an occidental; by the capture of Constantinople ancient Greek and Latin learning was emancipated, and the Christian religion became settled as the faith of Europe; while toward the west, the mists of the ages lifted from the ocean, and, as if emerging from primeval waters, a fair new continent ripe for a thousand industries stood revealed.

This was progress indeed, and the mind, bursting its mediæval fetters, stood forth and took a new survey. With the dawn of the sixteenth century there appeared a universal awakening throughout Christendom. Slumbering civilization, roused by the heavy tread of marching events, turned from royal prison-houses of learning, and beheld with wonder and delight the unfolding of these new mysteries. The dust and cobwebs of the past, which had so long dimmed the imagination, were disturbed by an aggressive spirit of inquiry. The report of exploding fallacies reverberated throughout Europe; and as the smoke cleared away, and light broke in through the obscurity, there fell as it were scales from the eyes of the learned, and man gazed upon his fellow-man with new and strange emotions. For centuries men's minds had been chained to the traditions of the past; thought had traveled as in a treadmill; philosophy had advanced with the face turned backward; knight-errantry had been the highest type of manhood, and Christianity, like its founder, had been made to bear the sins of the many. While its friends claimed for it all the virtues of mankind, its enemies charged it with all the vices. The first efforts of scholastics in their exposition of these new appearances was to square the accumulative information of the day with the subtleties of the schools and the doctrines and dogmas of the past. The source of all knowledge and the foundation

of all science were claimed to be in the holy scriptures and in the tenets of the church. Any conception, or invention, or discovery that might pass unscathed these two touchstones was denominated truth, though human reason could not grasp it. Likewise, any stray fact which by these tests failed satisfactorily to account for itself, was pronounced false, though human reason declared it true.

I do not mean to say that all darkness and nescience were swept away in a breath, or that knowledge fell suddenly on mankind like an inspiration; it was enough for some few to learn for the first time of such a thing as ignorance. Although the change was real and decisive, and the mind in its attempt to fathom new phenomena was effectually lured from the mystic pages of antiquity, there yet remained enough and to spare of ignorance and credulity. Searchers after the truth yet saw as through a glass darkly; the clearer vision of face to face could be attained only by slow degrees, and often the very attempt to scale the prison-house walls plunged the aspirant after higher culture yet deeper into the ditch; but that there were any searchings at all was no small advance. Shackles were stricken off, but the untutored intellect as yet knew not the use of liberty; a new light was flashed in upon the mental vision, but the sudden glare was for the moment bewildering, and not until centuries after was the significance of this transitional epoch fully manifest. It may be possible to exaggerate the importance of this awakening; yet how exaggerate the value to western Europe of Greek literature and the revival of classic learning, of the invention of printing, or the influence for good or evil on Spain of her New World discoveries?

Rightly to understand the condition of education in Spain in the fifteenth century, we must remember that mental training and not the acquisition of knowledge was the object of education, and as the object to be attained differed greatly from that which we are

now seeking, so the result was proportionately different. The tendency of education in the fifteenth century was toward a more determined reliance and belief in authority and in revelation; the tendency of education in the nineteenth century is toward inquiry and scepticism. As to the comparative value of these results there are of course many differences of opinion, and I shall not discuss them here. We may be sure, however, that in whatsoever direction human mind is trained by other human mind, there is ever present and underlying all activities inexorable progress, an eternal unfolding into ever fairer proportions of all that is best and noblest in mankind.

Our history dates from Spain, at the time when Castile and Aragon were the dominant power of Europe. Before entering upon the doings, or passing judgment upon the character, of those whose fortunes it is the purpose of this work to follow into the forests of the New World, let us glance at the origin of the Spaniards, examine the cradle of their civilization, and see out of what conditions a people so unlike any on the globe to-day were evolved.

Far back as tradition and theory can reach, the Iberians, possibly of Turánian stock, followed their rude vocations, hunting, fishing, fighting; guarded on one side by the Pyrenees, and on the others by the sea. Next, in an epoch to whose date no approximation is now possible, the Celts came down on Spain, the first wave of that Aryan sea destined to submerge all Europe. Under the Celtiberians, the fierce and powerful compound race now formed by the union of Iberian and Celt, broken indeed into various tribes but with analogous customs and tongues, Spain first became known to the civilized world. Then came the commercial and colonizing Phœnician and planted a settlement at Cádiz. After them the Carthaginians landed on the eastern shore of the Peninsula and founded Carthago Nova, now Cartagena. The power

of the Carthaginians in Spain was broken by the Scipios, in the second Punic war, toward the close of the third century B. C.; and yet, says Ticknor, "they have left in the population and language of Spain, traces which have never been wholly obliterated."

The Romans, after driving out the Carthaginians, attacked the interior Celtiberians, who fought them hard and long; but the latter being finally subjugated, all Hispania, save perhaps the rugged north-west, was divided into Roman provinces, and in them the language and institutions of Rome were established. Forced from their hereditary feuds by the iron hand of their conquerors, the Celtiberians rapidly increased in wealth and numbers, and of their prosperity the Empire was not slow to make avail. From the fertile fields of Spain flowed vast quantities of *cerealia* into the granary of Rome. The gold and silver of their metal-veined sierras the enslaved Spaniards were forced to produce, as they in succeeding ages wrung from the natives of the New World the same unjust service. The introduction of Christianity, about the middle of the third century, brought upon the adherents of this religion the most cruel persecutions; which, however, instead of destroying it but rooted it the more firmly. Some say, indeed, that Saint Paul preached at Saragossa, and planted a church there; however this may be, it was not until the converson of Constantine that Christianity became the dominant religion of the Peninsula.

The fifth century opens with the dissolution of the empire of the Romans, for the barbarians are upon them. Over the Pyrenees, in awful deluge, sweep Suevi, Alani, Vandals, and Silingi. The Suevi, in A. D. 409, take possession of the north-west, now Galicia; the Alani seize Lusitania, to-day Portugal; and the Vandals and Silingi settle Vandalusia, or Andalusia, the latter tribe occupying Seville. Blighted by this barbaric whirlwind, civilization droops; the

arts and sciences introduced by the Romans fall into disgrace; the churlish conquerors will have none of them; and the culture of ancient Greece and Rome, turning toward its original seat, flees the inhospitable west and takes refuge in the capital of the eastern empire, which thereafter becomes the depository of the wrecks of classic learning. In their dilemma the Romanized indigenes call to their help the less uncouth Visigoths. In 427 the Vandals pass into Africa. Between 455 and 584 the Visigoths conquer the Romans and subjugate the Suevi; so that now their kingdom stretches from the bank of the Loire to Gibraltar. Thus to the Latin is added the Gothic element; the Latin language, corrupted as it had become, gains upon, or rather for the most part holds its original advantage over the Gothic tongue, and becomes the basis of the modern Castilian, with such grammatical simplifications as the northern taste renders necessary.

Still the great Peninsula seethes and bubbles like a caldron over the furnace-fires of its progressional unrest. Two centuries of contentions between states, and between kings and nobles, aggravated by the usual convulsions incident to elective monarchies, suffice to bring upon them a new foe. The crescent of Islam, resting on Mecca and threatening at once the Bosporus and the Pillars of Hercules, flames suddenly out at its western horn over fated Spain. At Algeciras, near Gibraltar, in 711, in great force, the Mauritanian Arabs, or Moors, effect a landing, invited thither by Count Julian, commander of Andalusia, in revenge for the violation of his daughter by Rodrigo, last of the Gothic kings. Routing the Visigoths in the battle of Jerez de la Frontera, in five swift years the Saracens are masters of all save the mountainous north-west; and penetrating Aquitania, the kingdom of the Franks is prevented from falling into their hands only by the decisive victory won by Charles Martel at Tours in 732. An emirate

under the caliphate of Bagdad is established at Córdova, and multitudes of Syrian and Egyptian Mahometans flock to Spain. Thus pressed, to the rugged mountains of Asturias, under Pelayo, one of their national heroes, flee such Christians as will not submit. There the wreck of the Visigothic kingdom takes refuge; there stubborn patriots rally and nurse their nationality betimes in the caves of the Pyrenees, waiting opportunity to deliver their country from the yoke of the hated Infidel. In 755 Abdurrahman, the last caliph of the dynasty of Ommiades, having escaped the massacre of Damascus, wrests Spain from the hands of the Abbassides and founds the caliphate of Córdova, which then formed one of the four great divisions of the Prophet's dominions. Moorish kings now take the place of Moorish emirs, and thus is governed Córdova till 1238, and Granada till 1492.

Meanwhile the Mahometans ruled mildly and well. The native Christians living among them kept their religion, churches, and clergy, as well as their laws and tribunals except in cases involving capital punishment, or where a Mahometan was a party in the suit. The usual consequences of race-contact followed; over wide tracts Arabic became the common language, and so remained even after Moslem power had fallen. As late as the fourteenth century public acts in many parts of Spain were written in Arabic. As the result of this intermixture, there was the linguistic medley called *lingua franca*, a composite of Arabic, Gothic, Latin, Hebrew, and Gallic, with the Romance, or corrupted Latin of Spain, united with the Limousin, the language of the gay science spoken in Languedoc and Provence, as a base. Out of this came the Castilian, which after undergoing various modifications settled into the Spanish language, leaving it substantially in its present form, though refined and polished by subsequent centuries of civilization. It was not, however, until near the reign of Alfonso X., 1252–1282, long after the

Christians had emerged from the mountains and had mingled with the reconquered indigenes, that the Castilian became perfectly established as a written, settled, and polite language. Nor were the consequences of Arabic occupation confined to language; they tinged the whole life of the nation.

The Spaniards who under Pelayo had taken refuge in the mountains of Asturias, in 716 founded a small government called the kingdom of Oviedo. There the seeds of liberty, trampled by adversity, took root, and from the patriot soil arose a nation that spread its branches wide over the land. Gradually the Christian kingdoms enlarged. First Galicia, then, two hundred years later, Leon and Castile were added to the little empire. The latter part of the tenth century the kingdoms of Leon, Castile, and Navarre, held the northern extremity of the Peninsula, while all the rest was under the dominion of the caliphate of Córdova.

And now, emerged from the mountain fastnesses whither they had fled before this southern swarm of turbaned Infidels, the sturdy Christians press heavily on their foe. Inch by inch, each step counting a century, they fight their way from the Pyrenees back to Granada. Assuming the title of caliph, Abdurrahman III. defeats the Christians at Zamora on the Douro, but is in turn repulsed, in 938, at Simancas. In vain the Mahometans call to their aid the Almoravides of Morocco; their race upon the Peninsula is run. As portions of the country are wrested from them, lands are awarded to notable Christian leaders, who at intervals pause in their holy crusade, and fall to warring on each other; and by these intestine brawls more Christian blood is spilt than by all the cimiters of the Saracens. At such times the Infidels might turn and make the Christians an easy prey; but centuries of opulence, and, except along their northern border, of inaction, have sapped their strength and left them

nerveless. It is the old story alike of peoples, sects, and individuals; discipline, begotten by necessity, engenders strength, which fattened by luxury swells to weakness.

The beginning of the eleventh century finds the Christians occupying about half the Peninsula, that is to say the kingdoms of Leon, Castile, Aragon, Navarre, and Portugal. Leon was but another name for the kingdom of Oviedo, or Asturias, the birthplace of Spanish nationality. Castile—Roman, *Castella;* Arabic, *ardo-l-kolda*, land of castles, so called from the *castillos*, or forts, built there—though destined eventually to absorb all the kingdoms of the Peninsula, was at first a republic, consisting of a few small towns or fortified castles, which had united for mutual protection from both Mahometans and contentious Christian brethren. In 1037 Leon was united by Ferdinand I., called the Great, to Castile; and from its central position, and the strength arising from perpetual vigilance, the new kingdom gradually widened and added to its dominions, until eventually all the kingdoms of the Peninsula were united under the banner of Castile. Navarre belonged to a French count, whose successor drove the Saracens from the territory adjacent on the south-west, and founded the kingdom of Aragon.

In 1085 the Cid, a Castilian chieftain, born at Búrgos, and famous in poetry, romance, and war, seized Toledo, and overran Valencia; in 1118 Alfonso of Aragon wrested Saragossa from the Moors. Portugal, hitherto a province of Castile, assumed the title of kingdom in 1139. Finally the four kingdoms of the north, together with Portugal, formed a league against the Infidels, and in a great battle fought in the Sierra Morena, near Tolosa, in 1212, Mahometan power in Spain was effectually broken. In this decisive engagement the Christian confederates were commanded by Alfonso III. of Castile, who never rested till the followers of the Prophet

were driven from the central plateau. To the kingdom of Castile, Ferdinand III., 1217–1252, annexed Jaen, Córdova, and Seville, which with difficulty were held by his son Alfonso X., surnamed the Wise—a better scholar than soldier, as we see. Alfonso XI. was succeeded by Pedro el Cruel, who died in 1369.

A succession of singularly brilliant events, culminating in the empire of Charles V., brought Spain, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, to the front rank among European powers. The marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella, which in 1479 united the crowns of Aragon and Castile; the conquest of Granada in 1492, terminating eight centuries of almost continuous warfare; the discovery of America the same year; the annexation of Naples in 1503, and of Navarre in 1512, after the union of Spain and the Netherlands in the marriage of Juana, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, with Philip the Fair, son of the Emperor Maximilian I., and father of Charles V., all coming in quick succession, form a train of important incidents unparalleled in the history of nations. Before the death of Philip II. in 1598, the empire of Spain extended to every part of the globe—Portugal, conquered by the duke of Alva in 1580; Sicily and Sardinia, Artois and Franche Comté, the Balearic and Canary islands; in Africa—Melilla, Ceuta, Oran, and Tunis; in Asia—the Moluccas and the Philippine Islands, together with several settlements elsewhere; beside a large part of the two Americas, which alone comprised about one fifth of the world.

But nations like men must die. The full measure of prosperity had been meted out to Spain, and now she must lay it down—such is the inexorable law of progress. It was the very irony of autocracy, that one man should rule half the world! Spain's pyramid of greatness, which assumed such lofty proportions during the reign of their Catholic Majesties, culminated during the reigns of their immediate successors. A long line

of ambitious and able princes had raised the empire to a giddy height; but with an illiterate and non-progressive populace, no sooner did the rulers become incompetent than the nation fell in pieces. In the height of his grandeur Spain's grandest monarch surfeited of success and abdicated; and with the death of his son Philip the glory of the empire departed. Then might her epitaph be written—Nine centuries of steady growth—a long and lusty youth, more than falls to the lot of most nations—and in three brief centuries more she rose, and ripened, and rotted.

It is not with death, however, but life, we have to do. Intellectual sparks were lighting up the dark corners of the earth, and a series of brilliant epochs began with the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella—modern Golden Ages they might be called. The golden age of Spain, dating from 1474 to 1516, was followed by Germany's golden age, which was during the reign of Charles V., 1519–1558. Then came England with the reign of Elizabeth, 1558–1603; then France under Louis XIV. and Louis XV., 1640–1740; Russia under Peter the Great, 1672–1725; and Prussia under Frederick the Great, 1740–1786. During this time European civilization was bursting its narrow confines and encircling the hitherto unknown world in every direction.

The Spaniards we would know and judge. We shall judge them, even though we know them not. We love to judge our fellows, and to think how much better are we than they. Little attention we give it, though it is a self-evident proposition, that to judge a people by any other standard than that to which they have been taught to conform is to do them great injustice. If we may believe psychology, thought, in its higher phases, develops only with the development of language; the conceptions of the mind can not rise much higher than forms of speech will enable it to express. Apply this postulate to the measure of

character, and the corollary is, that to interpret fairly, we must restrict our imagination to such ideas, our mind to such beliefs, and our tongue to such formulas as belong to those we judge. This, however, is no easy matter. In the present age of intellectual progress and changing activity, when old delusions are being rapidly dispelled by science, and new discoveries are constantly opening new channels to distinction, it is almost impossible to place ourselves within the narrow limits of mediæval restrictions, in which thought and opinion were not allowed to germinate, but were passed unchanged from one generation to another. "It often happens," as John Stuart Mill remarks, "that the universal belief of one age of mankind—a belief from which no one was, nor, without an extra effort of genius or courage, could at that time be, free—becomes so palpable an absurdity, that the only difficulty then is to imagine how such a thing can ever have appeared credible." Not only were the Church dogmas of the Middle Age accepted as truth, but at that time to hold opinions antagonistic to established creeds was seldom so much as deemed possible.

From the foregoing premises it clearly follows, that rightly to measure the character of those who carried European civilization into the wilds of America, we must, in so far as we may, divest ourselves of the present, and enter into the spirit of their times. We must fix in our minds the precise epoch in the history of human progress to which the discovery of this New World belongs. We must roll up four brilliant centuries of the scroll of science, cloud nine tenths of the world in obscurity, throw a spell upon the ocean; then wall the imagination within the confines of this narrow horizon and conceive the effect. We must know something, not alone of national polities and the attitude of kings, but we must enter the society of individuals, and study the impulses of the people. We must call up the inscrutable past, surround ourselves with those influences that give the stamp to character and the

color to creed. We must familiarize ourselves with scenes familiar to the people we discuss; we must walk their streets, look through their eyes, think their thoughts; we must personate them and practically construe them. We should fill our breast with the aspirations that impelled them, our imagination with the fears that restrained them, and feel those subtle forces which for generations had been developing intellect and moulding opinion. We should dare even to gain access to their domestic and religious *penetralia*, to invade the sanctity of the hearth and altar, to sound the hidden chords of domestic life, to walk softly through vaulted aisles and convent corridors, bending the ear to catch the whisperings of the confessional; we should enter with the monk his cloister-cell, with the gallant the presence of his lady-love, and learn whence the significance and whither the tendency of their strange conceits. If, at the outset, with the political position, we also thus firmly grasp their inner social life, much that were otherwise enigmatical or suspicious appears in a clearer light; and we can then behold their chivalrous but cruel deeds with the same charity in which we hope posterity may shroud our own enormities. Thus only may we be led to understand the various processes by which this phase of civilization was evolved.

The configuration and climate of the Peninsula assist in giving variety to the character of its inhabitants. The interior is one vast table-land, higher than any other plateau in Europe, being from two to three thousand feet above the level of the sea. On either side precipitous mountain ranges interpose between the table-land and the shores, and through these numerous streams thread their way. The table-land is for the most part dry and treeless, hot in summer and cold in winter; Asturias is wet and wooded; the valleys of the Guadalquivir, Douro, Ebro, Tagus, and other rivers, are in places quite fertile. In the

southern provinces of Andalusia and Murcia, autumn and winter are mild and pleasant, and spring is surpassingly lovely; but the *solano* which during summer blows from the heated plains of Africa is intolerable to any but the acclimated. From the snow-clad Pyrenees the piercing blasts of winter sweep over Leon, Castile, and Estremadura, at the north protracting the long winter and making cold and humid the spring, and arrive at the middle provinces stripped of their moisture, but not of their raw unwelcome chilliness.

During the eleven convulsive centuries preceding our epoch we have seen mix and agglutinate the several ingredients of Spanish character—Iberian, Celt, Phœnician; Roman, Goth, and Moor, all contributing their quota. Christian, Infidel, and Jew, with their loves and hates, season the mass; and thus society becomes an *olla podrida*, and Spain presents the anomalous race of the world.

In different provinces different race-elements preponderate, that of Rome tincturing the whole more strongly than any other. Under analysis these several social ingredients may be easily detected. By comparison with Strabo, Arnold traces many of the social characteristics of the Spaniards back to the Iberians. "The grave dress, the temperance and sobriety, the unyielding spirit, the extreme indolence, the perverseness in guerilla warfare, and the remarkable absence of the highest military qualities ascribed by the Greek and Roman writers," he affirms, "are all more or less characteristic of the Spaniards of modern times. The courtesy and gallantry of the Spaniard to women has also come down to him from his Iberian ancestors."

So in the volatile, dark-haired Celt, where reckless courage and indifference to human life reached their height, where quick perception and ready wit supplied the place of sober thought and logical deductions, where man was courageous and changeable, and

woman was at once fickle, chaste, and passionate—in these fierce barbarians we see a multitude of traits handed by them to their descendants. Of Phœnician and Iberian influence, traces are seen in their skill in scientific mining; of Gothic, in their comparatively liberal forms of government, their attachment to military display, and in their good faith, integrity, and morality—would these latter had been a trifle more Gothic; of Roman, in their love of ecclesiastical forms, church and state loyalty, in their stately dignity and sobriety of deportment; of Arab, in their hatred of work, their love of freedom, their religious enthusiasm, their tactics in war, and in their language, poetry, art, and architecture. Some of these terms appear paradoxical, but human nature, in its ingredients, is ever paradoxical. In the Spanish language Brace discovers that the principal "terms for agriculture and science are Latin; for the Church, Latin or Greek; for arms, riding, and war, Teutonic; and for arts and plants in southern Spain, Arabic." From the north and east and south the boldest of the nations had congregated on this frontier peninsula, waiting the outburst which, after a thousand years of fermentation, broke over its western slope.

Buckle, in support of a theory referring the origin of character to physical causes, ascribes the superstition of Spain to famine and disease, to earthquakes and the awe-producing phenomena of wild scenery; their fickleness he attributes to climate, the heat and dryness in Spain interrupting labor and leading to desultory habits; their love of romance and adventure he traces to pastoral life, which prevailed to the neglect of agriculture during the Moorish invasion.

The fall of Granada left the Peninsula occupied essentially as follows: In the north and west were the descendants of Goths and Celts who, unmolested by Roman or Moor, retained in a measure their ancestral characteristics. Low of stature, thick-set and awkward, as strong and as hairy almost as bears, the

men of Asturias and Galicia, of Leon and Biscay, century after century come and go, living as their fathers lived, neither better nor worse, caring nothing for Arab or Dutchman, and little even for the Spanish kings; proud as ever of Pelayo, of the mountains that cradled Spanish liberty, of their great antiquity, which they boast as greater than that of any living nation; superstitious, irritable, and impetuous, but honest, frank, and sincere; implacable as enemies, but faithful as friends. Their boast is that never have they been subdued by Moor. Their chiefs were of the ancient Gothic blood, blue blood they called it, not being tainted with Arabic like that of their darker southern neighbors; of such material were early founded the kingdoms of Leon and Castile.

On their eastern side was the kingdom of Navarre, founded by the counts of the French marches. Though at one time these two sections had been united, the usual partition of heritage had soon dismembered them. Portugal, an offshoot of Castile, was permanently separated; Aragon, founded by Navarre, became also independent. Upon the eastern seaboard the people of Catalonia and Valencia, though diluted with the Limousin element, yet retain traces of their foreign relationships. "Of the modern evidences of race in the different provinces," says Brace, "travellers tell us that in Valencia the people resemble both their Keltiberian and Carthaginian ancestors, being cunning, perfidious, vindictive, and sullen. The burning sun has tanned their skin dark and aided to form in them an excitable and nervous temperament; they have, too, the superstitious tendencies that characterize the people of a hot climate. The Valencian women are fairer than the men, and are conspicuous for their beauty of form. They wear the hair and the ornaments of the head after the old Romish style. The Catalan is rude, active and industrious, a good soldier, and fond of his independence, resembling both Kelts and Iberians in his

covetous, bold, cruel, and warlike character. The Aragonese are two children of the Goths in their force of will, their attachment to constitutional liberties, and their opposition to arbitrary power."

The tall, tough, agile eastern mountaineer presents as marked a contrast to the stubby Asturian as does the sparkling Andalusian to the grave Castilian. For a long time the people of Andalusia were semi-Moorish in their character. There, where the soft air of Africa comes fresh from the Mediterranean, had dwelt the dusky, graceful Arab; worshipping Mahomet as the Castilian worshipped Christ, and regarding his Christian and Jewish neighbors with as little affection as either Jew or Christian regarded him. Scattered along the banks of the Guadalquivir, and in separate quarters of many towns of southern Spain, were bands of that anomalous race the gypsies. Short, dark, ugly, with long, coarse, wavy hair, mixing with other men as light and darkness mix, they plied their trade of buying, stealing, and selling. During the latter part of the war they occupied themselves in bringing horses from Africa and selling them to Moors or Christians.

In the mountain fastnesses of Toledo there yet lived a remnant of Silingi stock, known as *almogávares*, who had never bent knee to Infidel; who, throughout the long contest which waged on every side of them, had kept green their liberty and their faith —a Christian oasis in the broad pagan desert. There, too, a broken band of the chosen Israel, now fairly launched upon their eternal wanderings, found a momentary resting-place. Before the arrival of the Visigoths, it is said, a colony of Hebrews planted themselves near Toledo, and by their industry and superior financial ability, became at length the royal bankers, and notwithstanding bitter prejudices, they rose high in influence, even to the honor of having their daughters enrolled among the king's mistresses.

Thus for a time the several parts of the Peninsula

differ widely in language, manners, and institutions; but at length, by wars and political combinations, race-barriers are broken down, and opposing clanships welded by an intenser hatred for some common enemy. The south through its Mediterranean trade soonest attains eminence, but warlike Castile subsequently acquires predominance. Meanwhile the masses retain their old ways better than their leaders. The nobility, and frequenters of courts, mingling more with the world, adopt the fashions of courts, and change with their changes. The inhabitants of the border provinces feel the influences of the war comparatively little; upon the great central plateau, however, there meet and mix almost all the stocks and creeds of the then known world. Aryan and Semite; Roman, Goth, and Mauritanian; Mahometan, Christian, and Jew; planting and plucking, building up and tearing down, fattening and starving, fighting and worshipping and burning —the whole table-land of Spain turned into a battle-arena of the nations, into a world's gladiatorial show; its occupants alternately marrying and battling, Moslem with Christian, Moslem with Moslem, Christian with Christian, Christian and Moslem uniting now against Christian and now against Moslem, while the slaughter of Jew, heretic, and gypsy fills the interlude. So pass centuries; and from this alembic of nations is distilled the tall, symmetrical, black-haired, bright-eyed, sharp-featured Castilian and Estremaduran.

Out of this heterogeneous medley of opposing qualities we have now to draw general characteristics.

In demeanor the Spaniard is grave, punctilious, reserved with strangers, jealous of familiarity or encroachment on his dignity; but among his acquaintances, or with those who are ready to recognize what he conceives to be his due, he throws off restraint, and becomes an agreeable companion and a firm friend. While impatient and resentful of fancied

slights, he is easily won by kindness, and is always dazzled by skill in arms and personal valor.

In disposition he is serious almost to melancholy, firm to stubbornness, imperturbable, lethargic, inert, moody; yet when roused there breaks forth the deepest enthusiasm and the most ungovernable passion. So punctilious is his sense of honor, so zealous and truthful is he in his friendships, so affectionate and humane in all his private relations, that at one time the term Spanish gentleman was synonymous with everything just, generous, and high-minded throughout Europe. In intellect he is contemplative rather than profound, apt in emergencies, but lacking breadth and depth. In habits he is temperate and frugal, easily satisfied, indolent. To live without work is his ideal of enjoyment. Dissoluteness and intemperance can not be ranked among his vices, nor do travellers place hospitality in his list of virtues. There is no such word as rowdy in his vocabulary. Turbulent from imposition he may be, and after injury vengeful; but brawler, disturber of peace and social order, he is not. Though taciturn, he is deep in feeling; in his love of country he is provincial rather than national. Though hard to be driven he is easily led; acting collectively, officially, he is given to venality, when personally thrown upon his honor he is scrupulous and trusty.

In manners the Spaniard is proverbial for high breeding, courtesy, and decorum. Whether beggar or courtier, his politeness seldom deserts him. "Dios guarde á usted," May God protect you; "Vaya usted con Dios, caballero," God be with you, sir; are the usual valedictions. In reply to the importunities of a beggar the cavalier exclaims, "Perdone usted, por Dios, hermano," For the love of God excuse me, my brother. To the highest noble and to the meanest peasant the greeting is the same. Sedate, sober-minded, reserved, the Spaniard is but the modified result of his several exemplars. "All Spaniards,"

remarks Ford, "are prodigal to each other in cheap names and titles of honor; thus even beggars address each other as *señor y caballero*, lord and knight. The most coveted style is *excelencia*, your excellency." Nicknames are common. No one rises to distinction without carrying with him one or more appellations significant of the skill or occupation of his early days.

The Castilian has less ingenuity in mechanics, less skill in trade, less taste, less delicacy of perception, than the Italian, but far more pride, firmness, and courage; a more solemn demeanor, and a stronger sense of honor.

Every Spaniard of whatever class considers himself a *caballero*, a well-born and Christian gentleman, the superior of most, the equal of any, the inferior of none. Profuse in proffers of kindness, he is no less slow to fulfil them than to accept favors from others. He is very vain; vain of personal appearance, vain of his ancestry, his breeding; vain of his ignorance and superstition; proud of many things he should be ashamed of, and ashamed of nothing. Thieving was never prominent as a national vice. As a rule Spaniards are too proud to steal; the impulse of wounded affection or injured pride nerves the arm that strikes, oftener than the desire for plunder.

The old German cosmographer Sebastian Munster quaintly writes, Basel, 1553: "The Spaniards have good heads, but with all their studying they learn but little, for after having half learned a thing they think themselves very wise, and in their talk try to show much learning which they do not possess." Comparing them with the French, the same chronicler says: "The Frenchmen are taller, but the Spaniards more hardy. In war, the Spaniards are deliberate, and the French, impetuous. The French are great babblers, but the Spaniards can well keep a secret. The French are joyous and light of thought; they like to live well; but the Spaniards are melan-

choly, serious, and not given to carousing. The French receive their guests friendlily and treat them well, but the Spaniards are cross to strangers, so that one must go from house to house in search of entertainment. The cause of this is that Spaniards have travelled little, and do not like to spend their money for food."

In Castile, more than elsewhere, was seen the perfect central type, which in its earlier stages was so remarkable for practical sagacity, for an insight into causes and motives, and skill in the adaptation of means to ends. In the wars of the New World, affirms Macaulay, "where something different from ordinary strategy was required in the general, and something different from ordinary discipline of the soldier, where it was every day necessary to meet by some new expedient the varying tactics of a barbarous enemy, the Spanish adventurers, sprung from the common people, displayed a fertility of resource, and a talent for negotiation and command, to which history scarcely affords a parallel." It must be borne in mind, however, that the New World adventurer was not always a national type.

Graham declares that "the history of the expeditions which terminated in the conquest of Mexico and Peru displays, perhaps, more strikingly than any other portion of the records of the human race, what amazing exertions the spirit of man can prompt him to attempt, and sustain him to endure." And again—"The masses," says Ford, who has studied them well, "the least spoilt and the most national, stand like pillars amid ruins, and on them the edifice of Spain's greatness must be reconstructed." "All the force of Europe," exclaims Peterborough, "would not be sufficient to subdue the Castiles with the people against it."

So great is their reverence for antiquity, that they appear to live almost as much in the past as in the present. Age is synonymous with wisdom; the older the habit or opinion, the more worthy of belief it is.

Innovation they abhor as dangerous; the universe of knowledge stands already revealed; there is nothing more to learn. Their premises they know to be sound, their conclusions correct, their beliefs true; what necessity then for further troubling themselves? Children in everything but teachableness, with themselves and their traditions they are content. Their education is finished. This is the most hopeless form of ignorance. Their legends they carefully preserve, old-time customs they love to practise, and they dwell with devoted enthusiasm on the exploits of their ancestors. To this day, twelve centuries after the occurrence, the peasantry of Asturias are divided between the descendants of those who aided the patriot Pelayo against the Moors, and those who did not — the latter being stigmatized as *vaqueros;* while the Andalusian Morisco keeps alive the story of Granada's grandeur, and dreams of Moslem warriors, of Abencerrage knights, and the restoration of former greatness. So strong is the influence of tradition and dead ancestry.

Speaking of the quality of firmness, and tenacity of purpose, says Bell, "So obstinate is the Spaniard, and in some provinces so remarkably self-willed, that the inhabitants of one part of Spain make a jest of the others on that account. Thus the obstinate Biscayan is represented as driving a nail into the wall with his head, whilst the still more obstinate Aragonian is figured in the same act and attitude, but with the point of the nail turned outward!" With the poniard at his throat, many a prostrate foe will die rather than yield, and as surely will the victor plunge in the fatal weapon if the cry for quarter be not quickly uttered. In Andalusia there was a fashion prevalent among duellists, when determined to fight their quarrel to the end, of firmly binding together, below the elbows, the left arms of the combatants; then, with knives in their right hands, they fought until one or both were dead.

Notwithstanding their excessive loyalty to their rulers, their love of antiquity and hatred of change; and notwithstanding the oppression of their princes, the condition of the lower classes in Spain at the close of the fifteenth century was far above that of the same class in any other European country. This was owing, not to any special consideration on the part of their political or ecclesiastical rulers, but to that greatest of scourges, war.

While the rulers were absorbed in conquering, and in keeping themselves from being conquered, except within the immediate battle-arena the people were left much alone. Besides, armies must have supplies, and producers were held in esteem by the military consumers.

Inequalities of power and wealth, unless arrested by extrinsic causes, ever tend to wider extremes. In Spain, the increase of wealth in the hands of priests and princes was checked by long-continued war. The products of the country must be used to feed the soldiery, and the power of the nobility must be employed against the common enemy. There was neither the time nor the opportunity to grind the people to the uttermost. Though the war bore heavily upon the working classes, it proved to them the greatest blessing; while the masses elsewhere throughout Europe were kept in a state of feudalistic serfdom, the necessity of Spain being for men rather than for beasts, elevation followed. Further than this, race-contact, and the friction attending the interminglings of courts and camps, tended in some degree towards polishing and refining society. "Since nothing makes us forget the arbitrary distinctions of rank," says Hallam, "so much as participation in any common calamity, every man who had escaped the great shipwreck of liberty and religion in the mountains of Asturias was invested with a personal dignity, which gave him value in his own eyes and those of his country. It is probably this sentiment trans-

mitted to posterity, and gradually fixing the national character, that had produced the elevation of manner remarked by travellers in the Castilian peasant."

And yet there were caste and social stratification enough. The stubborn manliness of the lower orders did not make them noble. Royalty alone was divine. The nobles loved money, yet for them to traffic was disgraceful. The ecclesiastic, whose calling placed him on a plane distinct from these, aside from his religious teachings, stood out as the earnest advocate of honest labor. Work was well enough for Moor, and Jew, and Indian; but he whose line of fighting ancestors had not beginning within the memory of man, must starve rather than stain his lineage by doing something useful.

The several social strata, moreover, were jealously kept distinct. The first distinction was that which separated them from foreigners. In the days of Cæsar and Cicero, Rome was master of the world; Rome was the world; were any not of Rome they were barbarians. So it was with Spaniards. To be of Castile was to be the most highly favored of mortals; to be a Spaniard, though not a Castilian, was something to be proud of; to be anything else was most unfortunate.

The next distinction was between the Spaniard of pure blood and the Christianized native of foreign origin. In the eyes of the Castilian baptism could not wholly cleanse a Moor or Jew. Moriscos the Church might make; heretics the Inquisition might reconstruct; but all Spain could not make from foreign material a Christian Spaniard of the pure ancient blood. About foreign fashions, foreign inventions, foreign progress, foreign criticism, they cared nothing. And probably nowhere in modern times was this irrational idea of caste carried to such an absurd extent as in the New World. Children of Spanish parentage, born in America, were regarded socially as inferior to children of the same

parents who happened to be born in Spain. To be born a Spanish peasant was better than *hidalgo*, or cavalier, with American nativity; for at one time the former, on migrating to America, was entitled by virtue of that fact to the prefix 'Don.' Under the viceroys native Mexicans, though of pure Castilian ancestry, were too often excluded from the higher offices of Church and State; and this notwithstanding that both canonical and civil law, if we may believe Betancur y Figueroa, provided that natives should be preferred in all ecclesiastical appointments from the lightest benefice to the highest prelacy. "But notwithstanding such repeated recommendations," says Robertson, "preferment in almost every different line is conferred on native Spaniards." Mr. Ward, English consul at Mexico in 1825–7, affirms that "the son, who had the misfortune to be born of a creole mother, was considered as an inferior, in the house of his own father, to the European book-keeper or clerk, for whom the daughter, if there were one, and a large share of the fortune were reserved. 'Eres criollo y basta;' You are a creole and that is enough, was a common phrase amongst the Spaniards when angry with their children." Truly it was a good thing in those days to be at once 'of Christ' and 'of Spain.' It was positively believed by some that blood flowed in accordance with the majesty of law, and that the quality of one was inferior to the quality of another. The blood of the Indian was held as scarcely more human than the blood of beasts, and was often shed as freely.

Then, too, there was a distinction between the profession of arms and all other professions. Following republican Rome again, the education of no man aspiring to a public career was complete until he had served as a soldier. No one can truthfully charge the Spaniards of the sixteenth century with lack of courage. Military skill was the highest type of manhood. Of danger they made a plaything, not only

in their wars but in their sports. Life was dull unless brightened by blood.

In Aragon the barons were limited to a few great families who traced their descent from twelve peers, called *ricos homes de natura*. Although obliged to attend the king in his wars, in every other respect they were independent. They were themselves exempt from taxation and punishment, and held absolute authority over the lives and property of their vassals. The next lower order of nobility in Aragon was called *infanzones*, corresponding to the hidalgos of Castile. The *caballeros*, or knights, were the immediate followers of the *ricos homes*, and were possessed of important privileges.

In La Mancha the peasantry were of a quality different from those sent by Castile and Estremadura to the New World. Quintana writes of them, "He who travels through La Mancha will see the scaffold before he sees the town. They are lazy, dirty, quarrelsome, and never suffer from hunger, for when they wish to become the owners of anything they take it;" and remarks another, "They live on parched *garbanzos*, and pass the winter lying on their bellies like reptiles in the sun." See Murillo's matchless pictures.

Another class and race, broken fragments of which we have before encountered, secured more rest in Spain than elsewhere, yet from a different cause. Homeless Israel in the Arab found a friend. Not that the Mahometans loved the Jews, but because the Christians hated them, was their condition made so tolerable in Spain under Saracen rule. Then, and until their expulsion, they occupied an important position, being the chief money-handlers, merchants, and bankers. Overcome in their dislike for each other by a more bitter hatred against their common enemy, the Jews and Moors lived upon terms somewhat approaching equality. The Jews surpassed their Moorish masters in wealth, and were but little inferior to them in arts and letters. They were not

only usurers, but husbandmen, artisans, and doctors. As Christian domination extended southward, this comparatively happy state of the Spanish Jews disappeared. Under pretext of justice, their moneys were wrested from them by the nobles; indeed, if too stubborn they were not unfrequently put to death; and with the capitulation of Granada and the loss of their Moorish allies, the condition of the Jews became pitiable in the extreme. Two incidents of the crowning of Pope John XXIII., in 1410, as related by Monstrelet, give us a tolerably fair idea of the feelings entertained toward the Jews. In his progress through Rome, these people presented him with a manuscript copy of the old Testament. He, "having examined it a little, threw it behind him, saying, 'Your religion is good, but this of ours is better.'" And again, "There were before and behind him two hundred men-at-arms, each having in his hand a leathern mallet, with which they struck the Jews in such wise as it was a pleasure to see."

With such an example the condition of the Jews grew more serious. As for the Spaniards, they bettered the instruction, as was sufficiently proved by their expulsion-edict of March, 1492—an edict forbidding unbaptized Jews to be found within the limits of Spain at the end of four months; an edict allowing them in that time to sell their property, but forbidding them at the end of that time "to carry away with them any gold, silver, or money whatsoever;" "an edict," says the Catholic historian, Lafuente, "that condemned to expatriation, to misery, to despair, and to death, many thousands of families born and bred in Spain."

In almost every mediæval town there was a Jewish district, in which, says M. Depping, their historian, "Jews like troops of lepers were thrust away and huddled together into the most uncomfortable and most unhealthy quarters of the city, as miserable as it was disgusting;" or, as Paul Lacroix describes it,

"a large enclosure of wretched houses, irregularly built, divided by small streets with no attempt at uniformity. The principal thoroughfare is lined with stalls, in which are sold not only old clothes, furniture, and utensils, but also new and glittering articles." Within their prescribed limits, all their necessities were supplied, and a dirt-begrimed prison-like synagogue usually occupied the center. But even in these wretched places they were often subjected to cruelties the most severe and sickening. Terrible as were the indignities heaped upon this unfortunate people it must not be supposed that they were wholly unprovoked, or that all the forbearance was on the part of the sufferers. Opinions on these questions are widely divergent, and I refer to them here only to show more clearly the condition of Europe at the time of which I write.

The Spaniards of the sixteenth century have been called a cruel people; and so they were. Yet they were no more cruel than other nations of their day, and no more cruel relatively, according to the progress of humanity, than are we to-day. Time evolves in many respects a more refined civilization, but the nature of man changes not. Individuals may be less beastly; society may be regulated more by law and less by passion; between nations in their wars and diplomacy there may be less systematic torture, less unblushing chicanery; but the world has yet to find a weightier right than might. I fail to discover in America, by Catholic Spaniards or heathen savages, deeds more atrocious than some committed in India and China within the century by Protestant England, the world's model of piety and propriety; and yet the treatment of Indians in North America by the people of Great Britain has been far more just and humane than their treatment by the people of the United States.

Before such a charge as that of excessive cruelty can be made good against a people, there are several things to be considered. And first the motive. The

surgeon who amputates a limb to save a life is not called cruel. Now the Spaniards were the spiritual surgeons of their day. Nine tenths of all their cruelties were committed under the conviction that what they did was in the line of duty, and that to refrain from so doing would have been no kindness. Though with the experience of the past and by the clearer light of the nineteenth century we conclude that these convictions were false, and though we contemplate them with horror and condemn the acts which resulted from them as barbarous, yet it is almost superfluous to say that with their teachings and surroundings we should have been the same. The inherent qualities of human nature seem to be changed but little if at all by the cultivation and development of mind. Secondly, the quality of cruelty is not pronounced, but relative. There are cruelties of the heart, of the sensibilities, no less cruel than bodily tortures. The age of savagism is always cruel. Cruelty springs from ignorance rather than from instinct. Childlike and thoughtless things, things tender by instinct, are cruel from disingenuous perversity. A clouded, unreasoning, unreasonable mind, even when hiding beneath it a tender heart, begets cruelty; while a sterner disposition, if accompanied by a clear, truth-loving intellect, delights in no injustice—and cruelty is always unjust. This is why, if it be true as has been charged, that notwithstanding boys are more cruel than girls, women are more cruel than men. Children, women, and savages are cruel from thoughtlessness; though the cruel boy may be very tender of his puppy, the cruel woman of her child, the cruel savage of his horse. Even the moralities and intellectual refinements of that day were not free from what would seem to us studied and unnecessary cruelty. I will cite a few instances of European cruelty, not confined to Spaniards, which will show not only that Spain was not more cruel than other nations, but that the savages of America were not

more cruel than the Europeans of their day. Both tortured to the uttermost where they hated, even as men do now; the chief difference was, the Europeans, being the stronger, could torture the harder. Civilization changes, not the quantity of cruelty, but the quality only.

"Cæsar Borgia," writes Sebastiano de Branca in his diary, about the year 1500, "Cæsar Borgia was the cruelest man of any age." To serve his purposes he did not hesitate to use poison and perjury. He was treacherous, incestuous, murderous, even keeping a private executioner, Michilotto, to do his bidding. Louis XI. of France, and other princes, kept a court assassin. The fifteenth century was lurid with atrocities. Rodrigo Lenzuoli, the father, Lucretia, the daughter, and Cæsar, the son, comprised the Borgia trio, distinguished no less for their intellect, beauty, wealth, and bravery, than for their craft, lust, treachery, and cruelty. Says Lecky: "Philip II. and Isabella the Catholic inflicted more suffering in obedience to their consciences than Nero or Domitian in obedience to their lusts."

In 1415 John Huss was burned for his religion, and in 1431 Joan of Arc for her patriotism. In like manner perished thousands of others. Mahomet II., disputing with the Venetian artist Gentile Bellini as to the length of John the Baptist's neck after decollation, called a slave, and striking off his head with one blow of his cimeter, exclaimed: "There! did not I say yours is too long?"

Princes made bloodshed a pastime. Edward IV. put to death a tradesman for perpetrating a pun; caused a gentleman to be executed for speaking against a favorite; and condemned his own brother to death in a fit of petulance. In an interview between this same Edward of England and the king of France, the monarchs were brought together in huge iron cages, each distrustful of the other. Louis XII. confined Ludovico Sforza, duke of Milan, in an iron

cage for ten years, and until his death. This was a punishment common at that time in Italy and Spain. Pedro el Cruel is charged by Hallam with having murdered his wife and mother, most of his brothers and sisters, many of the Castilian nobility, and multitudes of the commonalty.

The church tolerated the persecution of its enemies, believing it was for the glory of God. Nor was this idea confined to Spain or to the fifteenth century, for we find in England and even in America that persecutions for conscience' sake, with all the cruelties that refined civilization could devise existed at the opening of the present century; nor indeed is the world yet completely emancipated from this thraldom.

Yet the Spaniards, I say, were bad enough. The cruelties following the capitulation of Málaga, in 1487, were more befitting fiends than a man and woman who prided themselves in the title of Catholic king and queen.

Since the establishment of the Inquisition, religious persecutions had become but too gratifying to the national taste. On this occasion at Málaga, the apostate Moors were first caught and burned. Twelve apostate Christians were then fastened to stakes in an open place and made the barbarous sport of Spanish cavaliers, who, mounted on fleet horses, hurled at their naked bodies pointed reeds while rushing past at full speed. This was continued until the torn and bleeding flesh of their victims was filled with darts, and the wretched sufferers expired under the most excruciating torments. Then, of the rest of the Moorish prisoners, three divisions were made; one for the redemption of Christian captives, one to be distributed among the victors as slaves, and one to be publicly sold into slavery.

Spanish knights returned from their incursions against the Moors with strings of turbaned heads hanging from their saddle-bows, which, as they passed along, they threw to the boys in the streets, in order

to inspire their youthful minds with hatred to the foes of their religion.

From making slaves of prisoners of war, a traffic in human flesh springs up. A slave-trade association was formed in Portugal in 1443. Gonzalez brought slaves to Seville; Columbus sent to Spain a cargo of Indian slaves in 1495; in 1503 the enslavement of American Indians was authorized by Ferdinand and Isabella; and in 1508 the African slave-trade unfolded in all its hideous barbarity. The slave-trade, however, was tolerated by these sovereigns from mistaken kindness, rather than from cruelty. It was to shield the Indian, who died under the infliction of labor, that Isabella permitted the importation of Africans into the colonies.

Cruelty was a prominent wheel in the machinery of government, as well as in religious discipline. Torture was deemed inseparable from justice, either as preparatory to trial to elicit a confession of guilt, or as part of an execution to increase the punishment. Hippolite de Marsilli, a learned jurisconsult of Bologna, mentioned fourteen ways of inflicting torture, which are given by Lacroix. Among them were compressing the limbs with instruments or cords; the injection of water, vinegar, or oil; application of hot pitch; starvation; placing hot eggs under the armpits; introducing dice under the skin; tying lighted candles to the fingers which were consumed with the wax, and dropping water from a great height upon the stomach. Josse Damhoudere mentioned thirteen modes of execution or punishment—fire, the sword, mechanical force, quartering, the wheel, the fork, the gibbet, dragging, spiking, cutting off the ears, dismembering, flogging, and the pillory. Every country had its peculiar system of torture.

In 1547 English vagrants were branded with a V and enslaved for two years. Should the unfortunate attempt escape, a hot S was burned into the flesh and he was a slave for life. A second attempted

escape was death. In those days wife-whipping was a common and respectable domestic discipline; culprits in the pillory and stocks were stationed in the market-place where all the people might strike them; prisoners were stripped of their clothes, confined in filthy dungeons half filled with stagnant water, and there not unfrequently left to starve, while slimy reptiles crawled over the naked body, or drove their poisonous fangs into the quivering flesh.

The sports of the Spaniards we now regard as cruel, as ours will be regarded four hundred years hence. Although delighting in games, in pantomimic dance, in fencing, wrestling, running, leaping, hunting, hawking, with the gentler pastime of song and guitar, the more popular amusements were cock-fights, dog and bull fights, bull and bear fights, bear and dog fights, enjoyed alike by high and low, by women, boys, and men, by laity and clergy. Sometimes fighters would enter the arena blindfolded and engage in deadly encounter. Yet how much more cruel were these sports than modern horse-racing, cock-fighting, dog-fighting, prize-fighting, rope-walking, lion-taming, steeple-chases, to say nothing of the more gentlemanly cruelty of raising foxes to be hunted, and worried, and finally torn in pieces by dogs, let posterity judge. I do not say that the sixteenth-century sports of Spain were not more cruel than the English sports of to-day. I think they were. But that Spaniards were inherently more cruel, that is to say, that their hearts were more wickedly wanton, their sympathies more inhumane, or that they enjoyed a more ardent pleasure in inflicting pain upon others than men do now, I do not believe. The Spaniards were a nation of soldiers, and soldiers are necessarily cruel. Men go to war to hurt the enemy, not to be kind to him. Unquestionably the effect of bull-fights, like the gladiatorial shows of imperial Rome, was debasing, tending to excite a love of the bloody and terrible, and to render insipid

tamer and more refined amusements. This to them was a misfortune, although the repulsive sport did foster a spirit of courage and endurance.

The *corrida de toros*, bull-run, or bull-fight, the national sport of Spain, is a relic of Moorish chivalry, yet no less Spanish than Arabic; for the institution as it exists in Spain is found neither in Africa nor in Arabia. Originally, as in the ancient tournament, in the sport engaged only cavaliers, or gentlemen, in whom were combined such skill and strength that the head of a bull was sometimes stricken off by a single blow of the *montante*. Since which time the tournament has degenerated into a prize-ring, and the chivalrous bull-fight which in principle was a display of courage combined with skill in horsemanship, and in the use of the lance, has become a sort of dramatic shambles, where the actors are low-born and mercenary professionals.

The home life of the Spaniard, which pictures his softer shades of character, and shows the more delicate tracings of his mental and moral sensibilities, must not be disregarded. There alone we shall see him as he is, stripped of the paraphernalia attending his appearance before men, with the intents and purposes of heart and mind laid open before us.

We have noticed how the genius of the Mahometan clung to the soil long after he was driven away; to this day southern Spain is more Arabic than Gothic. The towns of Andalusia—of which Cádiz, with its whitewashed antiquity and its streets and walls clean as a *taza de plata*, is the key; and Seville, radiant with sunny gardens and glittering towers, is the pride—consist of narrow, tortuous streets walled by Moorish mansions enclosing cool courts. Shutterless windows, through which half-muffled lovers whisper soft nothings to bar-imprisoned *señoritas*, open without; fresh young love and musty antiquity thus mingling in harmonious contrast. Then, favored by the

voluptuous air of spring, or broiling beneath the enervating heat of summer, are Granada, Córdova, and Málaga, where glory and shame, heroic virtue and unblushing vice, erudition and ignorance, Christianity and paganism were so blended that the past and present seem almost one. As if proud of their Moorish origin, these cities of southern Spain battle with time, and hold in fast embrace the shadows of departed grandeur. The better class of Moorish houses are yet preserved; and the otherwise unendurable heat of this so-called oven of Spain is rendered supportable by the narrow, crooked streets —so narrow, indeed, that in some of them vehicles can not pass each other —and by the irregular, projecting stories of the terrace-roofed houses.

Though widely separate in their religious systems much there is alike in the national characteristics of these grave and haughty sheiks and the Spaniards. To both were given conquest, wealth, and opportunity. Both struggled blindly and bravely, sinking into national decay and corruption, which closed in around them like a pestilence. But in their religion there was no doubt a difference. One was sensual, the other spiritual. In one were the seeds of progress, of intellectual culture, and of all those enlightenments and refinements which make men more fit to dominate this earth. And though the *Allah akbar* echoes from the receding hosts who worship God and his prophet, yet its mission is fulfilled. Where now is the might of Mauritania? Where the power and pride that caused Egypt to dream again of the days of the Pharaohs and the Ptolemies? Syria and Palestine are desolate, Bedouinized. To Bagdad remains but the memory of ancient splendor; her palaces are heaps. No more the good Haroun al Raschid walks her streets; no more the universities of Kufa and Bassora, Samarcand and Balkh enlighten the world. The sons of Hagar have had their day; their work is done. What Spain and her colonies now are need not here be told.

Every Spanish town has its plaza, great square, or public market-place, which every day presents a busy scene. Thither in early morning resort the improvident—though not specially lazy—common people for their daily supply of food. Then there is the *paseo*, or public promenade, or, as it is more frequently called, the *alameda*, from *álamo*, poplar, a beautiful walk, shaded on either side by trees. There may be seen every pleasant day after the *siesta*, or midday sleep, groups of either sex, and all classes, high and low, rich and poor, walking to and fro, chatting, smoking, flirting, drinking in health and content and merriment with the cool, delicious evening air; while ladies in carriages and cavaliers on curveting steeds occupy and enliven the roadway.

Numberless kinds of dwellings obtain in various parts, conspicuous among which are the Asturian caverns, the subterranean abodes of La Mancha, the forts of Castile, and the Moorish palaces of Andalusia. Stone, hewn and unhewn, is the material employed in mountainous districts; *adobe*, or sun-dried brick, with thatched roof, upon the plains. A common class of architecture is a windowless parallelogram divided into two rooms, one for the family, and the other for the cattle, the attic being used as a barn. Houses of this kind are built in one and two stories. An out-house for stores, which is also used as a sleeping-place for the women, perched on pillars eight feet high, sometimes stands adjacent. Across one end of the family room, which, of necessity, is used for all domestic purposes, extends a fire-place, ten or fifteen feet in length and six feet in depth, over which is a large bell-shaped chimney extending out into the middle of the room. This style of building might be elaborated, wings added, or the form changed. Tiled roofs are common, and overhanging eaves. Some houses are of three or four stories; others run out long and low upon the ground. More pretentious dwellings are often in the form of a hollow square,

with a *patio* and garden within. Of such are convents with cloisters, and over them ranges of corridors and rooms.

Among the upper classes the apartments of the lady consist of an antechamber, or drawing-room, a boudoir, a bed-room, a dressing-room, and an oratory. The drawing-room is furnished with tapestry hangings on which are represented battles and biblical scenes—war and religion even here; polished oak or mahogany high-backed chairs, clumsy, and elaborately carved; in the corners of the room triangular tables on which stand heavy silver or gold candlesticks with sperm candles, the light from which is reflected by small oval Venetian mirrors, in fantastically wrought gold or silver frames; cupboards with glass doors for plate, etc. In the boudoir is a toilet-table before Venetian mirrors profusely draped in handsome lace; a book-case, work-table, arm-chairs, sacred paintings and family portraits; in the sleeping-room, a tall heavy bedstead with damask or velvet curtains, a crucifix—the image of silver or gold, and the cross of ivory—with a little basin of holy water near it, a *priedieu* and prayer-book; in the dressing-room a wardrobe, and all necessary toilet appliances; in the oratory an altar, a crucifix, two or more priedieux, and, if mass is said, as is often the case in the houses of the great or wealthy, images of saints by the masters, with all the accompanying ornaments of devotion.

The dwellings of southern Spain, large and small, lean toward the Arabic in architecture—Arabic decorations, with second-story balconies; the rooms rich in carved ceilings, wainscoting, and arabesque; the entrance from the street in city houses being through a vestibule and an ornamented iron-grated gate. During the summer, when the sun's rays strike like poisoned darts, the family live for the most part in the patio. There upon the marble pavement, beside the cooling fountain, and amidst fragrant orange,

palm, and citron trees, visitors are received, chocolate drank, and cigarettes smoked. There too they dance to the music of the guitar, play cards, and take their siesta.

To oriental customs may be attributed the jealous privacy by which the women of Spain were guarded by husbands and fathers. Besides her natural weakness, woman was yet inferior, inept, characterless, not to be trusted. The fortress-like houses of the better sort, which are scattered all over the table-land of the Peninsula, with their spacious inner court and iron-barred windows, were so arranged that the part occupied by the female members of the household was separate from the more public rooms of the men. This precinct was unapproachable by any but the most intimate friend or invited guest. Their domestic policy, like every other, was suspicious and guarded.

This is further illustrated by the mode of entering a house, which also shows the effect of centuries of warfare upon manners. In outer doors, and in those of distinct floors, and apartments, was inserted a small grate and slide. On knocking, the slide moved back, and at the grating appeared the lustrous, searching eyes of the inmate. "Quien es?" Who is it? was the salutation from within. "Gente de paz." Peaceful people, was the reply.

Extreme sensitiveness with regard to dress characterizes Spaniards of the better sort, and rather than appear in public unbecomingly attired, they remain hidden at home, only stealing out for necessities at nightfall, or perhaps in the early morn, and then back to their home for the day. In this we see a strong mixture of pride and *bienséance*, in which there is more sensitiveness than sense. But man can not live by reason alone. He who in this factitious world is guided only by the instincts of a sound mind, regardless of the frivolities of fashion, of *convenance*, indifferent to his neighbor's ideas of propriety, and to any taste

except his own, commits a mistake. Though he alone is wise, and all the world fools, yet of necessity he must become foolish, else he is not wise.

Males, in their costume, were the birds of gay plumage at the beginning of the sixteenth century. So fantastically clad was the English nobleman in his laced doublet and open gown, that he was scarcely to be distinguished from a woman. In the time of Charles V. courtiers dressed in bright colors, but with his sombre son Philip, all was black—black velvet trimmed with jet; and stiff—stiff collars, and stiff black truncated cone hats, with brim scarcely an inch wide, in place of the soft slouchy *sombrero*.

The national and characteristic garment of both sexes in Spain for about three centuries was, for the outer covering, the *capa*, or cloak, of the cavalier, and the *mantilla* of the lady. In the reign of Charles V. the former was a short cape, and the latter simply a head-dress; but with time both enlarged until one reached below the knee, and the other below the waist. Some writers give to these garments a remote antiquity. They point to ancient coins where Iberia is represented as a veiled woman, and ignoring sex claim that to the Iberians the Romans gave the *toga*, and that for fifteen centuries the fashion continued. Others deny such connection. It is undoubtedly true that the capa of the sixteenth century was much shorter than the cloak of to-day, being a cape rather than a cloak, and not at all resembling the Roman toga. Sebastian Franc in his *Weltbuch*, Tübingen, 1534, writes: "Their women wear a curious dress around the neck; they have an iron band to which are fastened bent prongs reaching over the head, over which, when they desire it, they draw a cloth for the protection of the head, and this they hold to be a great ornament." To the men and women of Spain this garment is as the shell to the turtle; within it, though on a crowded thoroughfare, they may at any moment retire from the world, and

ensconce themselves within themselves. The cavalier with a peculiar fling, utterly unattainable by a foreigner, throws the skirt over the breast and shoulder so as to partially or completely hide the face according to his pleasure. On the way to and from church the lady's face is covered; and the gallant sighing for a glimpse of features divinely fair, is obliged to enter the sanctuary, hide behind a column near the altar; then as one female after another approaches, kneels, and unveils, he may feast his eyes on the faces before him. The mantilla serves as a bonnet, veil, and shawl; formerly it was but an oblong piece of cloth, with velvet or lace border; later a lace veil was added as part of it; and now the Spanish female face is becoming more and more visible in public.

The capa is indispensable to the Spaniard; it fits his nature like a glove, and is almost a part of him. It may be worn over a rich dress, or it may conceal rags or nakedness; it may cover a noble, generous heart, or a multitude of sins. Hidden beneath it, in secret the wearer may work out his purpose, though in the market-place. It keeps out the cold; it may hide the assassin's dagger; it serves as a disguise in love intrigues, and is a grateful protection from importunate creditors. Twisted round the left arm, it is a shield; at night, it is a bed; and with a sword, *capa y espada*, it not unfrequently constitutes the entire earthly possessions of the haughty, poverty-stricken cavalier. Whatever be the character or condition of the wearer, dignity is lent him by its ample folds, and comeliness by its graceful drapery. It is an unpardonable breach of decorum for a muffled cavalier to address a person, or for any one to speak to him while so muffled. Politeness teaches him to throw open to his friend both his garment and his heart, that it may be plain that no concealed weapon is in the one, or malice in the other. A son dare not speak to his own father when his face is covered by his cloak.

The peasantry flaunted the gayest and most picturesque attire on holiday occasions; the *majo*, a rustic beau, wore a figured velvet waistcoat with square velvet buttons, and brilliant with colored ribbons; embroidered stockings, silver-buckled shoes, and a colored capa thrown gracefully over the left shoulder. The dress of Fígaro in the play, is that of an Andalusian dandy. The costume of Valencia is more Asiatic, or Asiatic-antique it might be called, partaking somewhat, as it does, of the ancient Greek costume —wide linen drawers, linen shirt, hempen sandals, footless stockings, wide red woollen belt, gay velvet jacket with silken sash, with a colored capa over all. The long hair is bound by a silken band in the form of a turban. The female peasant dress is no less showy; a red velvet bodice, with scarlet or purple petticoat, all profusely embroidered, a gay-colored square-cut mantilla fastened by a silver brooch, with chains and jewels and colored stones according to the purse of the wearer.

The ordinary peasant dress of Estremadura consists of wide cloth knee-breeches, closely resembling those of the Moors, a gabardine of cloth or leather, and cloth leggings. The men wear the hair long. The women have a fashion of putting on a great number of petticoats; the rustic belles of Zamarramala, a village of Estremadura, manage to carry from fourteen to seventeen. In Andalusia the men have short jackets ornamented with jet or steel beads, knee-breeches, and highly ornamented leathern leggings; the women wear short embroidered and flounced petticoats, and a Moorish sleeveless jacket embroidered with gold or silver and laced in front. Asturian peasants have wooden shoes with three large nails in the soles, which keep them from the ground; leathern shoes they frequently carry in their travels, and to and from church, under their arms, or on their heads, putting them on just before entering the village or church. The women wear ear-rings

and necklaces of glass imitation of coral; a handkerchief, folded triangularly, covers the head; at funerals, a large black mantle is worn. The Castilians wear sandals, called *abarcas*, tied to the ankle by narrow strips of rawhide. The Estremadurans wear a hat, very broad-brimmed; the Catalonians, a red Phrygian cap; the Valencians, a kind of Greek cap; the Asturians, a three-cornered black or dark blue cap with velvet facings; the Biscayans, a flat red woollen cap; the Andalusians, a turban-like hat, or a silk handkerchief. In Aragon, as well as in some of the southern provinces, the broad-brimmed slouching sombrero obtains. Hats were invented by a Swiss, Pansian, in 1404, and a Spaniard first manufactured them in London in 1510. Jews in Spain were obliged to wear yellow hats; in Germany bankrupts, in like manner, were required to wear hats of green and yellow.

The general costume of a Spanish nobleman consisted of a silk gabardine, with sleeves close-fitting at the wrist but puffed and slashed between the elbow and shoulder so as to show the fine linen shirt beneath; chamois-skin doublet, thick but flexible; silk hose, and silk trowsers slashed; long bell-shaped boots with golden spur-supporters; broad, polished leathern belt, from which hung a long sword on the left side, and a long dagger in a leathern or velvet scabbard on the right; a round, soft, broad-brimmed beaver hat, with an ostrich-feather fastened by a diamond brooch on the side or in front; a cape or cloak embroidered or laced with gold or silver thread, fastened with cord and tassel, and worn hanging from the left shoulder, or thrown around the body so as to cover part of the face. Within doors, the cloak was laid aside; a velvet doublet was substituted for the leathern one; and instead of boots, shoes of leather or velvet, slashed over the toes, were worn. The dress of the lady was a heavy, flowing brocade or velvet skirt, open in front, displaying an underdress

of light silk or satin; a chemisette with slashed sleeves; a stomacher with long ends hanging in front, and a velvet sleeveless jacket laced with gold or silver cord. The breast was covered with lace, and the neck and shoulders were bare, except when covered by the *toca*, a kind of head-dress, out of which by elongation grew the characteristic mantilla. Her shoes were of velvet, her stockings of silk or wool; from the waist on the right side hung a reticule, a silver or gold whistle for calling servants, and a poniard. Her *dueña* wore a black skirt, and a large black mantle completely covering the head, face, and shoulders down to the waist. Swords formed no part of domestic dress prior to the fifteenth century.

Black was the color of the church, certain clerical orders excepted. Those of the learned professions wore black. The ladies usually attended church in black, and indeed were sometimes seen in sombre hues upon the alameda. Black robes and a canoe-shaped hat covered the Basque priest; and the friar, sackcloth and gray, bound round the waist with a twisted cord. *Alguaciles*, or constables, followed the ancient cavalier costume—broad-brimmed hat, black cloak, short knee-breeches, black stockings, silver-buckled shoes, Vandyke ruffles, and white lace collar. This in the Basque provinces only. Friars appeared in a hooded robe, extending to the ankles, over woollen breeches and jacket. A cord was tied round the waist from which hung a rosary. Hempen or leathern shoes were worn, and by some orders broad hats. The robe of the friar was of coarse wool; that of the clergyman serge, with a cloak, low leathern shoes with buckle, black stockings, knee-breeches, a white collar, and a black hat with broad brim turned up at the sides. The robes of vicars, parish curates, and other church dignitaries were of silk. The Franciscan's robe was of a yellowish gray color, the Dominican's white, the Carmelite's reddish gray, the

Capuchin's silver gray, the Jesuit's black. The bishop's color was violet, the cardinal's red or purple.

Domestic routine in Spain, with allowances for class, season, and locality, was substantially as follows. The noble or wealthy master of a household was served before rising with chocolate, which service was called the *desayuno*. He then rose and dressed; after which, kneeling before the crucifix, he said a prayer; then he proceeded to the avocations of the day, taking *las once*, or the eleven o'clock luncheon of cake and wine, either at home or at the house of a friend, or wherever he happened to be. After a twelve or one o'clock dinner came the siesta. At five o'clock there was to be eaten the *merienda*, consisting of chocolate, preserved fruit, and ices; and between nine and eleven, supper. In the private chapel of the grandees mass was said. The middle class usually attended church about sunrise; after which breakfast, and at noon dinner.

The religious training of children was excessive. At daybreak the *angelus* was recited, then to chapel or church to mass, after which the child might breakfast; at noon angelus and dinner; after the siesta vespers at church, and rosary at home; at six o'clock angelus and chocolate; prayers at eight; supper at nine; after which more prayers and to bed. The child was expected to attend all these devotions, the night prayer perhaps excepted, the youngest children being sent to bed after the rosary. And this not alone Sunday, but every day.

A national dish, centuries old, common to Spain and all Spanish countries, called the *olla podrida*, constitutes a staple food with almost all classes. It is made of meat and vegetables boiled together, but usually served in two dishes, and its constituents depend upon the resources of the cook, for everything eatable is put into it that can be obtained. Beef, mutton, pork, and fowl; beans, peas, potatoes,

onions, cabbage, and garlic; the water in which the mess is boiled is served as soup with rice or bread, and the two courses constitute the whole of every meal of the lower classes. On the tables of the wealthy, after the olla podrida, fish, roast meats, and a profuse dessert of sweetmeats, jellies, preserves, and bonbons are served. The Andalusians make a salad of cucumbers, tomatoes, lettuce, green-peppers, chiccory, with oil, vinegar, salt, pepper, and stale bread, which with them is a staple dish, called *gazpacho*.

It was a gluttonous, sensual age, that of the century preceding our epoch; but from these vices Spain was probably more free than any other civilized nation of Europe. There the discipline of war absorbed the attention which elsewhere was given to luxurious living. We find nothing in Spain such as we are told about in England, where the households of the great were composed of brawling retainers, ill-mannered clowns, and riotous serving men and women who terminated many a feast with bloodshed; where guests snatched and scrambled for food, gorging themselves with whatever they could lay hands on; where drunken broils were of daily occurrence, and the master of the household was not unfrequently obliged to sheath his sword in the body of some contumacious servant grown dangerous by the unbridled license in which he had been indulged.

What shall we say of the monks and cardinals now grown fat from the well filled coffers of the Church? With their wealth in some instances they had grown sensuous and extravagant. Their cupboards were loaded with rich viands, in which they freely indulged; and their tables were surrounded by musicians and all the luxuries and delicacies the world could contribute. Not to the faults of the few, however, would we call too much attention, but to the virtues of the many; for during these dark years of ignorance and voluptuousness the Church was plant-

ing and watering the seeds of the sanctity of marriage and domestic life in Spain, and surrounding the family altar with so many safeguards among her people, that the long ages since have not sufficed to dispel nor destroy them. The wealthy families of Spain had their court jesters, but coarse buffoonery or indecent jests were seldom tolerated.

Two persons often ate from one plate, using their fingers for forks. A sheath-knife, or dagger, which they carried upon the person, served to cut the food. Among the first books printed in Venice was a folio volume on cookery, issued in 1475. In the English metrical *Stans Puer ad Mensam*, following Wright, the guest is told to "bring no knyves unskoured to the table;" in other words, his sheath knife should be clean, and he is also informed that polite persons will not pick their teeth with it while at table. It was considered a breach of good manners to blow the nose with the same fingers used in conveying food to the mouth. Hats were worn by the men, and head-dresses by the women, on all domestic occasions. In France, the metrical *Contenances de Table*, or manual of table manners, shows but little more refinement there than elsewhere. Among other directions the reader is told first to examine his seat whether it be clean:

"Enfant, prens de regarder peine
Sur le siege où tu te fierras,
Se aucune chose y verras
Qui soit deshonneste où vilaine."

He is forbidden to spit upon the table while at dinner:

"Ne craiche par dessus la table
Car c'est chose desconvenable."

Or to spurt water from his mouth into the basin used in common by the company:

"Quant tu bouche tu laveras
Ou bacin point ne cracheras."

Or leave sops in his wine glass:

"Se tu fais souppes en ton verre
Boy le vin ou le gette à terre."

But by implication he may spurt and throw remnants on the floor, as much as he pleases.

Even in their use of tobacco, of which they are excessively fond, the Spaniards are temperate. Though they smoke it almost constantly, it is in such small quantities, and in so mild a form, that tobacco does them less injury than it inflicts on many other nations. It was the custom to carry a daily supply wrapped in a lettuce or cabbage leaf to preserve it moist. The cigarette was prepared for smoking by taking a small quantity of tobacco, finely cut, rolling it in a piece of corn-husk or paper, and lighting with flint, steel, and punk. Though the tobacco may be strong, prepared in this way the effect is less injurious than when rolled in larger quantities into a cigar, or cut from a plug and smoked from a pipe or chewed.

Noble youths of both sexes were accustomed, to serve a sort of apprenticeship for a number of years in the king's household. In like manner the sons and daughters of gentlemen served in the houses of the nobility, and common people in the houses of gentlemen, that each might be benefited by the knowledge and refinement of his superior.

Spaniards, as I have said, are called inhospitable; but this charge must be taken with allowance. Every phase of human nature has its generous quality; locked in every heart is a wealth of kindliness which opens to him who holds the key. By nature these people are reserved, suspicious. They carry no window in their breast. In their domestic affairs they are specially reticent before strangers. Their wives and daughters they hide away; their troubles they cover within the ashes that preserve them; their sensibilities shrink from cold contact with the world. If some find certain Spaniards at given

periods inhospitable, others at other times and places find them very generous. In early times inns were not common in Spain, and we are told that in certain places every private house had its guest's quarters consisting of one or more rooms according to the opulence of the owner. To this apartment every stranger of whatsoever degree was welcome. There he lived as long as he pleased, fed and cared for by the host; and—you may call it pride—if through poverty provisions grew scarce, the family would undergo the greatest privation rather than the guest should suffer want, or be forced to hasten his departure. Furthermore all was free; to offer pay for entertainment was deemed an insult, though a present might be given and accepted.

While called a melancholy people, amusement appeared at times to be the life of the nation. Royalty and religion at rest, peace here and hereafter secured, there was nothing more of life than to enjoy it. To labor when one might repose; to sigh when one might sing; to undergo the pains of culture when sweet pleasure temptingly proposed a holiday—ah no! Fools attempt to better their condition and make it worse. Let those who need improving scour themselves; we know enough.

So lazily lapped in stupidity, beside their feast-days and bull-fights, their passions and passion-plays, they lolled upon the greensward and danced to tambourine and castanets, and wrestled, and ran races; they fenced, fought, played cards, shook dice, and enlivened home monotony by all sorts of games and gymnastic exercises. Dancing was carried to such excess as to lead to dissoluteness and occasional death, even as it does to-day. The dances of the peasantry in many instances bear a striking resemblance to those of the native races of America. In Asturias, men, and sometimes men and women, form a circle joining hands by the little finger. A leader sings in plaintive

monotone a description of some Spanish feat of arms prior to the eleventh century, or of a tournament of later days, or of some unhappy love adventure, or of a thrilling incident in the conquest of America. At the end of every strophe, all sing in chorus the refrain which sometimes terminates in an invocation, as for example, May Saint Peter be with me! May the Magdalen protect us! The dance is a long step forward, and two short steps backward and laterally to the right, so that the circle keeps constantly moving in that direction, meanwhile keeping time to the music with arms as well as feet. These dances take place on Sunday afternoons, and on feast-days, and when the priest is present men and women are separated in the dance. The *fandango*, danced by two persons with castanets to the music of the guitar, is peculiar to the south of Spain.

Between the eras proper of tournaments and bull-fights, a species of tilting called *correr la sortija* was greatly in vogue. A gold finger-ring was suspended by a thread from the top of a pole, and at it charged the cavalier with lance in rest and horse at full speed. The smallness of the object, its constant motion, and its proximity to the pole rendered it an exceedingly difficult feat to accomplish.

Cards and dice were at this time in the height of their fascination. Every class, age, profession, and sex were filled with a passion for gambling—a most levelling vice, at this juncture, bringing in contact noble and commoner, knight and squire, women, servants, and trades-people. An English poet about the year 1500 thus laments the degeneracy of the nobles:

> "Before thys tyme they lovyd for to juste,
> And in shotynge chefely they sett ther mynde;
> And ther landys and possessyons now sett they moste,
> And at cardes and dyce ye may them ffynde."

From her low estate of mediæval drudge or plaything, woman was lifted by the exaltation of the

Virgin,—lifted too high by chivalry; then fell too low with the sensual reaction. Finally, after many waverings, she rises again, and in the more favored spheres takes her rightful place beside her lord, his confidant and equal. At the time of which I write, however, she was less respected than now, and hence less respectable; less trusted, and consequently less trustworthy. Her virtue, fortified by bolts and bars at home, was watched by servants abroad. Falling into the customs of the invaders during Moslem domination, Castilian ladies became more and more retired, until the dwelling was little better than a nunnery. The days of tournaments, and jousts, and troubadours were over, and indifference succeeded chivalric sentimentality.

Seldom has Spanish society been conspicuous for its high moral tone. Female chastity was an abstract quality, the property of the father or husband, rather than an inherent virtue for the safe-keeping of which the female possessor was responsible. The master of a household exercised sovereign authority therein, claiming even the power of life and death over the members of his family. He was addressed in the third person as 'your worship;' sons dare not cover their head, cross their legs, or even sit in his presence unless so directed; daughters were betrothed without their knowledge, and to men whom they had never seen; the selection of a husband rested entirely with the father, and the daughter had only to acquiesce. Female decorum and purity were placed under espionage. A dueña kept guard over the wife and daughter at home, and closely followed at their heels whenever they stepped into the street. Ladies, closely veiled, marched solemnly to church, preceded by a *rodrigon*, or squire, with cushion and prayer-book, and followed by a dueña. At service, her place was in front, and men took up their station behind her. Teach woman first that she is inferior, next that she is impotent; add to this intellectual inanity

and implied moral unaccountability, and you have a creature ripe for wickedness.

This excess of caution defeated its own purpose. Women, left much alone within their cloister-like homes, waited not in vain for opportunity. The gay mistress could often too easily win over her attendant, and make of her dueña a go-between; yet if we may believe the record, infidelity was rare, and for two reasons. First, woman in her seclusion escaped many temptations; and secondly, a wholesome fear, the certainty that vengeance, swift and sure, would follow the offence, resulting in the death of one or both offenders, placed a curb on passion. Females of the lower classes, left alone to take care of their virtue as best they might, with faces open and actions free, were less given to transgression than their wealthier sisters.

Lewd women could not testify in criminal cases. Respectable women were permitted to testify, but the judge was obliged to wait on them at their homes, as they were not allowed to attend court. Learning to write was discouraged in females, as they could then have it in their power to scribble love-letters to their gallants. Queen Isabella did much to elevate and purify both religion and morals. The court of Enrique IV., her predecessor, has been described as but little better than a brothel, where "the queen, a daughter of Portugal, lived openly with her parasites and gallants, as the king did with his minions and mistresses." Maids of honor were trained courtesans, and the noblemen of the court occupied their time in illicit amours and love intrigues. From the king on his throne to his lowest subject, all who could afford it kept a mistress.

Ware states that within a century the widows of Madrid were "compelled to pass the whole first year of their mourning in a chamber entirely hung with black, where not a single ray of the sun could penetrate, seated on a little mattress with their legs

always crossed. When this year was over, they retired to pass the second year in a chamber hung with grey." This savagism is paralleled by the Thlinkeets of Alaska, who at certain times confine women in a little kennel for six months, giving them one a size larger for the second six months; likewise by the Tacullies of New Caledonia, who make the widow carry the deceased husband's ashes upon her back in a bag for one or two years.

A glance at English and French society shows us, however, that the character of the Spanish women of this epoch compared favorably with that of their northern sisters. Though perhaps no chaster than the French, they were not street-brawlers like the English women. These latter, we are told, from whom the men would separate themselves in their debauches, would likewise assemble at the public house, drink their ale, talk loudly and lewdly, and gossip, swear, and fight. In a religious play of the period, representing the deluge, Noah, when ready to enter the ark, seeks his wife, and finds her carousing with her gossips at the public drink-house.

"Young ladies, even of great families," says Wright, "were brought up not only strictly but even tyrannically by their mothers, who kept them constantly at work, exacted from them almost slavish deference and respect, and even counted upon their earnings." A mother in those days was accounted a little severe who beat her daughter "once in the week, or twice, and sometimes twice a day," and "broke her head in two or three places," or still worse, permitted her to "speak with no man, whosoever come."

Witness the wooing of Matilda of Flanders by William the Conqueror. Having had the audacity to refuse him, the noble suitor entered her home, seized her long tresses, dragged her about the floor, struck her; then flinging her from him, he spurned her with his foot. Matilda at once accepted him,

saying: "He must be a man of courage who dare beat me in my father's palace."

Pedro el Cruel, king of Castile and Leon, about the middle of the fourteenth century held good, and commanded, under heavy penalties, that no one of the laboring classes, man or woman, who was able to work, should be found begging. He fixed the day's wage of every class with the most punctilious exactitude. Shoemakers, tailors, armorers, and others who worked by the job, had a definite price attached to the making of every article. A shoe of such and such leather, made after such a fashion, with a double or single sole; a cloak, lined or unlined; a weapon of an ordinary, or of a superior temper and finish—each article in its fabrication was to cost just so much and no more.

It was an age of interference in the affairs of men, the strong against the weak. It was in these trade regulations, and in sumptuary laws, the superstition of political economy and social statics, that the science of ignorance culminated. It was then that learned men threw dust into the air, cast a cloud about their own intellect, and labored hard to inculcate the principles of nescience into the minds of men. In England the number of servants a nobleman might have was fixed by law, as was also costume, and the number of courses at dinner. Soup and two dishes legally constituted a Frenchman's dinner in 1340.

Ferdinand and Isabella were, perhaps, the most parentally inclined of all. No affair, religious, moral, political, judicial, economical, literary, industrial, mechanical, or mercantile could escape their attention. From the regulation and organization of the high councils, and of the civil and ecclesiastical tribunals, to the ordinances for the leather-dressers and cloth-shearers; from the decrees concerning the universities and the literary and scientific bodies, to the orders that prescribed the weight of horse-shoes; from the general laws on commerce and

navigation, to those which fixed the expenditure at weddings and baptisms, and the amount of wax to be burned at funerals; from the highest interests and rights of religion and of the throne, down to the most humble and mechanical industries—all were considered, legislated upon, and seen to by their Catholic Majesties, with infinite pains and vigilance. In 1510, thinking the colonists of Española too fond of ostentation and extravagance, Ferdinand issued a proclamation, forbidding them to wear rich silks, brocades, or gold or silver lace. Owners of vessels, in times of peace, were forced to engage at fixed prices in perilous voyages of discovery or commerce.

In England it appears that the dress of the men commanded the special attention of their rulers. Spaniards made men and women alike to feel the iron heel of sumptuary legislation; while the English, in laws of nearly coincident date, for the most part omitted the sex. By distinctive qualities, Edward IV., 1461–1483, regulated the dress of his people—from the royal cloth-of-gold down to the two-shillings-a-yard, and under, cloth of the laboring classes; but, if we may believe Sanford, he took care to exempt his women subjects from the provisions of this act, save only the wives of the two-shillings-a-yard boor, who might be expected to have other things to attend to.

The continental ladies, it appears, could flaunt it bravely upon occasion, at least in France and Flanders. For through these countries crusaded, in 1428, Thomas Conecte, a Carmelite friar, preaching against the evils of the age, or what he considered as such. Among these, dress held a place, and many other things not generally condemned at present. His manner of going to work was peculiar, and is pretty well described by Monstrelet.

In his audiences he always separated the men from the women by a cord, "for he had observed some sly doings between them while he was preaching." Hav-

ing taken these wise precautions, he was accustomed earnestly to admonish his hearers "on the damnation of their souls and on pain of excommunication, to bring to him whatever backgammon-boards, chess-boards, nine-pins, or other instruments for games of amusement they might possess." Right bitterly would he then attack the luxurious apparel of ladies of rank; especially the monstrous head-gear which was in fashion at that time; all of which bred trouble, as may readily be imagined, and produced no good results.

We see the same style of preaching indulged in by the Wesleys in England and Whitefield and others in America at different times, and ever with the same lack of practical results. The most costly jewelry, the finest apparel, grand houses and free living are as conspicuous among the followers of these self-sacrificing and conscientious men as among the members of any other church, or among those who are not members of any church. And if the pious Carmelite friar failed in his crusade against fine clothes, free living, and monstrous head-gear among the Spanish of the fifteenth century, so have more modern crusaders failed in similar attempts in later times.

This then was Spain and Spanish character, as nearly as I have been able to picture them in the short space allotted, at or prior to the dawn of the sixteenth century. We have found Spaniards the noblest race on earth at that time; their men brave, their women modest. Before them opened a career more brilliant than the world has ever seen before or since. To follow them in some parts of that career is the purpose of these volumes.

We have found these people after all not so very different from ourselves—more loyal than we, but more ignorant; more religious, but more superstí-

tious; more daring, but more reckless; more enthusiastic, but more chimerical. They were endowed with the virtues and vices of their age, as we are with the virtues and vices of ours. They were sincere in their opinions, and honest in their efforts; but we have the advantage of them by four centuries of recorded experiences. Our knowledge, our advantages, are superior to theirs; do we make superior use of them? Spain lighted a hemisphere of dark waters, brought forth hidden islands and continents, and presented half a world to the other half. With all our boasted improvement, have we done more?

It is the custom of historical commentators to praise and to blame *ad libitum*. This is right if it be done judiciously. We should praise discreetly, and blame with steadiness. But there is really little to praise or to blame in history, and most of it that is done is simply praising or blaming the providence of progress. Would you blame the Spanish people for being ignorant, submissive, and cruel? They were as God and circumstances made them. Would you blame their king and princes for domineering them? They were as the people and circumstances made them. The people were indignant if their rulers did not impose upon them. Says Grenville, writing in his memoirs so late as 1818: "The Regent drives in the park every day in a tilbury, with his groom sitting by his side; grave men are shocked at this undignified practice."

Meanwhile, amidst the many so-called spirits which in this epoch hovered over man, the spirit of discovery was not the least potent. Curiosity, the mother of science, became the mother of new worlds; gave birth to continents, islands, and seas; gave form and boundary to earth. Over the sea, the mists of the Dark Age had rested with greater density even than on land. The aurora of progress now illumined the western horizon as of old it did the eastern. Hitherto the great ocean, beyond a few leagues from

shore, was a mystery. As may be seen depicted on ancient charts, it was filled, in the imaginations of navigators, with formidable water-beasts and monsters, scarcely less terrible than those that Æneas saw as he entered the mouth of Hades:

> "Multaque præterea variarum monstra ferarum:
> Centauri in foribus stabulant, Scyllæque biformes,
> et centumgeminus Briareus, ac belua Lernæ
> horrendum stridens, flammisque armata Chimæra,
> Gorgones Harpyiæque et forma tricorporis umbræ."

Ancient geographers affirmed that the heat of the torrid zone was intolerable, that men and ships entering it would shrivel. This belt of consuming heat presented an impenetrable barrier between the known and the unknown.

What wonder that intellect was stunted, civilization dwarfed, restricted as was human knowledge to the narrow grave-like walls of western Europe! No sooner were these ancient boundaries burst, and the black and dreadful fog-banks which lay upon primeval ocean pierced, than fancy, like a freed bird, bounded forth, swept the circumference of the earth, soared aloft amid the stars, and dared even to ask of religion a reason.

One glance westward. On either side of an unswept sea, a Sea of Darkness it was called by those that feared it, there rested at the opening of this history two fair continents, each unknown to the other. One was cultivated; its nations were well advanced in those arts and courtesies that spring from accumulated experiences; the other, for the most part, unmarred by man, lay revelling in primeval beauty, fresh as from the Creator's hand. The leaven of progress working in one, brought to its knowledge the existence of the other; the Sea of Darkness with its uncouth monsters was turned into a highway, and civilized Europe stood face to face with sylvan America. This world newly found was called the

New World; though which is the new and which the old; which, if either, peopled the other, is yet undetermined. One in organism and in the nature human, the people of the two worlds were in color, customs, and sentiment several. The barbarous New World boasted its civilizations, while the civilized Old World disclosed its barbarisms; on Mexican and Peruvian highlands were nations of city-builders as far superior in culture to the islanders and coast-dwellers seen by Columbus, as were the European discoverers superior to the American highlanders. Of probable indigenous origin, this lesser civilization shows traces of high antiquity; even the ruder nations of the north leave far behind them absolute primevalism.

I do not say with some that in America were seen in certain directions marks of as high culture as any in Europe. There were no such marks. But this unquestionably is true; that, as in Europe, we here find that most inexplicable of phenomena, the evolution of civility; man's mental and spiritual necessities, like his physical wants, appear everywhere the same. The mind, like the body, craves nutriment, and the dimmed imprisoned soul a higher sympathy; hence we see men of every clime and color making for themselves gods, and contriving creeds which shall presently deliver them from their dilemma. The civilizations of America, unlike well-rooted saplings of Egypt, Greece, and Rome, were sensitive-plants which collapsed upon the first foreign touch, leaving only the blackness of darkness; hence it was the wild tribes, far more than the cultivated nations, that influenced the character of subsequent American societies.

In her civil and religious polities America was every whit as consistent as Europe. Neither was altogether perfect or wise; and we wonder at the blindness and stupidity of one as of the other. Although we could catch but a glimpse of the Americans before they vanished, yet we might see that

intellect was not stationary, but growing, and that society was instinct with intelligent and progressional activity.

In their religions the Americans paralleled the rest of mankind. Every religion derives its form and color from the mind of the worshippers, so that by their gods we may know them. From elevated natures emanate chaste and refined conceptions of the deity; from brutish natures coarse conceptions. Christianity is the highest and purest of all religions; but if we study the moral precepts of the foremost American nations, we shall see that in many respects they were not far behind, and were indeed in some instances in advance of Christianity. True, the Aztecs practised human sacrifice, with all its attendant horrors; but what were the religious wars, the expulsion of Jews, the slaughter of Infidels, the burning of heretics, but human sacrifice? Moreover, while we turn in horror from the sacrificial stone of the Aztecs, where the human victims were treated as gods and whence their souls were sent direct to Paradise, yet we find among them little of that most infamous of crimes—persecution for opinion's sake; nor yet do we read of their ingenuity being taxed for the contrivance of engines of the most excruciating torture, as we do in the history of Christianity. Tortures which, while killing the body, it was believed consigned the soul to eternal agonies.

There was little in the social or political systems of Europe of which the counterpart could not be found in America; indeed, the economical, social, and political condition of every civilization finds its counterpart in every other civilization; and there were institutions then existing in America at whose feet Europe might have sat with benefit.

Among the wilder tribes we find prevalent the patriarchal state, with its hundreds of languages and theologies; a slight advance from which are those associations of families banded for safety, thus I re-

senting a state of society not unlike that of European feudalism. From this point, every quality and grade of government presents itself until full-blown monarchy is attained, where a sole sovereign becomes an emperor of nations with a state and severity equal to that of the most enlightened. The government of the Nahua nations, which was monarchical and nearly absolute, denotes no small progress from primordial patriarchy.

Like their cousins of Spain and England, the sovereigns of Mexico had their elaborate palaces, with magnificent surroundings, their country residence and their hunting-grounds, their botanical and zoological gardens, and their harems filled with the daughters of nobles, who deemed it an honor to see them thus royally defiled. There were aristocratic and knightly orders; nobles, plebeians, and slaves; pontiffs and priesthoods; land tenures and taxation; seminaries of learning, and systems of education, in which virtue was extolled and vice denounced; laws and law courts of various grades, and councils and tribunals of various kinds; military orders with drill, engineer corps, arms, and fortifications; commerce, caravans, markets, merchants, pedlers, and commercial fairs, with a credit system, and express and postal facilities.

They were not lacking in pleasures and amusements similar to those of the Europeans, such as feasts with professional jester, music, dancing; and after dinner the drama, national games, gymnastics, and gladiatorial combats. They were not without their intoxicating drink, delighting in drunkenness while denouncing it. Their medical faculty and systems of surgery they had, and their burial-men; also their literati, scholars, orators, and poets, with an arithmetical system, a calendar, a knowledge of astronomy, hieroglyphic books, chronological records, public libraries, and national archives.

The horoscope of infants was cast; the cross was

lifted up; incense was burned; baptism and circumcision were practised. Whence arose these customs so like those of their fellow-men across the Atlantic, whom they had never seen or heard of?

The conquerors found all this when they entered the country. They examined with admiration the manufactures of gold, silver, copper, tin, and lead, wrought to exquisite patterns with surprising skill. They gazed with astonishment on huge architectural piles, on monumental remains speaking louder than words; on temples, causeways, fountains, aqueducts, and light-houses, surrounded as they were with statues and intricate and costly stone carvings. They found that the Americans made cloth, paper, pottery, and dyes, and were proficient in painting. Their mosaic feather-work was a marvel.

There are many points of interest, well worth examination, which I have not space here properly to mention. The interested reader, however, will find all material necessary to careful comparison in my *Native Races of the Pacific States*. He will there find described conditions of society analogous to feudalism and chivalry; he will find municipal governments, walled towns, and standing armies. There were legislative assemblies similar to that of the Cortes, and associations not unlike that of the Holy Brotherhood. To say that trial by combat sometimes occurred is affirming of them nothing complimentary; but upon the absence of some European institutions they were to be congratulated.

Although living lives of easy poverty, the wild tribes of America everywhere possessed dormant wealth enough to tempt the cupidity alike of the fierce Spaniard, the blithe Frenchman, and the sombre Englishman. Under a burning tropical sun, where neither meat nor clothing was essential to comfort, the land yielded gold, while in hyperborean forests where no precious metals were discovered the richest peltries abounded; so that no savage in all this northern con-

tinent was found so poor that grasping civilization could find nothing to rob him of.

When Europe undertook the mastery of America, she found the people, as a rule, ready to be friendly. Some at first were startled into the seizure of their arms, the first impulse of the wild man on meeting anything strange being to defend himself. But their fears were easily allayed, their confidence easily gained, and their pledges of good faith were usually to be depended upon.

The variations between them and their brethren across the Atlantic were less of kind than of quality. They were more children than wild beasts. Physically they were complete, but mentally they were not fully developed. Their minds were not so broad, nor so strong or subtle as those of white men. Their cunning partook more of brute instinct than of civilized artifice. There was mind-power enough, but it lacked shape and consistency. They were naturally no more blood-thirsty, or cruel, or superstitious than their conquerors, but their cruelty and superstitions were of coarser, cruder forms. The American aboriginal character has been greatly misconstrued, and is to-day but imperfectly understood.

The chief difference, or cause of difference, between the people of Europe and the more advanced nations of America, it seems to me, lay in the ignorance of some few things, apparently insignificant in themselves, yet mighty enough to revolutionize Christendom; such as the use of iron, gunpowder, and movable types. The absence of horses, and other of the more useful domestic animals, was also a disadvantage.

After reading of the Europeans of that day it is irony to call the Americans revengeful or cruel. Where is it possible to find more strongly developed those qualities which civilization most condemns than among civilized nations—the same, only refined? So blind

are we to our own faults, so quick to see and condemn the faults of our weak and defenceless neighbor!

Catalogue crime and place the white beside the red. Seldom was the Indian treacherous until he had been deceived. The Indians tortured their prisoners; so did the white men, hunting them with bloodhounds, enslaving them, branding them with hot irons, beating and roasting them, making them work in the mines until death relieved them by thousands, butchering wives and children because the husband and father dared strike a blow in their defence. It is well to call them brutal in warfare when the white man so quickly adopts their most brutal customs; it is well to call them beasts of prey, when the white man crosses the ocean to prey upon those very beasts which he pretends to slur.

In speaking of the Indians, it has become the custom wilfully to misapply terms. If a tribe resist an injury, it is called an outbreak; if successful in war, it is a massacre; if successful in single combat, it is a murder. Thus soldiers speak to cover the disgrace of defeat, and thus reports are made by men who regard not decency in speaking of a savage, to say nothing of fairness. It is enough that we have exterminated this people, without attempting to malign them and exalt our own baseness. What should we do were a foreign power to come in ships to our shore and begin to slaughter our animals, to stake off our land and divide it among themselves? We should drive them away if we were able; but if we found them the stronger, we should employ every art to destroy them, and in so doing regard ourselves as patriots performing a sacred obligation. This is the Indian's crime; and in so doing we call him cunning, revengeful, hateful, diabolical. But the white man brings him blankets, it may be said, brings him medicine, tells him of contrivances, teaches him civilization. These things are exactly what the savage does not want, and what he is much better off without.

The white man's comforts kill him almost as quickly as do his cruelties; and the teachings of Christ's ministers are abhorrent if they are coupled with the examples of lecherous and murderous professors of Christianity.

These, however, were by no means all that white men gave the Indian. We might enumerate alcohol, small-pox, measles, syphilis, and a dozen other disgusting adjuncts of civilization of which the savage before knew nothing. Can savagism boast greater achievements? White men have killed fifty Indians where Indians have killed one white man, and this, notwithstanding that nine tenths of all injuries inflicted have been perpetrated by white invaders. A thousand Indian women have been outraged by men whose mothers had taught them the Lord's prayer, where one white woman has been injured by these benighted heathen. At any time in the history of America I would rather take my chances as a white woman among savages, than as an Indian woman among white people.

Brethren by procreation, but by destiny foes, as we behold them there the so-called New and Old thus so strangely brought together, naturally enough we ask ourselves, Whence came the one, and whither tends the other? Whence came these dusky denizens of the forest, and for how many thousands of ages has the feeble light of their intelligence struggled with the darkness, dimly flickering, now gathering strength, now falling back into dense obscurity; how long and in what manner has the divine spark thus wrestled with its environment? And whither tends this fierce flame of human advancement which just now bursts its ancient boundaries, sweeps across the Sea of Darkness, absorbs all lesser lights, and dazzles and consumes a hemisphere of souls? More especially, when we look back toward what we are accustomed to call the beginning, and mark the steady advance of knowledge, the ever-increasing power of

mind; when we consider the progress of even the last half century, and listen to the present din and clatter of improvement, do we raise our eyes to the future and ask, Whither tends all this? Whither tends with so rapidly accelerating swiftness this self-begetting of enlightenment, this massing of human acquirements; whither tends this perpetually increasing domination of the intellectual over the material? Within the past few thousand years we have seen our race emerge from barbarism, and notwithstanding the inherent tendency to evil ever present in our natures, we have seen mankind put on civilization and accept for their faith Christianity, the purest and highest type of religion. We have seen nations cease somewhat their hereditary growlings, and brutal blood-sheddings, and mingle as brethren; we have seen wavy grain supplant the tangled wildwood, gardens materialize from the mirage, and magnificent cities rise out of the rocky ground. Thus we have seen the whole earth placed under tribute, and this mysterious reasoning intelligence of ours elevating itself yet more and more above the instincts of the brute, and asserting its dominion over nature; belting the earth with an impatient energy, which now presses outward from every meridian, widening its domain as best it may toward the north and toward the south, building equatorial fires under polar icebergs. All this and more from the records of our race we have seen accomplished, and yet do see it; civilization working itself out in accordance with the eternal purposes of Omnipotence, unfolding under man's agency, yet independent of man's will; a subtile, extraneous, unifying energy, stimulated by agencies good not more than by agencies evil, yet always tending in its results to good rather than to evil; an influence beyond the reach or cognizance of man, working in and round persons and societies, turning and overturning, now clouding the sky with blackness and dropping disorder on floundering humanity, but only to be followed by a yet more fertilizing sunshine; laying

waste and building up, building up by laying waste, civilizing as well by war and avarice as by good-will and sweet charity, civilizing as surely, if not as rapidly, with the world of humanity struggling against it, as with the same human world laboring for it.

Slowly rattles along the dim present, well-nigh buried in its own dust; it is only the past that is well-defined and clear to history.

Summary of Geographical Knowledge and Discovery from the Earliest Records to the Year 1540.

Before entering upon the narration of events composing this history, it seems to me important, in order as well properly to appreciate the foregoing Introduction as to gain from succeeding chapters something more than gratified curiosity, that an exposition of Early Voyages should be given,—acting powerfully as they did on evolving thought and material development, giving breadth and vigor to intellect, enthusiasm to enterprise, and in elevating and stimulating that commercial spirit which was eventually to depose kings, exalt the people, strip from science its superstitions, from religion its cabalistic forms, and by its associations, its negotiations, its adventurous daring, its wars, its alliances, and its humanizing polities, to break the barriers of ancient enmity and bring together in common brotherhood all the nations of the earth.

Therefore, I now propose to give a chronological statement of every authentic voyage of discovery made beyond the Mediterranean prior to 1540, while doubtful and disputed voyages will be discussed according to their relative importance. I shall notice, moreover, such books and charts relating to America as were produced during this period, with fac-similes of the more important maps, to illustrate, at different dates, the progress of discovery. It is my purpose, so far as possible, in the very limited space allowed, to state fairly the conclusions of the best writers on every important point.

One word as to the authorities consulted in the preparation of this Summary. Of books relating to America, published prior to 1540, there are in all about sixty-five; only twenty-five, however, contain original information; twenty-three are general cosmographical works with brief sections on America compiled from the original twenty-five; while seventeen merely mention the New World or its discoveries, and are therefore of no value in this connection. Of the forty-eight containing matter more or less important, there are over two hundred editions, the earliest of which only, in most instances, will be mentioned, and that without extensive bibliographical notes. These books and charts I notice in chronological order under dates of their successive appearance.

The subject of Early Voyages has been so frequently and so thoroughly discussed by able modern writers that it is unnecessary, and indeed im-

practicable in so condensed an essay, to refer to ancient authorities alone, and prove everything from the beginning. I shall therefore, besides the Spanish historians Peter Martyr, Oviedo, Las Casas, Gomara, Herrera, and the standard collections of Ramusio, Grynæus, Purchas, and Hakluyt, freely use the works of later writers according to their relative worth. And of these last mentioned I epitomize the following. *Historia del Nuevo-Mundo, escribiala D. Juan Baut. Muñoz*, tom. i.—all ever published—*En Madrid*, 1793, contains a clear well-written *prologo*, or essay, on the first three voyages of Columbus with minor mention of contemporary discoveries. An account is also given of the author's labors in beginning the large and invaluable collection of documents completed and published by Martin Fernandez de Navarrete, *Coleccion de los Viages y Descubrimientos que hicieron por mar los Españoles desde fines del siglo XV.*, 5 vols. 4to, Madrid, 1825–37. This collection of Navarrete's is without doubt the most valuable work on the subject of early American voyages, and the foundation of all that followed; containing as it does the original Spanish, Latin, and Portuguese texts of the more important Spanish and Portuguese expeditions from 1393 to 1540 —the Latin and Portuguese done into Spanish—together with over five hundred original documents from the Spanish archives, with extensive and generally impartial notes by the editor. For a biographical sketch of this author see chapter iii. of this volume. Washington Irving's *Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus and his Companions*, published in London, 1828–31 (edition used, that of New York, 1869, 3 vols.), is an able and elegant abridged translation of Navarrete, and of *La Historia de el Almirante D. Christoval Colon*, by his son Fernando Colon, in *Barcia, Historiadores Primitivos*, tom. i., Madrid, 1749. Alexander von Humboldt's *Examen critique de l'histoire de la Géographie du nouveau continent, et des progrès de l'astronomie nautique aux 15ème et 16ème Siècles*, 5 vols. 8vo, Paris, 1836–9, is a most exhaustive digest of materials furnished by Navarrete and the older historians, illustrated with the results of the author's personal investigations. The work embraces two treatises; first, the causes which led to the discovery of America; second, facts relating to Columbus and Vespucci, with the dates of geographic discoveries. Humboldt's *Abhandlung über die ältesten Karten*, printed as an introduction to *Ghillany, Geschichte des Seefahrers Ritter Martin Behaim*, Nuremberg, 1853, of which I have only a manuscript English translation, is an essay as well on the naming of America as on early maps. Another important treatise is that of J. G. Kohl, *Die beiden ältesten General-Karten von America*, Weimar, 1860, of nearly two hundred large folio pages on the earliest manuscript and printed maps, two of the former, dated 1527 and 1529, accompanying the work, reproduced in chromo-lithographic facsimile. The same author has produced other works on the subject, the most important being *A History of the Discovery of the East Coast of North America*, published in *Collections of the Maine Historical Society*, 2d series, vol. i., Portland, 1869. This contains reduced copies of twenty-three early maps, and is perhaps the most complete work existing, so far as the northern coasts are concerned, giving comparatively little attention to more southern voyages. *Kunstmann, Die Entdeckung Amerikas*, Munich, 1859, is a careful compilation of ninety-six imperial quarto pages, with copious notes and refer-

ences, written to accompany a collection of thirteen large chromo-lithographic reproductions of manuscript maps preserved in the Academy of Sciences at Munich, and generally known as the *Munich Atlas*. Herr Kunstmann treats chiefly of the Atlantic islands, with special reference to the connection between the discoveries of Spaniards and Northmen. *Major's Life of Prince Henry of Portugal*, London, 1868, is the best authority for Portuguese voyages as well as for the revival of maritime enterprise in the fifteenth century. *Stevens' Historical and Geographical Notes on the Earliest Discoveries in America, 1453–1530*, New Haven, 1869, was written originally as an introduction to a book by the author's brother on his proposed interoceanic communication *via* Tehuantepec. It is a concise statement of the whole matter, presenting some of its phases in a practically new light. *Varnhagen, Le Premier Voyage de Amerigo Vespucci*, Vienna, 1869, must not be omitted as the chief support of a theory on Vespucci's voyages which nearly concerns the first discovery of our Pacific States territory proper. *Rafn, Antiquitates Americanæ*, Hafniæ, 1837, is the source of nearly all our knowledge of the discoveries of the Northmen in America in the tenth and following centuries; and *De Costa, The Pre-Columbian Discovery of America*, Albany, 1868, presents an English translation of the same Icelandic *sagas* in which the enterprises of the Northmen are recorded. The *Cartografía Mexicana* of Orozco y Berra, published by the Mexican Geographical Society, contains, as its title indicates, a mention of early maps in chronologic order; and the *Mapoteca Columbiana* of Urricoechea, London, 1860, is another important contribution of similar nature. There should be mentioned the excellent review given in the first volume of *Bryant's History of the United States*, which has appeared since this Summary was written; and I might present quite a list of papers read before the various learned societies of Europe and America on different topics connected with this subject in late years, none of them I believe materially affecting my conclusions.

The above form but a small portion of the works devoted wholly or in part to the subject, but they are believed to contain all the material necessary for even a more detailed statement than my purpose demands.

Of the voyages of the ancients, properly so called, that is, of such as preceded the fall of the Roman Empire at the end of the fourth century, I shall here say little. These maritime expeditions, confined for the most part to the Mediterranean, though extending for some distance along the coasts of the Indian and Atlantic oceans, with occasional voyages designedly or accidentally prolonged to more distant islands, and it may be continents, come down to us through antique histories, cosmographies, and poems, so mixed with vague hypothetical and mythological conceptions, that the most searching investigation is often unable to separate fact from fable. There are multitudes of classic and mediæval legends adopted by Tasso, Pulci, and other Italian poets, such, for example, as that which makes the Greek wanderer Ulysses the pioneer of western adventure, which in a sober treatise are scarcely worthy of mention. Turning to the dawn his vessel's poop, this son of Laertes, it is said, passed Gibraltar, the bound ordained by Hercules not to be overstepped by man, and, as Dante tells us, sailed for the Happy Isles of

the unknown Atlantic, unrestrained by son, or father, or even Penelope's ever-weaving web of love.

A little journey was a wonderful exploit before the time of Christ—instance the immortal fame achieved by Hanno, the Carthaginian, in visiting the west coast of Africa, B. C. 570; by Herodotus, in making the excursion of Egypt and India, B. C. 464–456; by Pytheas, in his voyage to the British Isles, B. C. 340; by Nearchus, in descending the Indus, B. C. 326; by Eudoxus, in his attempt to sail round Africa, B. C. 130; by Cæsar, in undertaking the conquest of Gaul, B. C. 58; by Strabo, in penetrating Asia some thirty or forty years later. After the Christian era Pausanias, a Roman, in 175 wrote a guide-book of Greece; Fa Hian, a Chinese monk, went westward into India in the year 400 or thereabout; Cosmas Indicopleustes travelled in India a century and a half later and wrote a book to prove the world square, and the universe an oblong coffer; Arculphe wrote of the Holy Land about 650; an Englishman, Willibald, made the tour of southern Europe and Palestine, setting out from Southampton in 721; in 851 went Soliman from Persia to the China sea. So it has been said.

Indeed, the writings of Herodotus indicate that, over two thousand years before Dias and Vasco da Gama, Africa was circumnavigated by a fleet of Phœnician ships sent by Pharaoh Necho down the Red Sea with orders to return to Egypt by way of the Pillars of Hercules. A Persian, Sataspes, endeavored to accomplish the voyage from the other direction, but failed. Plato's island of Atlantis, founded by the god Neptune, was of great size, "larger than Asia and Libya together, and was situated over against the straits now called the Pillars of Hercules." The climate and soil were so good that fruits ripened twice every year. There were metals, with elephants and other animals in abundance. Upon a mountain was a beautiful city with gold and ivory palaces, having gardens and statues. Unfortunately in time the sea swallowed up this island, so that it could scarcely have been America.

So far as these voyages and strange tales concern the possible knowledge of America by the ancients, I have already discussed them in my *Native Races of the Pacific States*. Therein is mentioned a theory which has found many advocates, and to which I will again briefly allude in this place. It is that at the beginning of the Christian era America was visited by the Apostle St Thomas. He was accompanied by a number of fellow-laborers in the ministry, who preached the gospel and planted the Christian religion in America. The theory is ably advocated in the excellent work of Rev. W. Gleeson, *The History of the Catholic Church in California*. The principal arguments advanced may be briefly stated as follows: First, that the whole tenor of Scripture teaching is in favor of the supposition that the gospel was preached to all the world from the beginning, rather than after the lapse of several centuries. Second, that at a date fixed by Mexican hieroglyphics as a little before the middle of the first century after Christ, a celebrated personage, certainly the most remarkable in Mexican mythology, came from the north. He is represented as a white man, with flowing beard, clad in a long white robe, adorned with red crosses, head uncovered, and a staff in his

hand. This was the Quetzalcoatl, whom the Mexicans afterward worshipped, and whose return was so anxiously looked for by them. See *Torquemada, Monarq. Ind.* Third, that to him popular tradition ascribes the worship paid to the cross, the practice of confession, and in a word all the customs found on the arrival of the Spaniards to be nearly identical with those of the Christian religion. *Veytia, Hist. Ant. de Mexico.* Fourth, that the name Quetzalcoatl is synonymous with that of St Thomas. See *Native Races*, v. 26. Fifth, that Quetzalcoatl promised on his departure to return at some future day with his posterity and resume the possession of the empire, and that day was looked forward to with general confidence, *Prescott's Conq. Mex.*, and that a general feeling prevailed at the time of Montezuma that the period of his return had arrived. *Veytia, Hist. Ant. Mex.* Sixth, that there were at the convent of Nijapa, in the province of Oajaca, hieroglyphs containing all the principal doctrines of the Christian religion, and the coming of the Apostle to the country. *Id.*

Sahagun, who wrote at the time of the conquest, speaks of the general belief in this prophecy, and assures us that on the arrival of the Spaniards they repeatedly offered them divine honors, believing that their god Quetzalcoatl had returned. *Conq. Mex.*, i. chap. iii.

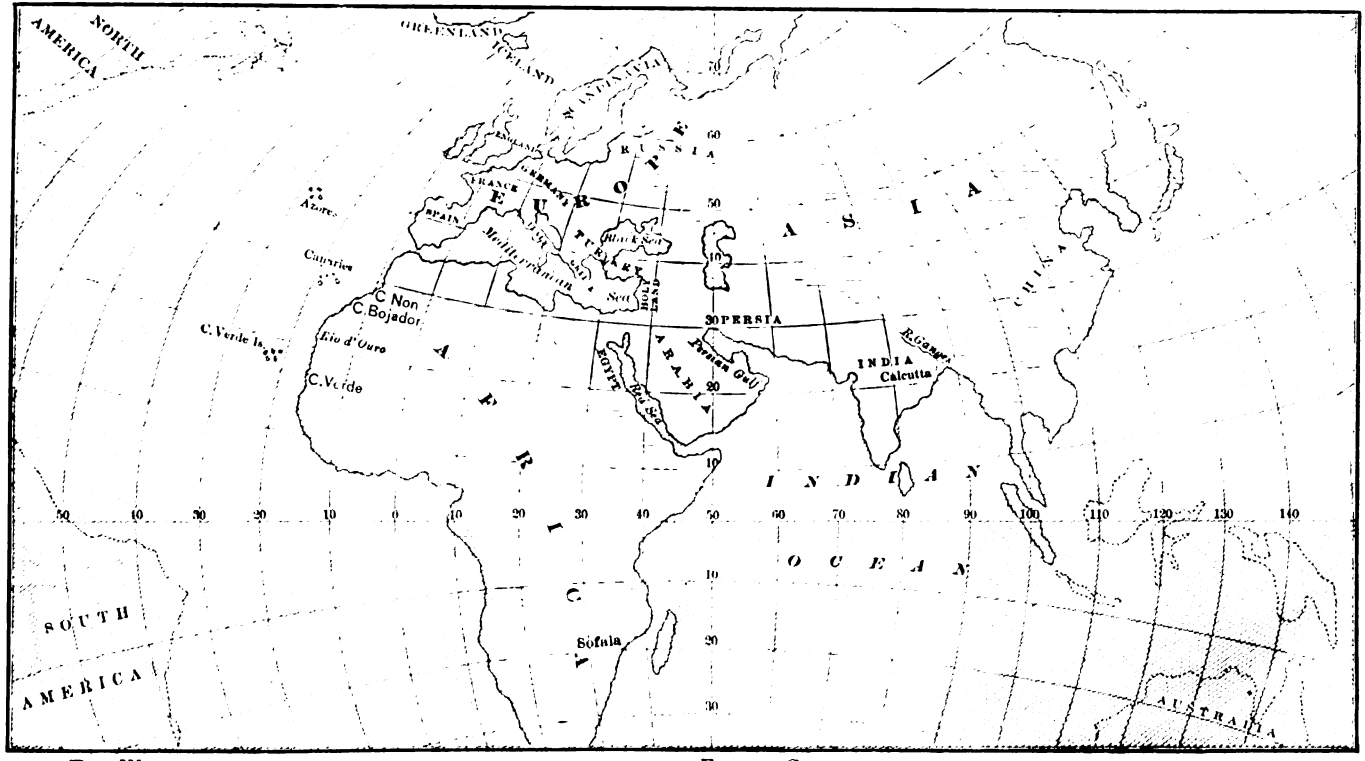
"It is then undeniably true," says Gleeson, *Catholic Church in Cal.*, 185, "that a popular tradition existed in the country respecting a prophecy made by Quetzalcohuatl, in which was foretold the future arrival of whites on the coast; and this, while it proves the reality of the man, and his character as a teacher of religion, also proves the still more important and appreciable fact of his being a Christian, and of western origin; for, it was clearly set forth in the prophecy, that the persons who should come would be whites, and of the same religion as he. The time also seems to have been specified by the Apostle, if we are to judge by the expression that they were expecting him every day. And, indeed, Boturini assures us that the time mentioned in the Mexican hieroglyphics was that in which the Christians arrived. The year *ce acatl* was that foretold by Quetzalcohuatl, and in that year the Spaniards landed in the Country." On ancient voyages and cosmography see also Humboldt, *Exam. Crit.*, tom. i. pp. 125–206.

It is the results of ancient voyages, the point of geographical knowledge attained by ancient civilization in its most advanced stage and by it bequeathed to the Dark Age, and not the voyages themselves, with which we have to do at present. This knowledge is found for the most part embodied in the system of Ptolemy, the Alexandrian geographer of the second century, whose works became the standard text-books, and holding their prominence for fourteen hundred years were not superseded as late as the sixteenth century, but were republished from time to time, with additions, setting forth the results of new discoveries. In this manner twenty-one editions appeared during the first half of that century. Nor was even Ptolemy the originator of this prolonged system. One hundred and fifty years before him was the Greek geographer Strabo, who gave descriptions of countries and peoples, fixing his localities usually by itinerary distances; and to this work of Strabo's, Ptolemy added a century and a half of progress, and determined

his localities by astronomical observation. The work of Pomponius Mela, the Roman geographer who wrote probably somewhat later than Strabo, is regarded as no improvement on that of his predecessor.

Ptolemy's World was nearly all in the north temperate zone, embracing about fifty degrees of latitude and one hundred and twenty of longitude. The Fortunate Isles, now called the Canaries, were known to Ptolemy, and by him used as a western limit or first meridian. This, and as a nucleus of poetic myths, seem to have been their only use; as Muñoz says, *Hist. del Nuevo Mundo*, p. 30: "Fuera de este uso apenas aprovecharon sino para intretenir ociosas imaginaciones con fábulas de poetas." The eastern limit was vaguely located in the region beyond the Ganges; actually in about 100° east longitude. On the south were included the African coasts of the Mediterranean and Red Sea, with the southern coasts of Arabia and India proper—the term India being then applied indefinitely to all eastern lands, including even parts of Africa —thus fixing the southern bound at about 30° north latitude in the west, and 10° in the east. Northward the limit may be placed a little above 60°, within which falls the southern part of the Scandinavian peninsula, then supposed to be an island, and also the island of Thule, the location of which is disputed, some claiming it to have been Iceland, others the Faroe Islands, and others the Shetland Islands. But Ptolemy's latitudes were all some ten degrees too far north, while in his longitudes he went still further astray; since, reckoning from the Canaries as his first meridian, he made his last meridian 180°, when it should have been 120°, and thus by narrowing half the circumference of the globe some sixty degrees he made the world nearly one third less than it really is. Authorities differ, however, as to what were Ptolemy's ideas. But more of this hereafter. On the opposite page is a map in which the world as known in these times is left white, the shaded portions being the result of subsequent discoveries down to the last half of the fifteenth century. A map of Ptolemy's World, reduced to its true proportions, may be seen in *Gosselin, Recherches sur la géographie systématique et positive des anciens*, tom. iv., Paris, 1813.

Within these limits, then, geographical knowledge was confined at the end of the fourth century; limits not sharply defined, but indefinite and wavering according to ages, to the directions of conquest, and to distances from Mediterranean centres. Beyond these limits was a realm of darkness peopled by strange beings, creatures of poetic fancy or crude conjecture. Just as the wonder-land of Homer to contemporaneous eastern Greeks, was Italy, with its strange waters inhabited by very strange beasts, and Sicily, and neighboring isles, where were the Satyrs, and the gigantic one-eyed Cyclops eating milk and mutton and men, so to later teachers were the strange seas beyond. On the north was an impenetrable region of eternal ice; on the south, an equatorial zone of burning heat; a barrier of frost on the one side and of fire on the other, both equally uninhabitable to the European man, and cutting off all communication with possible habitable lands elsewhere. The burning zone, however, seems to have been a popular idea, rather than a part of the system taught by Ptolemy, who, indeed, held that Africa extended south-east and north-east toward the eastern parts of Asia, making of the Indian Ocean an immense gulf not connected with the Atlantic on the



THE WORLD; THE WHITE PART AS KNOWN AT THE END OF THE FOURTH CENTURY, THE LIGHTLY SHADED PORTIONS AS KNOWN AT THE END OF THE FIFTEENTH.

west. Strabo and other geographers who preceded Ptolemy gave Africa approximately its correct shape; traditions of its circumnavigation even were kept alive, in spite of Ptolemy's theory, influencing geographic thought not a little during the fifteenth century. Irving is of opinion, *Columbus*, vol. iii. p. 440, that modern authors consider the knowledge of the ancients concerning Africa much less extensive than has been generally supposed; but Major, *Prince Henry*, p. 89 et seq., accepts a circumnavigation of Africa in the seventh century B. C., and also Hanno's voyage far down the African coast, placing the date of the latter 570 B. C. Among the philosophers of western Europe no definite hypotheses appear to have been advanced as to the extent of land beyond the known region; as to the ideas of the Arabs and Buddhist priests concerning the matter it is difficult to determine. See *Kohl's Hist. Discov.*, p. 149; *Draper's Intellectual Development*, p. 451, New York, 1872. Beyond the Fortunate Isles to the west stretched a *Mare Tenebrosum*, or Sea of Darkness, as early writers express it, separating the known western coast from the far unknown east. In this dark sea tradition planted islands at various points, reiterating the fact of their existence so often that names and locations were finally given them on maps, though the islands themselves have never yet been found. Except these fabulous islands, there was little thought of land between the coasts of Europe and Asia. Compare maps in this volume; also *George Bancroft's History of the United States*, vol. i. p. 6, Boston, 1870; *D'Aversac*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*, 1845, tom. cv. p. 293; tom. cvi. p. 47.

To sum up the geographical knowledge of the ancients, we have first, the sphericity of the earth surmised, although its size was vaguely conceived and underrated; secondly, the positive knowledge of Europeans limited to the unshaded portion of the map on page 73; thirdly, divers theories respecting the conformation of southern Africa; fourthly, a *mare oceanum* stretching westward to the unknown Asiatic shore, with hypothetical islands intervening, and expressed opinions that this sea was navigable, and that possibly India might be reached by sailing westward. These ideas, vague as they seem, were held only by the learned few; the world of the ignorant reached scarcely beyond the horizon of their actual experience. Not until long after its actual circumnavigation, in the sixteenth century, was the popular mind able to grasp the idea of the earth's sphericity.

We come now to mediæval times, when from the fifth to the fifteenth century the cosmographical as well as all other knowledge of the ancients lay well-nigh dormant; to the people a land of darkness as well as a sea, though in some few colleges and convents these things were thought of. "Ces ténèbres," says Humboldt, *Exam. Crit.*, tom. i. p. 59, "s'étendaient sans doute sur les masses; mais, dans les couvens et les colléges quelques individus conservaient les traditions de l'antiquité." Upon this world of darkness light first broke from the far north, the voyages of the Scandinavians from the ninth to the twelfth centuries being the *aurora borealis* of maritime discovery. These Northmen, as in their expeditions Danes, Norwegians, and Swedes were indiscriminately called, by their warlike propensities made themselves known and feared along the shores of Europe at an early date;

but their western discoveries were known only to themselves; at all events, no trace of distant voyages to the west are found in the records of their neighbors. It is only quite recently that the sagas of the Northmen were brought to the attention of European scholars; and when the Danish bishop, Müller, published his bibliography of the sagas, 3 vols., Copenhagen, 1817–1820, these narratives were held to be more fiction than fact. Even so late a writer as George Bancroft, *History of the United States*, vol. i. pp. 5, 6, says that the story of colonization by the Northmen "rests on narratives, mythological in form, and obscure in meaning; ancient, yet not contemporary," and that "no clear historic evidence establishes the natural probability that they accomplished the passage." Irving, *Columbus*, vol. iii. pp. 432–5, considers the matter "still to be wrapped in much doubt and obscurity." Both of these authors, however, seem to have considered only the evidence presented by Malte-Brun and Forster. Since their time proofs beyond question have established the authenticity of these voyages of the Northmen. The sagas on American discoveries are preserved in the archives at Copenhagen, with a collection of other historical data, reaching down to the fourteenth century, the date of their completion. It is true that they deal somewhat in the marvellous—they would not be authentic else, written at that time—but they contain tales no more wonderful or monstrous than the writings of more southern nations. See an account of the Copenhagen documents and the examination of their authenticity in *De Costa's Pre-Columbian Discov. Am.*, pp. i–lx. Two nearly contemporary ecclesiastical histories—that of Adam of Bremen, 1073, and Ordericus Vitalis, about 1100—describe briefly the western lands of the Northmen. Further reference, *Kunstmann, Entdeckung Am.*, p. 32; *Rafn, Antiquitates Am.*, p. 337; *Kohl's Hist. Discov.*, p. 76.

Vague notions were not wanting of communication with America before the time of the Northmen, but these, whatever they were, are now to us pure speculation and may be omitted here. Passing over a general movement by which before the middle of the ninth century the Northmen appear to have broken through their former bounds, and to have extended their plundering raids in all directions, taking possession of the Shetland and Faroe islands and even of the north of Britain, we come to the first definite adventure westward.

[A. D. 860–4.] Two bold men, Naddod and Gardar, in one of their coast-island cruises, were driven from their course to the north-west and discovered Iceland, called by one Snowland, and by the other Gardar Island. Kohl, *Hist. Discov.*, p. 61, dates both voyages 860; Forster gives 861 to Naddod's; other authors place the former in the year 860, and the latter in 864.

[874.] Ingolf made a settlement in Iceland at a point still called by his name. Other immigrants followed, and a flourishing colony was founded. The Northmen found on the island Irish priests, who had come there at a time not definitely known, but who immediately abandoned the country to the new settlers. Within twenty years thereafter Iceland was fairly well inhabited. De Costa, *Pre-Columbian Discov. Am.*, pp. xxii–iv., makes the date A. D. 875.

[876.] One Gunnbjörn, an Icelandic colonist, is reported to have seen ac-

cidentally, from a distance, the coast of Greenland. Kohl dates this voyage 877.

[982–6.] Eric the Red, banished from Iceland for murder in 982, sailed west, found land, remained there three years, and returned, naming the country Greenland to attract settlers. In 985, or 986, he sailed again with a larger force, this time founding a settlement to which other adventurers resorted. Of the first voyage Kohl makes no mention.

[983.] One of the sagas contains a report by an Irish merchant that one Are Marson was carried in a storm to Whiteman's Land "in the Western Ocean, opposite Vinland, six days' sail west of Ireland." Rafn thinks this may have been that part of America in the vicinity of Florida; others make it the Azores. There are also vague reports of later voyages to the same land by Björn Asbrandson in 999, and by Gudleif in 1027. In the present stage of investigation the proof is insufficient to establish an Irish pre-Scandinavian discovery of America.

[990.] In this year, or, as De Costa makes it, in 986, Biarne, sailing from Iceland in search of his father, who had previously gone to Greenland, was carried far to the south-west, to within sight of land, undoubtedly America, which he coasted north-east for several days and returned to Greenland. Three points particularly noticed on the new coast are conjectured by Kohl to have been Cape Cod, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland.

[1000.] Leif, son of Eric the Red, sailed from Greenland south-west in search of the lands seen by Biarne, reached the same in reverse order, landing probably at Newfoundland, which he named Helluland (Stony Land); Nova Scotia, he called Markland (Woodland); and passing round Cape Cod, made a settlement, named after himself, Leifsbudir, at some point on Narragansett Bay. He called this country Vinland from the fact that vines were found there, and the name was afterwards applied to the whole region extending northward to Markland. In the spring of 1001 Leif returned to Greenland with a cargo of grapes and wood.

[1002–5.] Thorwald, another of Eric's sons, sailed with one vessel to Vinland, where Leif had landed, and lived there through the winter by fishing. Early in 1003 he explored the country westward in boats, and in the spring of 1004 doubled Cape Cod, naming it Kialarnes (Ship's Nose), and perished in a battle with the Skraellings, or Indians, at some point on the shore of Massachusetts Bay. His companions spent the winter at Leifsbudir and returned to Greenland in 1005.

[1008.] In the spring of 1008 Thorfinn Karlsefne sailed from Greenland with three vessels to Helluland—which name was applied not only to Newfoundland but to the region north of that point—and thence along the coast to Nova Scotia, and to Cape Cod. Here the party divided, Thorhall, the hunter, in attempting to explore northward, being driven by a storm to Ireland, while Thorfinn spent the winter farther south near Leifsbudir, where a son was born to him. After an unsuccessful search for Thorhall by one vessel, a third winter was spent in Vinland, and in 1011 Thorfinn returned to Greenland, leaving perhaps a small colony. De Costa, *Pre-Columbian Discov. Am.*, pp. 48–76, makes the date of this voyage 1007–10.

[1012.] Helge, Finboge, and Eric's daughter Freydisa, who had before

visited America with her husband, sailed to Vinland, and such as were not killed in the internal dissensions of the party returned to Greenland in 1013. The records of this expedition are very slight. De Costa's date is 1011–12.

[1035.] Adam of Bremen speaks of Frisian or German navigators who about the year 1035 landed on an island beyond Iceland, where the inhabitants were of great size, and were accompanied by fierce dogs—perhaps the Eskimos.

[1121.] After the expeditions that have been mentioned, concerning each of which the sagas contain one or more accounts, no farther regular reports have been preserved; but various voyages are briefly alluded to in different records, as though trips to the new regions of Vinland were no longer of sufficient rarity to be specially noticed. Such allusions refer to voyages made in 1121, 1285, 1288, 1289, 1290, and 1357. After 1357 no more is heard of the western lands. The settlements were gradually abandoned both in Vinland and Greenland, as the power of the Northmen declined, and so far as can be known, even their memory was buried in the unread records of former greatness. On Scandinavian discoveries, besides Rafn and De Costa, see *Kunstmann, Entdeckung Am.*, p. 32; *Kohl's Hist. Discov.*, pp. 61–85 and 478; *Humboldt, Exam. Crit.*, tom. ii. pp. 88–128; *Abstract of Rafn*, in *Journal Lond. Geog. Soc.*, 1838, vol. viii. pp. 114–29.

Thus after this play of northern lights upon the western horizon for four or five centuries, enterprise in that direction languished, and finally the Sea of Darkness lapsed into its primeval obscurity. Nevertheless the deeds of the Scandinavians must have become more or less known to other parts of Europe, for the spirit of uneasiness which sent these Northmen across their western waters sent them also—particularly the Danes—eastward in the Holy Crusades. It would be well for the student to examine the works of Adam of Bremen, and Odericus Vitalis, who beside these pre-Columbian voyages describe also the Crusades. Moreover, Iceland had Catholic bishops and was therefore in communication with Rome, where the discoveries of the Northmen must have been known. Rafn, *Antiquitates Am.*, pp. 283, 292, and De Costa, *Pre-Columbian Discov. Am.*, pp. 106–109, give translations from Scandinavian archives of contemporaneous descriptions of the earth in which these New World discoveries of the Northmen are included. Sailing charts and maps of the new discoveries must have been drawn by the Northmen, for although none of them were preserved, yet in *Torfæus, Groenlandia antiqua*, Hauniæ, 1706, made by Icelandic draughtsmen in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and in Ptolemy's Geography, edition of 1482, is information of certain things contained in no other charts of the period extant, which must therefore have been partially compiled from Scandinavian sources.

It is not to be supposed that the Northmen imagined that they had found a new continent; very naturally to them Greenland, Helluland, Markland, and Vinland were but the western continuation of Europe. It is to this belief, as well as to the prevailing apathy and skepticism of the age concerning matters beyond the reach of positive knowledge, that the strange fact of the loss of all trace of these discoveries is due.

The exact results of these ancient expeditions, and their influence on the subsequent revival of maritime enterprise, form a difficult and as yet unde-

cided point in the discussion of this subject. Kunstmann gives particular attention to this matter, and attaches more importance to northern voyages and their connection with later expeditions than most other authors; still it has not yet been proved that Prince Henry, Toscanelli, or Columbus in the fifteenth century had any knowledge of north-western discoveries.

[1096–1271.] The Crusades—as expeditions, but chiefly for their results—deserve a brief mention in this connection. When in the seventh century Palestine passed from Christian to Mahometan hands, in which possession it has remained with but temporary interruptions to the present time, Christian pilgrimages to the Holy City for a few centuries were allowed, and to some extent protected. By successive changes of dynasty, however, power was transferred from the Arab to the Turkish branch of the Mahometans, so that in the eleventh century Christian pilgrims were cruelly oppressed, and hindered from their pious visits to the tomb of Christ. Roused at first by the exhortations of Peter the Hermit, Italy, France, England, and Germany sent armies of the undisciplined and fanatical rabble to avenge the insults to their faith, and wrest the Holy City from the power of barbarian heretics. From the eleventh to the thirteenth century nine expeditions were undertaken eastward in the prosecution of this work. Jerusalem was several times taken and retaken, but finally the Crescent was successful in resisting the encroachments of the Cross, and the Crusades failed in their visionary purpose. Still the continued migration of vast multitudes, from different nations through strange and distant lands, contributed much to increase popular knowledge of the world, to arouse fresh interest in regions hitherto little known, and to excite curiosity respecting the countries still further to the east. Meanwhile, commerce received an impetus from the work of furnishing supplies to the crusaders; so that these expeditions are included by modern writers as prominent among the causes which led to the coming revival of civilization.

[1147.] During the twelfth century few maritime expeditions are reported deserving of notice. At some not very clearly defined date before 1147, eight Arabs, the Almagrurins, are said to have sailed thirty-five days south-west from Lisbon with the intention of exploring the Sea of Darkness. At the end of the thirty-five days they found and named an Isle of Sheep, and twelve days farther south reached another island peopled by red men. They are said to have found there a man who spoke Arabic. Upon the whole the claim to a discovery of any part of America in this voyage should be slight. If the voyage be authentic, the land reached was perhaps the Canary Islands; some say those of Cape Verde.

[1160–73.] Benjamin de Tudela, a Spanish Jew, travelled for thirteen years in India, bringing back considerable information respecting Chinese Tartary and the islands of the Indian Ocean. *D. Benjamini Tudelensis, Itinerarium ex versione Montani*, Antwerp, 1575; *Itinerarium D. Benjaminis*, Leyden, 1633; *Travels of Benjamin, Son of Jonas*, London, 1783.

[1170.] In this year is placed the reported voyage of Madoc, a Welsh prince, who, sailing to the west and north from Ireland, landed on an unknown shore. He afterward returned to this new country with ten ships

with the intention of colonizing, but was never again heard of. This voyage rests on very slight authority, but has claimed importance by reason of reports, long believed, of the existence in various parts of America of Welsh-speaking Indian tribes. These reports, like scores of others referring the Americans to European relationships, proved groundless. To say the least, the voyage of Madoc must be considered doubtful. *The most ancient Discouery of the West Indies by Madoc the sonne of Owen Guyneth, Prince of North-wales, in the yeere 1170; taken out of the history of Wales*, in *Hakluyt*, vol. iii. p. 1.

[1246 et seq.] In the middle of the thirteenth century the desire to extend Christianity was encouraged by rumored conversions already made in the dominions of the Mogul, and especially by the report of a powerful Christian monarch, Prester John, who had reigned somewhere in the interior of Asia. This report led to the sending of several priests as missionaries to the far East. Carpini in 1246, and Ascelino in 1254, Italian Franciscans, penetrated to the region now known as Chinese Turkestan. About the same time, 1253 according to Hakluyt, Rubruquis, also a Franciscan, from Brabant, traversed the central Asiatic deserts. He was the first to present a definite idea of the position of Tartary and Cathay. A notice of his travels was given in the writings of Roger Bacon in 1267. Toward the end of this century Odorico, of the same order, visited Persia, India, and finally China, remaining three years in Peking. *Viaggio del Beato Frate Odorico di Porto Maggiore del Friuli fatto nell' Anno MCCCXVIII* (half a century later than above), in *Ramusio*, tom. ii., fol. 254. See also *Hakluyt's Voy.*, vol. i. pp. 21–117; vol. ii. pp. 39, 53; *Navarrete, Col. Viages*, tom. i. pp. ix. x.

[1250–95.] Nicolo and Maffio Polo, Venetian brothers, left Venice in 1250 on a trading trip north-eastward. Passing north of the Caspian Sea, they spent three years at Bokhara, and afterward in 1265, proceeded to the court of Kublai Khan at Kemenfu in Chinese Tartary, whence they returned in 1269, intrusted with a mission to the Pope. In 1271 they again set out, taking with them Marco, son of Nicolo. They revisited the Tartar court, where they spent seventeen years, and returned by sea down the Chinese and Indian coasts to Ormuz in Persia and thence overland to Constantinople, reaching Venice in 1295. Marco seems to have been a great favorite at the eastern court, where he was intrusted with missions in all directions. By means of his own travels and by reports of the natives from all sections whom he met, he gained an extensive knowledge of China and adjoining countries, including the numerous islands of the coast, chief among which was Zipangu, or Japan. From his memoranda, he afterwards wrote in prison, a full account of his eastern travels, which was copied and widely circulated in manuscript. See *Hakluyt Society, Divers Voyages*, Introd., p. lii., London, 1850, for an account of printed editions of Polo's work. Its authenticity and general reliability are now admitted, though doubtless errors have been multiplied by copyists. This journey of Marco Polo was by far the most important, for revising geography, of any undertaken during the middle ages. From this time the coasts of Asia were laid down on maps and described with tolerable accuracy by cosmographers. *De i Viaggi di Messer Marco Polo, Gentil 'hwomo Venetiano*, in *Ramusio*, tom. ii. fol. 2–60;

Marco Polo de Veniesia de le meravegliose cose del mondo, Venice, 1496; *Marci Pauli veneti de regionibus orientalibus libri tres*, Cologne, 1671.

The Venetians were the most enterprising navigators of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. They reached England at an early date,—*Estancelin, Recherches*, pp. 114–16, Paris, 1832 —and not improbably extended their commercial operations still farther north, Iceland being at the time a flourishing republic with Catholic bishops. *Kohl's Hist. Discov.*, pp. 92–4. No details however are preserved of any particular one of these voyages, nor of such as may have been directed toward Cape Non, the southern limit of oceanic navigation. Some time during this century a Moor, Ibn Fatimah, was driven by storms from Cape Non down past Cape Blanco, and his adventure was recorded in an Arabian geography.

[1291.] Doria and Vivaldi, Genoese, undertook a voyage down the African coast with a view of reaching India, and were last heard of at a place called Gozora. On this voyage, which rests on several authorities, has been founded a claim that the Italians preceded the Portuguese in passing Cape Bojador. Major, *Prince Henry*, pp. 99–110, concludes from an examination of all the documents that there are no grounds for this claim, although admitting the voyage and its purpose, in fact everything but its success. Gozora was probably Cape Non. Kohl regards this expedition as uncertain. One of the documents gives the date as 1281; from which circumstance Kohl and Humboldt erroneously make of it two voyages. D'Avesac, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*, 1845, tom. cviii. p. 45, has the date 1285. Muñoz, *Hist. Nuevo Mundo*, pp. 30–1, speaks of Genoese expeditions and the rediscovery of the Canaries during this century.

[1306.] On a map made by the Venetian Sanuto in 1306, Africa is represented as surrounded by the sea, but there is no evidence that the geography of that region is derived from any actual observations. The map simply shows one of the two theories then held respecting the shape of southern Africa.

[1332 et seq.] Sir John Mandeville, an English physician, between 1332 and 1366, travelled in eastern parts, including the Holy Land, India, and China. On his return he wrote in three languages an account of his adventures, with descriptions of the countries visited. See *Hakluyt Soc., Divers Voy.*, Introd. p. xliii. His work corroborates that of Marco Polo, and although full of exaggerations, and probably tampered with by copyists in respect to adventures and anecdotes, "yet," says Irving, "his accounts of the countries which he visited have been found far more veracious than had been imagined." *Purchas, His Pilgrimes*, vol. iii. pp. 128–38; *Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, London, 1725.

[1341 et seq.] As we have seen, the Canaries were known to the ancients, and made by Ptolemy the western limit of the world; but subsequently they were nearly forgotten until rediscovered and visited, perhaps several times, toward the middle of the fourteenth century, by the Portuguese. There is a definite account of one of these voyages. Two vessels were sent there by the King of Portugal in 1341, and nearly all the islands of the group visited, but no settlement was made. Before this, Luis de la Cerda represented to the Pope the existence of such islands, and received by a bull of

1344 the lordship of them, with the title of Prince of Fortune. The king of Portugal claimed in 1345 to have sent out previous expeditions to the islands. The project of Cerda proved a failure and no colony was founded. Voyages to the Canaries became quite frequent before the end of the century. *Galvano, Discoveries*, London, 1862; and in *Collection of Curious Voyages*, London, 1812, p. 10; *Muñoz, Hist. Nuevo Mundo*, pp. 30–1; *Kunstmann, Entdeckung Am.*, pp. 1–4. Major, *Prince Henry*, pp. 139–45, dates the bull 1334.

[1346.] In August, 1346, Jaime Ferrer, a Catalan navigator, sailed from Majorca in the Mediterranean to search down the African coast for the Rujaura, or River of Gold, and never was heard from. This is proved by a document in the Genoese archives, and by an inscription on a Catalan map of 1375. Major shows this to have been an expedition in search of an unknown or imaginary river of gold, whose supposed existence rested on ancient traditions that a branch of the Nile flowed into the Atlantic, and which belief was strengthened by the gold brought from Guinea by the Arabs. Humboldt understands this Rujaura to have been the Rio d'Ouro below Cape Bojador, an inlet named later by the Portuguese; and he also states that Ferrer actually reached that point; but of this there seems to be no evidence.

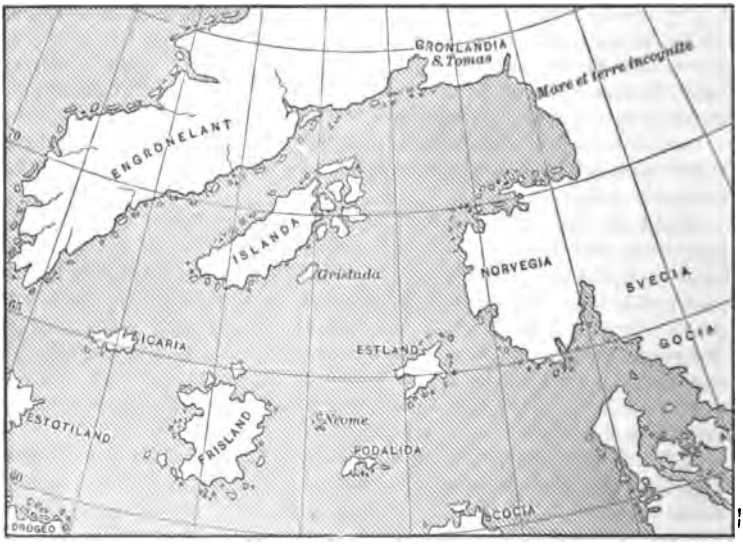
[1351 et seq.] The Azores appear to have been discovered by the Portuguese early in this half century, appearing on a map of 1351. There is however no account of the voyage by which this discovery was made, although there is a tradition of a Greek who was there cast away in 1370. On a Genoese map of the same date the Madeira group is shown, having probably been discovered by Portuguese ships under Genoese captains early in the fourteenth century.

[1364.] By Villault de Bellefond, *Relation des costes d'Afrique*, Paris, 1669, it is stated that the Dieppese in 1364 made a voyage round Cape Verde, and far beyond, establishing trading-posts, which were repeatedly visited in the following years. On this account, repeated by many writers—*Estancelin, Recherches*, p. 72; *Humboldt, Exam. Crit.*, tom. i. p. 285—is founded the French claim of having preceded the Portuguese in passing Cape Bojador and occupying the gold coast. Major, *Prince Henry*, pp. 117–33, maintains by strong proofs that this voyage rests on no good authority, and that the French occupation of that coast is of much later date.

[1380.] Nicolo Zeno, a Venetian, sailing northward for England, was driven in a storm still farther north, and landed on some islands in possession of the Northmen, which he named Friesland, but which are supposed to have been the Faroe group. Kindly received by the people, he sent to Venice for his brother, and both spent there the rest of their lives, making frequent excursions to neighboring islands, and gaining a knowledge of other more distant lands known to the Northmen, including two countries called Drogeo and Estotiland, lying to the southward of Greenland, which countries the Frieslanders claimed once to have visited. Nicolo died in 1395, and Antonio in 1404, after writing an account of their adventures, which, with a chart, he sent to a third brother, Carlo. The manuscript was preserved by the family and first published under the title *Dei Commentarii del viaggio in Persia, etc.*, Venezia, 1558. After passing the ordeal of criticism the work is generally accepted as a faithful report of actual occurrences, though embellished, like

all writings of the time, with fable. *Dello Scoprimento dell' Isola Frislanda Estlanda, en Grovelanda, et Icaria*, in *Ramusio*, tom. ii. fol. 230–4; *Hakluyt's Voy.*, vol. iii. pp. 121–8; *Bos, Leben der See-Helden*, pp. 523–7; *Cancellieri, Notizie di Colombo*, pp. 48–9; *Lelewel, Géog. du moyen âge*, tom. iii. pp. 74 et seq. Irving, however, *Columbus*, vol. iii. pp. 435–40, sees in this voyage only another of "the fables circulated shortly after the discovery of Columbus, to arrogate to other nations and individuals the credit of the achievement," while Zahrtmann, *Remarks on the Voy. to the Northern Hemisphere, ascribed to the Zeni of Venice*, in *Journal of the Geog. Soc.*, vol. v. pp. 102–28, London, 1835, claims that the whole account is a fable.

The chart by the brothers Zeni, published with the manuscript, is of great importance as the first known map which shows any part of America. It contains internal evidences of its own authenticity, one of which is that Greenland is much better drawn than could have been done from other or extraneous sources even in 1558. I give from Kohl's fac-simile a copy of the map, omitting a few of the names.



ZENO'S CHART, DRAWN ABOUT 1390.

There can be little doubt that the countries marked Estotiland, Drogeo, and Icaria—possibly Nova Scotia, New England, and Newfoundland—owe their position on this chart to the actual knowledge of America, obtained either by a fishing-vessel wrecked there, as stated by the Zeni, or from a tradition preserved since the time of the Northmen. The lines of latitude and longitude were not on the original manuscript chart, but were added by the editors in 1558. *Lelewel, Géog. du moyen âge*, tom. iii. pp. 79–101, Bruxelles, 1852; *Kohl's Hist. Discov.*, pp. 97–106.

At an unknown date, probably near the end of the thirteenth century, Robert Machin, an Englishman, eloped with a lady in his own vessel from Bristol. He steered for France, but was driven by a tempest to the island of Madeira, where both died. Some of the crew escaped to the African coast, where they were taken prisoners, but afterward were redeemed by the Spaniards, to whom one of them related the discovery of Madeira, his account leading to its rediscovery. Major concludes, "that henceforth the story of this accidental discovery of Madeira by Machin must be accepted as a reality," but the date cannot be fixed. That of 1344 often assigned to the voyage results from a misreading of Galvano. Beside *Galvano, Discov.*, pp. 58–9, see *Purchas, His Pilgrimes*, vol. ii. p. 1672; *The Voyage of Macham, an English man, wherein he first of any man discovered the Iland of Madera*, in *Hakluyt*, vol. ii. pt. ii. p. 1; *Curious and Ent. Voy.*, p. 13; *Major's Prince Henry*, p. 67; *Kunstmann, Entdeckung Am.*, p. 4.

[1402.] At the beginning of the fifteenth century, Jean de Betancourt with a company of Norman adventurers conquered Lanzarote, one of the Canary Islands. He afterward became tributary to the crown of Castile, and by the aid of the Spanish government obtained possession of other islands of the group, establishing there a permanent colony. *Muñoz, Hist. del Nuevo Mundo*, pp. 30–33; *Peter Martyr*, dec. i. cap. i., gives the date 1405; *Galvano, Discov.*, p. 60; *Kunstmann, Entdeckung Am.*, p. 6; *Pinkerton's Col. Voy.*, vol. xvi. pp. 808–15.

We enter now a new epoch in maritime discovery. Hitherto, if we exclude the voyages of the Northmen, there had been no attempt worthy the name of systematic ocean exploration. In the words of Major, "the pathways of the human race had been the mountain, the river, and the plain, the strait, the lake, the inland sea," but now a road is open through the trackless ocean, "a road replete with danger, but abundant in promise." Portugal, guided by the genius of Prince Henry the Navigator, was the first to shake off the lethargy which had so long rested on Europe. For some time past the Portuguese had been gradually eclipsing the Italians in maritime enterprise; but not until a prince leaves the pleasures of youth for the perils of the sea, throwing his life into the cause with all the ardor of a devotee, does ocean navigation become anything more than private commercial speculation, with now and then some slight aid from governments. True, others had undertaken the voyage round Africa, but Portugal was perhaps the first to make it. As D'Avesac remarks, *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, 1846, tom. cx. p. 161: "Les Portugais ne s'y engagèrent point les premiers; mais seuls ils y persévérèrent, et les premiers ils atteignirent le but." Born in the year 1394, at a time when under his father, John, Portugal was already casting wistful glances over the Sea of Darkness, Prince Henry devoted his early life to geographical studies and his later life to discovery. Leaving the pomp and luxury of his father's court, he removed to the coast of Algarve, and from the dreary headland of Sagres let fly his imagination along the unknown shores of Africa. Drawing to him such young noblemen as were willing to share his labors, he established a school of navigation, giving special care to the study of cartography and mathematics. The geographical position of his native land was to the

Portuguese, in regard to oceanic adventure, not unlike that of the Italians in regard to Mediterranean navigation. Several causes united to inspire this prince with so noble an ambition. He desired to promote geographical science; to test the theories and traditions of the day; to know the truth concerning the disputed question of the form and extent of southern Africa; to turn the flow of riches, the gold and spices and slaves of India, from Italy into his own country. Nor was this last stimulant lessened by the fact that of late, by reason of Mahometan encroachments on Christian dominions, the old avenues of eastern traffic *via* the Caspian Sea and Persian Gulf, or by the Red Sea and caravans across the deserts, were yearly becoming more insecure, and this too at a time when the taste for eastern luxuries was constantly increasing. Yet other incentives were Christian rivalry and Christian zeal. Spain had carried the cross to the Canaries; rumors kept coming in of Prester John and his Christian kingdom, now supposed to be in Africa instead of in Asia. Prince Henry moreover was grand master of the Order of Christ, and it behooved him to be stirring. *Navarrete, Col. de Viages*, tom. i. p. xxvi.; *Muñoz, Hist. Nuevo Mundo*, pp. 33–4.

[1415.] Prince Henry began his voyages along the coast of Africa about the year 1415, at which time João de Trasto was sent with vessels to the Canaries. It was Henry's custom to despatch an expedition almost every year, endeavoring each time to advance upon the last, and so finally attain the end of the mystery—whereat the nobles grumbled not a little about useless expense. Obviously progress southward at this rate was very slow, and many years elapsed before Cape Bojador was passed and unknown seas were entered. *Major's Prince Henry*, pp. 64–65.

[1416–28.] Meanwhile Pedro, Henry's brother, travelled extensively, journeying through the Holy Land, visiting Rome, Babylon, and even England. Fortunately he found at Venice a copy of Marco Polo's work, and brought it home to Prince Henry. *Galvano's Discov.*, pp. 66–7; *Kunstmann, Entdeckung Am.*, pp. 11, 12.

[1418.] Gonzalez and Vaz, who were sent this year by Prince Henry on the regular annual expedition, were driven from their course and rediscovered Porto Santo. *Galvano, Discov.*, pp. 62–4; *Kunstmann, Entdeckung Am.*, pp. 11, 12; *Curious and Ent. Voy.*, pp. 14, 15.

[1419.] Nicolo di Conti, Venetian, spent twenty-five years in India, Mangi, and Java, returning in 1444, and confirming many of Polo's statements. *Discorso sopra il Viaggio di Nicolo di Conti Venetiano*, in *Ramusio*, tom. i. fol. 373. Twice in 1419, if we may credit Navarrete, *Col. de Viages*, tom. i. p. xxvi., did Prince Henry's ships pass seventy leagues beyond Cape Non.

[1420.] Gonzalez again embarks from Portugal intending to plant a colony, and guided by one Morales, a survivor of Machin's voyage, rediscovered Madeira. *Navarrete, Col. de Viages*, tom. i. pp. xxvi–vii.; *Major's Prince Henry*, pp. 73–7; *Kunstmann, Entdeckung Am.*, p. 13; *Galvano's Discov.*, pp. 63–4; *Aa, Naaukeurige Versameling*, tom. i. pt. ii. p. 16. On a certain map dated 1459 is a cape supposed to be Good Hope, with the statement that in 1420 an Indian junk had passed that point from the east; but for this no authority is given.

1431.] The Formigas and Santa María islands of the Azore group were this year discovered by Cabral. Kunstmann, *Entdeckung Am.*, p. 15, makes the date August 15, 1432. For details of the discovery and settlement of all the eastern Atlantic islands, see *idem*, pp. 1–25.

[1434–6.] Gil Eannes, after an unsuccessful attempt in the preceding year, succeeded in 1434 in doubling Cape Bojador for the first time. Muñoz, *Hist. Nuevo Mundo*, p. 34, makes the date 1433, and Navarrete, *Col. de Viages*, tom. i. p. xxvii., 1423. In 1435 Eannes with Baldaya passed fifty leagues beyond the cape, and in 1436 Baldaya advanced to a point fifty leagues beyond the inlet since known as Rio d'Ouro.

[1441–8.] For several years after the successful doubling of Cape Bojador, no new attempt of importance is recorded, but in 1441 the voyages were renewed, and in the next eight years the exploration was pushed one hundred leagues below Cape Verde. Prior to 1446 fifty-one vessels had traded on the African coast, nearly one thousand slaves had been taken to Portugal, and the discoveries in the Azores had been greatly extended. By these explorations Prince Henry had exploded the theory of a burning zone impassable to man, and of stormy seas impeding all navigation; his belief that Africa might be circumnavigated was confirmed; and he had obtained from the pope a grant to the crown of Portugal of lands he might discover beyond Cape Bojador to the Indies inclusive.

[1455–6.] According to Ramusio, *Viaggi*, tom. i. p. 105, Alvise Cadamosto, a Venetian, the first of his countrymen as he claims to sail down the new coast, made a voyage for Prince Henry to the Gambia River below Cape Verde. This expedition derives its importance not from the limit reached, where others had preceded him, but from his numerous landing points, careful observations, and the detailed account published by the voyager himself in *La Prima Navigazione, etc.*, Vicenza, 1507; also in *Ramusio, Viaggi*, tom. i. pp. 104–15. This explorer touched at Porto Santo, Madeira, the Canaries, Cape Blanco, Senegal, Budomel, Cape Verde, and the Gambia River.

[1457.] Cadamosto claims, *La seconda navigazione*, in *Ramusio, Viaggi*, tom. i. pp. 116–20, to have made a second voyage, during which he discovered the Cape Verde Islands; but Major, *Prince Henry*, pp. 278–88, shows that such a voyage was not made in that year, if at all.

[1460.] Diogo Gomez discovered the Cape Verde Islands, and their colonization was effected during the following years. Major, *Prince Henry*, pp. 288–99, publishes the original account for the first time in English. Prince Henry died in November of this year. *Major's Prince Henry*, p. 303; *Kunstmann, Entdeckung Am.*, p. 19. Irving, *Columbus*, vol. i. p. 30, fixes this date 1473; and Galvano, *Discov.*, p. 14, says 1463.

[1461.] The spirit of discovery and the thirst for African gold and slaves had become too strong to receive more than a temporary check in the death of its chief promoter. In the year following Prince Henry's death a fort was built on the African coast to protect the already extensive trade, and in 1461 or 1462 Pedro de Cintra reached a point in nearly 5° north, being over six hundred miles below the limit of Cadamosto's voyage. *La Nauigation del Capitan Pietro di Sintra Portoghese, scritta per Meser Aluise da ca da Mosto*, in *Ramusio*, tom. i. fol. 119.

[1469–89.] In 1469 Fernam Gomez rented the African trade from the king of Portugal for a term of five years, and during that time pushed his explorations under Santarem and Escobar to Cape St Catherine in 2° south, first crossing the equator in 1471. Under João II., who succeeded Alfonso V. in 1481, the traffic continued, and in 1489 Diogo Cam reached a point in 22°, over two hundred leagues below the Congo River, planting there a cross which is said to be yet standing. Martin Behaim, the mathematician and cosmographer, accompanied Cam on this voyage, and an error or interpolation in *Schedel, Registrum, etc.*, Nuremberg, 1493, gave rise to the unfounded report that they sailed west and discovered America. *Humboldt, Exam. Crit.*, tom. i. pp. 257, 283, 292, 309; *Major's Prince Henry*, pp. 325–38; *Navarrete, Col. de Viages*, tom. i. p. xl.; *Harrisse, Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, p. 40; *Galvano's Discov.*, pp. 74–6; *Otto*, in *Am. Phil. Soc.*, vol. ii., 1786.

We enter now the Columbian epoch proper, to which, as we have seen, the enterprises of Prince Henry and the Portuguese were precursory. About 1484, Christopher Columbus having proposed a new scheme of reaching India by sailing west, the king of Portugal surreptitiously sent a vessel to test his theory, which, after searching unsuccessfully for land westward, returned to the Cape Verde Islands. *Muñoz, Hist. Nuevo Mundo*, pp. 53–4 et al. Columbus had resided in Portugal since 1470, and had made several trips in Portuguese ships down the African coast, in the course of which he is supposed to have first conceived his new project. Indignant at the conduct of the Portuguese king, Columbus left for Spain. *Colon, Hist. del Almirante*, in *Barcia, Hist. Prim.*, tom. i. pp. 9–10; translation in *Pinkerton's Col. Voy.*, vol. xii. pp. 1–16; and in *Kerr's Col. Voy.*, vol. iii. pp. 1–242.

In 1486 Bartolomeu Dias sailed round Cape Good Hope and continued his voyage to Great Fish River on the south-east coast, from which point he was compelled to return on account of the murmurs of his men. The cape, now for the first time doubled by Europeans, was seen and named by him on his return. In 1487 King João sent two priests, Covilham and Payva, to travel in the East, in the hope of gathering more definite information respecting Prester John and his famous Christian kingdom. Prester John they did not find, but Covilham in his wanderings reached Sofala on the east coast of Africa in about 20° south latitude, being the first of his countrymen to sail on the Indian Ocean. At Sofala he learned the practicability of the voyage which Dias had actually accomplished a little before, and a message to that effect was immediately sent to the king. *Major's Prince Henry*, pp. 339–42; *Navarrete, Col. de Viages*, tom. i. p. xl–i; *Humboldt, Exam. Crit.*, tom. i. pp. 230 et seq.; *Galvano's Discov.*, pp. 77–8.

From this time to the great discovery of 1492, few expeditions remain to be mentioned. It must not be forgotten, however, that by this time trading voyages were of ordinary occurrence all along the eastern Atlantic coast and its adjoining islands from Scandinavia to Guinea. A lively commerce was carried on throughout this century between Bristol and Iceland, and in the words of Kunstmann, substantiated by older authorities, "a bull of Nicolas IV. to the bishops of Iceland, proves that the pope in 1448 was intimately acquainted with matters in Greenland." It seems in-

credible that during all this intercourse with northern lands, no knowledge of America was gained by southern maritime nations, yet so far as we know there exists no proof of such knowledge.

[1476.] John of Kolno, or Szkolny, is reported to have made a voyage in the service of the king of Denmark in 1476, and to have touched on the coast of Labrador. The report rests on the authority of Wytfliet, *Descriptionis Ptolemaicæ augmentum*, Lavanii, 1598, fol. 188, supported by a single sentence, "Tambien han ydo alla hombres de Noruega con el Piloto Iuan Scolno," in *Gomara, Hist. Gen. de las Indias*, Anvers, 1554, cap. xxxvii. fol. 31; by a similar sentence in *Herrera, Hist. Gen.*, Madrid, 1601, dec. i. lib. vi. cap. xvi., in which the name is changed to Juan Seduco; and by the inscription, *Jac Scolvus Groetland*, on a country west of Greenland on a map made by Michael Lok in 1582, fac-simile in *Hakluyt Soc., Divers Voy.*, p. 55. According to Kohl, *Hist. Discov.*, pp. 114–15, this voyage is considered apocryphal by Danish and Norwegian writers. Lelewel, *Géog. du moyen âge*, p. 106, regards the voyage as authentic, and Kunstmann, *Entdeckung Am.*, pp. 45–8, attaches to it great importance as the source of all the voyages to the north which followed. Humboldt, *Exam. Crit.*, tom. ii. pp. 152–4, gives but little attention to the voyage, and confesses his inability to decide on its merits: "Je ne puis hasarder aucun jugement sur cette assertion de Wytfliet."

[1477.] In this year Columbus, whom we first find with the Portuguese traders on the African coast, sailed northward, probably with an English merchantman from Bristol, to a point one hundred leagues beyond Thule, in 73° north. *Colon, Hist. del Almirante* in *Barcia*, tom. i. p. 4; *Muñoz, Hist. Nuevo Mundo*, pp. 43–7; *Humboldt, Exam. Crit.*, tom. i. p. 272. He probably visited Iceland, although he gives the latitude incorrectly, taking it very likely from ancient geography rather than his own observations.

[1482.] According to Kunstmann, the edition of Ptolemy this year, *Ptolomæi Cosmographia*, Ulmæ, 1482, lib. viii., contains a map that includes Greenland, and must have been compiled from northern sources.

[1488.] Desmarquets, *Mémoires Chronologiques, etc.*, Dieppe, 1785, tom. i. pp. 92–8, states that one Cousin sailed from Dieppe early in 1488, stood off further from land than other voyagers had done, and after two months reached an unknown land and a great river, which he named the Maragnon. Was this the Marañon in South America? He then sailed south-eastward and discovered the southern point of Africa, returning to Dieppe in 1489. The discovery was kept secret, but Cousin made a second voyage round the cape and succeeded in reaching India. Major, besides pointing out some inconsistencies in this account, shows that M. Desmarquets "could commit himself to assertions of great moment which are demonstrably false." He is not good authority for so remarkable a discovery not elsewhere recorded.

Before striking out with Columbus in his bold venture to the west, let us sum up what we have learned thus far and see where we stand. First, the geographical knowledge of the ancients was restricted to a parallelogram extending north-west and south-east from the Atlantic to the Indian ocean, comprising one hundred and twenty degrees east and west by fifty degrees

north and south; circumscribe this knowledge with legendary stories and hypothetical and traditional beliefs concerning the regions beyond; then add a true theory of the earth's sphericity, though mistaken as to its size. This is all they knew, and this knowledge they committed to the Dark Age, during which time it was preserved, and, indeed, little by little enlarged, as we have seen. During the latter part of the fifteenth century, particularly, a powerful impulse had been given to discovery, especially toward the south; so that now the limits of the ancients were moved eastward at least forty degrees, to the eastern coasts and islands of Asia, chiefly by the travels of Marco Polo and Sir John Mandeville. Toward the south, the true form of Africa had been ascertained, and its coasts had been explored by the Portuguese, except a space of about fifteen degrees on the south-west. Northward the old limit had been advanced but slightly, but within this limit much information had been gained by actual navigation about regions only vaguely described by Ptolemy. Westward, in what was still a Sea of Darkness, great discoveries had been made by the Northmen, but their results were now practically lost; while toward the south, several important groups of islands had been added to the known world. See map on page 73, where the regions added during this period are lightly shaded. And now, within the old bound the world is much better known than at the beginning of the period, and many minor geographical errors of the ancients have been corrected by the Crusaders, and others who attempted on a smaller scale to extend the Catholic faith, as well as by commercial travellers in distant lands. Again, by the influx of Mahometans into Europe during five or six centuries, eastern luxuries had been introduced to an extent hitherto unknown, and had in fact become necessities in Christian courts, thus making the India trade the great field of commercial enterprise even by the tedious and uncertain overland routes where middle-men absorbed the profits, and rendering the opening of other and easier routes an object of primary importance. The almost exclusive possession of trade *via* the old routes by the Italians, furnished an additional motive to other European nations for explorations by sea. The art of printing, recently invented, facilitated the diffusion of learning, so that it was impossible for the world ever again to lapse into the old intellectual darkness. The astrolabe, the foundation of the modern quadrant, had been adapted by a meeting of cosmographers in Portugal to the observation of latitudes by the sun's altitude, and thus the chief obstacle to long sea-voyages was removed. The polarity of the magnet had long been known, but the practical adaptation of the magnetic needle to purposes of navigation occurred about the beginning of the fourteenth century. The mariner's compass, however, only attained its highest purpose toward the close of the fifteenth century, when the Sea of Darkness was traversed. But before this, the greatest impediments to ocean navigation had been overcome by voyages actually made through the aid of the new inventions. Beside the coasts brought to light by these voyages, they had done much to dispel the old superstitions of burning zones, impassable capes, and unnavigable seas.

We have seen that, as a result either of the poetic fancy or of the actual discovery of the ancients, various islands were traditionally located in the Atlantic. Most of them undoubtedly owed their existence to the natural

tendency of man to people unknown seas with fabulous lands and beings. "Il est si naturel à l'homme de rêver quelque chose au-delà de l'horizon visible," observes Humboldt. For a full account of the history and location of these islands, "dont la position est encore plus variable que le nom," and the important part played by them in ancient and middle-age geography, see *Humboldt, Exam. Crit.*, tom. ii. pp. 156–245, and *Kunstmann, Entdeckung Am.*, pp. 6 et seq., and 35–37. In the fifteenth century, with the revival of maritime enterprise, came a renewal and multiplication of the old fables. Monastic scholars, by their continued study of the old writers, by their attempts to reconcile ancient geography with fabulous events in the lives of the saints, and by their inevitable tendency to exaggeration, had contributed largely to their preservation. Still, throughout the preceding period, the belief in the existence of such islands had been vague and hypothetical; but when the actual existence of numerous islands in the western ocean was proved, and the Canary, Madeira, Azore, and Cape Verde groups were discovered and explored, the old ideas were naturally revived and confirmed, and with them rose a desire to rediscover all that had been known to the ancient voyagers. The reported wonders of the fabulous isles, having on them great and rich cities, were confidently sought in each newly found land, and not appearing in any of them, the islands themselves were successively located farther and farther to the west, out in the mysterious sea, to be surely brought to light by future explorations.

And of a truth, this wondrous western empire was subsequently brought to light; peoples and cities were found, but beyond the limits within which the wildest dreams of their discoverers had ever placed them. On this foundation not a few speculators build a theory that America was known to the ancients. The chief of the hypothetical isles were San Brandan, Antilia, and the Island of the Seven Cities; their existence was firmly believed in, and they were definitely located on maps of the period. San Brandan is said to have been visited by the saint whose name it bears in the sixth century. It was at first located far north and west of Ireland, but gradually moved southward until at the time of Columbus' first voyage it is found nearly in the latitude of Cape Verde. To the inflamed imagination mirage is solid earth, or sea, or a beautiful city; an island which was long supposed to be visible from Madeira and the Canaries had something to do with the location of this island of the saint, and of the others.

Antilia, and the Island of Seven Cities, according to Behaim's map, are identical. See page 93 this volume; also a reputed letter of Toscanelli, about the existence of which Humboldt thinks there may be some doubt. The only tangible point in the traditionary history is the migration of seven bishops, driven from the Peninsula by the Moorish invasion in the eighth century, who took refuge there and built the Seven Cities. The history and location of this Island of the Seven Cities in the fifteenth century are similar to those of San Brandan Island. Galvano says a Portuguese ship was there in 1447. Brazil, Bracie, or Berzil, was another of these wandering isles, whose name has been preserved and applied to a rock west of Ireland, to one of the Azore islands, and to a country in South America. This name has been the theme of much discussion, which, so far as I know, leads to no

result beyond the fact that the name of a valuable dye-wood known to the ancients was afterward applied to lands known or conjectured to produce such woods. *Humboldt, Exam. Crit.*, tom. ii. pp. 214–45; *Kunstmann, Entdeckung Am.*, pp. 7–10, and 35 et seq. Kunstmann attaches greater geographical importance to the fabulous isles than Humboldt, connecting them in a manner apparently not quite clear to himself with the previous discoveries of the Northmen. Thus stood facts and fancies concerning the geography of the world, when the greatest of discoverers arose and achieved the greatest of discoveries.

Although in the chapters following I speak more at length of the deeds of the Genoese and his companions, yet in order to complete this Summary it is necessary to mention them here. I shall attempt no discussion concerning the country, family, date of birth, or early life of Christopher Columbus. For the differences of opinion on these points, with numerous references, see *Harrisse, Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, New York, 1866, p. 2 et seq. Born somewhere in Italy, probably Genoa, about 1435, he received something more than a rudimentary education, went to sea at the early age of fourteen, and in 1470, which is about the date of his coming to Portugal, had already an extensive experience in the navigation of the Mediterranean, and was skilled in the theory as well as the practice of his profession. We have already seen him with the Portuguese on the African coast, and with the English in Iceland. In fact, before his first voyage westward in 1492, he was practically acquainted with all waters then navigated by Europeans.

The promptings which urged forward this navigator to the execution of his great enterprise may be stated as follows: The success of the Portuguese in long voyages down the African coast suggested to his mind, soon after 1470, that if they could sail so far south, another might sail west with the same facility and perhaps profit. Says his son: "Estando en Portugal, empeçó á congeturar, que del mismo modo que los Portugueses navegaron tan lejos al Mediodia, podria navegarse la buelta de Occidente, i hallar tierra en aquel viage." *Colon, Hist. del Almirante*, in *Barcia*, tom. i. p. 4; edition of Venetia, 1709, pp. 22–3; *Humboldt, Exam. Crit.*, tom. i. p. 12; *Navarrete, Col. de Viages*, tom. i. p. lxxix; *Herrera, Hist. Gen.*, dec. i. lib. i. cap. 1–7. His ardent imagination once seized with this idea, every nook and corner of geographical knowledge was searched for evidence to support his theory. By intercourse with other navigators he learned that at different times and places along the western coasts of Europe and Africa, objects apparently from unknown western lands had been washed ashore, suppositionally by the wind, really by the Gulf Stream or other oceanic currents. *Humboldt, Exam. Crit.*, tom. ii. p. 249. Though well aware of existing rumors of islands seen at different times in the western ocean, it was not upon these, if any such there were, that he built his greatest anticipations of success. In the writings of the ancients he found another stimulant. Filled with fervent piety and superstitious credulity, he pored over every cosmographical work upon which he could lay his hands, as well the compilations of antiquated notions, such as the *Imago Mundi* of Pierre D'Ailly, or the more modern travels of Marco Polo and

Sir John Mandeville. *Colon, Hist. del Almirante*, in *Barcia*, tom. i. p. 4 et seq.; *Major's Prince Henry*, pp. 349, 352; *Humboldt, Exam. Crit.*, tom. i. pp. 46, 60; *Kunstmann, Entdeckung Am.*, pp. 74–6.

The result of these studies was a complete acquaintance with the geographical knowledge of the day, with the greater part of what I have thus far epitomized, the doings of the Northmen excepted. From all this he knew of the earth's sphericity; he believed that the larger part of the world's surface was dry land; that the land known to Ptolemy extended over at least 180 degrees, or half the circumference of the globe, that is, from the Canaries to the Ganges; he knew that by later travels the eastern limit of geographical knowledge had been moved much farther east, even to Cathay; he believed that far out in the ocean lay the island of Zipangu; he knew that some eight or ten degrees had been added on the west by the discovery of the Azores; he believed that at most only one third of the circumference remained to be navigated; that this space might naturally contain some islands available as way stations in the voyage; that the explorations in the East were very indefinite, and consequently Asia might, and probably did, extend farther east than was supposed; that Ptolemy's figures were not undisputed—Marino making the distance from the Canaries to the Ganges 225 degrees instead of 180, while another geographer, Alfragano, by actual measurement, made each degree about one sixth smaller than Ptolemy, thus reducing the size of the earth, and with it the remaining distance to India; that several ancient writers—see quotations from Aristotle, Strabo, Seneca, et al., in *Humboldt, Exam. Crit.*, tom. i. pp. 38, 61, 98 et seq.—had pronounced the distance to India very short, and had affirmed that it might be navigated in a few days; and finally that other scholars, as Toscanelli, had arrived at the same conclusions as himself, possibly before himself. *Cartas de Pablo Toscanelli, Físico Florentin, á Cristobal Colon y al Canónigo Portugues Fernando Martinez, sobre el descubrimiento de las Indias*, in *Navarrete*, tom. ii. pp. 1–4; *Muñoz, Hist. Nuevo Mundo*, pp. 48–9. See also, on Columbus' motives, *Irving's Columbus*, vol. i. pp. 42–51, and vol. ii. p. 148; *Muñoz, Hist. Nuevo Mundo*, pp. 45–7; *Humboldt, Exam. Crit.*, tom. ii. pp. 324–9; *Stevens' Notes*, p. 28; *Major's Prince Henry*, pp. 347–52; *Kunstmann, Entdeckung Am.*, p. 74. Many of these conclusions were erroneous, being founded on an incorrect idea of longitude; but this reduction of the earth's size was an error most fortunate for discovery, inasmuch as with a correct idea of the distance to be traversed, and with no suspicion of an intervening continent, such an expedition as that of the Genoese would not have been undertaken at the time.

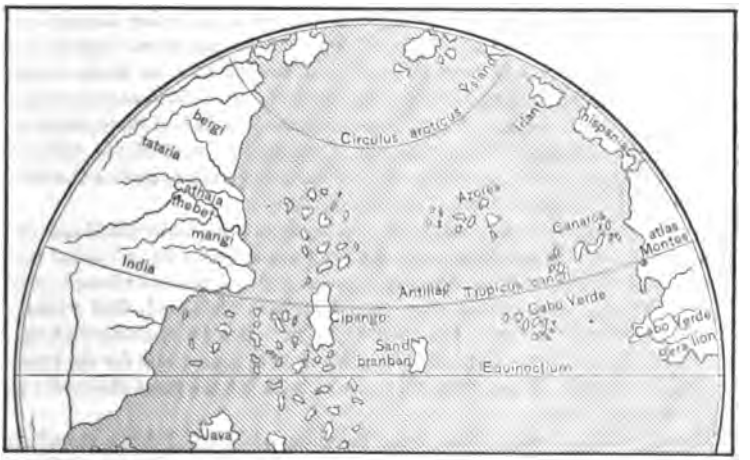
Such were the ideas and aspirations of Columbus before his undertakings; later in life a theologic mysticism took possession of his mind, and his success was simply a fulfillment of divine prophecy in which cosmographical realities went for nothing. See *Cartas de Don Cristobal Colon*, in *Navarrete*, tom. i. p. 330.

All attempts to diminish the glory of Columbus' achievement by proving a previous discovery whose results were known to him have signally failed. The reports of mysterious maps which have been claimed to have prompted his enterprise evidently amount to nothing in view of the fact that Columbus never suspected the existence of any new countries, yet that he saw maps

of the world, including the Asiatic coasts, can not be doubted. The case of the pilot Sanchez, said to have died in the house of Columbus, and to have told him of lands he had seen toward the west, if true, is likewise of little moment as touching the honor due to Columbus, for many men were confident of having seen such lands from the Canaries and other islands, and several voyages had been made in search of them, all of which was certainly known to Columbus. The story of Sanchez was started by Oviedo, who gives no authority or date for the event; it was repeated generally with disapproval by other historians, until revived by Garcillasso de la Vega with date and details; but his date, 1484, is ten years after Columbus is known to have proposed his scheme to the Portuguese government. Columbus originated no new theory respecting the earth's form or size, though a popular idea has always prevailed, notwithstanding the statements of the best writers to the contrary, that he is entitled to the glory of the theory as well as to that of the execution of the project. He was not in advance of his age, entertained no new theories, believed no more than did Prince Henry, his predecessor, or Toscanelli, his contemporary; nor was he the first to conceive the possibility of reaching the east by sailing west. He was however the first to act in accordance with existing beliefs. The Northmen in their voyages had entertained no ideas of a New World, or of an Asia to the west. To knowledge of theoretical geography, Columbus added the skill of a practical navigator, and the iron will to overcome obstacles. He sailed west, reached Asia as he believed, and proved old theories correct.

There seem to be two undecided points in that matter, neither of which can ever be settled. First, did his experience in the Portuguese voyages, the perusal of some old author, or a hint from one of the few men acquainted with old traditions, first suggest to Columbus his project? In the absence of sustaining proof, the statement of the son Fernando that the father should be credited with the reconception of the great idea, goes for little. Second, to what extent did his voyage to the north influence his plan? There is no evidence, but a strong probability, that he heard in that voyage of the existence of land in the west. It is hardly possible that no tradition of Markland and Vinland remained in Iceland, when but little more than a hundred years had passed since the last ship had returned from those countries, and when many persons must have been living who had been in Greenland. If such traditions did exist, Columbus certainly must have made himself acquainted with them. Still his visit to the north was in 1477, several years after the first formation of his plan, and any information gained at the time could only have been confirmatory rather than suggestive. Both Humboldt and Kunstmann think that even if he ever heard of the discoveries of the Northmen—which is thought probable by the latter—this knowledge would not have agreed with, nor encouraged, his plans. Kohl, *Hist. Discov.*, pp. 115–20, believes that such a knowledge would have been the strongest possible confirmation of his idea of the nearness of Asia and Europe, in which opinion I concur. The idea of Draper, *Hist. Int. Develop.*, p. 446, that had Columbus known of the northern discoveries he would have steered farther to the north, seems of no weight, since he sought not the northern but the southern parts of India.

What Columbus had to contend with at this juncture was not, as I have said, old doctrines oppugnant to any new conception, but the ignorance of the masses, who held no doctrine beyond that of proximate sense, which spread out the earth's surface, so far as their dull conceptions could reach, in one universal flatness; and the knowledge of courts, whence alone the great discoverer could hope for support, was but little in advance of that of the people. Then the Church, with its usual firmness and conservatism, was against him. The monks, who were then the guardians of learning, knew, or might have known, all that Prince Henry, Columbus, and other earnest searchers had ascertained regarding the geography of the earth; but what were science and facts to them if they in any wise conflicted with the preconceived notions of the Fathers, or with Church dogmas? "Il est vrai," says Humboldt, "que les scrupules théologiques de Lactance, de St. Chrysostôme et de quelques autres Pères de l'Église, contribuèrent à



MARTIN BEHAIM'S GLOBE, 1492.

pousser l'esprit humain dans un mouvement rétrograde." And again, the African expeditions of the Portuguese had not on the whole been profitable or encouraging to other similar undertakings, and the financial condition of most European courts was not such as to warrant new expenses. Portugal, more advanced and in better condition to embark in new enterprises than any other nation, now regarded the opening of her route to India *via* the Cape of Good Hope an accomplished fact, and therefore looked coldly on any new venture. Nor were the extravagant demands of Columbus with respect to titles and authority over the new regions of Asia which he hoped to find, likely to inspire monarchs, jealous of their dignities, with favor toward a penniless, untitled adventurer. Passing as well the successive disappointments of Columbus in his weary efforts to obtain the assistance necessary to the accomplishment of his project, as his final success with Queen Isabella of Castile, let us resume our chronological summary.

[1492.] Shortly before the sailing of Columbus, the learned astronomer Martin Behaim, of Nuremberg, constructed a globe showing the whole surface of the earth as understood by the best geographers of the time. This globe has been preserved, and I present a fac-simile of the American hemisphere published in *Ghillany, Geschichte des Seefahrers Ritter Martin Behaim*, Nürnberg, 1853. The entire globe may be seen in *Jomard, Les Monuments de la Géographie*, no. xv., Paris, 1854. A section of the globe is given by Irving, *Columbus*, vol. i. p. 53 (see also *Id.*, p. 135), by *London Geog. Soc. Journal*, 1848, vol. xviii. p. 76; and a copy from Ghillany, with some of the names omitted, may be found in *Kohl's Hist. Discov.*, p. 147, map no. iv.

The chart by which the voyage of Columbus was made is supposed to have been a copy of Behaim's Globe, which indeed may be regarded as the exponent of geographical conceptions, those of Columbus as well as those of the learned men and practical navigators of the day. By an inscription on the original, the Asiatic coast is known to have been laid down from Marco Polo, and to the islands of Antilia and San Brandan are joined other inscriptions giving their history as I have before indicated. Sailing from Palos on the 3d of August, 1492, with one hundred and twenty men in three vessels commanded by himself and the two brothers Pinzon, Columbus was at last fairly launched on the Sea of Darkness. After a detention of three weeks at the Canaries, he sailed thence the 6th of September; marked, not without alarm, the variation of the needle on the 30th of September; and on the 12th of October discovered San Salvador, or Cat Island.

So far all was well; all was as the bold navigator had anticipated; all accorded with current opinions, his own among the number; he had sailed certain days, had accomplished a certain distance, and had reached triumphantly one of the numerous islands mentioned by Marco Polo, and, God willing, would soon find the larger island of Zipangu. Alas for mathematical calculations, for that other third of the earth's circumference; alas for the intervening continent and broad Pacific sea, which baffled the great discoverer to the day of his death!

Passing over the cruise through the Bahamas, or Marco Polo's archipelago of seven thousand islands, in which the discoverers touched successively at Concepcion, Exuma (Fernandina), and Isla Larga (Isabela), we find Columbus sailing from the last-mentioned island on the 24th of October for Zipangu, with the intention of proceeding thence to the main-land, and presenting his credentials to the great Khan.

Touching at the Mucaras group, Columbus arrived at Zipangu, which was none other than the island of Cuba, on the 28th of October, and gave to the island, in place of its barbarous appellation, the more Christian name of Juana. Cruising along the northern shore of Cuba, in frequent converse with the natives, he soon learned that this was not Zipangu, was not even an island, but was the veritable Asiatic continent itself, for so his fervid mind interpreted the strange language of this people. Unfortunately he could not find the Khan; after diligent search he could find no great city, nor any imperial court, nor other display of oriental opulence such as were described by Marco Polo and Sir John Mandeville —only naked barbarians and thatched huts; so after advancing west beyond Savana la

Mar, the discoverers returned to the eastern end of Cuba, visiting on the way the group El Jardin del Rey. Postponing the exploration of the coast toward the south-west, Columbus returned eastward and followed the northern coast of Española, turning off on his way to discover the Tortugas, and arriving at La Navidad, where he built a fort and left a colony of thirty-nine men. Now, Española, and not Cuba as he had at first supposed, was the true Zipangu; for the main-land of China could not by any possibility be the island of Japan; and in this belief Columbus sailed for Spain on the 16th of January, reaching the Azores on the 18th of February, and arriving at Palos the 15th of March, 1493. *Primer viage de Colon*, in *Navarrete*, tom. i. pp. 1–197; *Purchas, His Pilgrimes*, vol. i. booke ii. pp. 10–13; *Sammlung aller Reisebeschreibungen*, tom. xiii. p. 10; *Napione* and *De Conti, Biografia Colombo*, pp. 305–36; *Peter Martyr*, dec. i. cap. i.; *Oviedo, Hist. Gen.*, tom. i. pp. 21–31, 46–55; *Colon, Hist. del Almirante*, in *Barcia*, tom. i. pp. 13–38; *Irving's Columbus*, vol. i. pp. 124–289; vol. iii. pp. 447–68; *Major's Prince Henry*, pp. 356–7; *West-Indische Spieghel*, p. 10; *Cancellieri, Notizie di Colombo*, pp. 66–76.

[1493.] Just before reaching the Azores, Columbus wrote on shipboard two letters describing his voyage, one under date of the 15th of February, and the other of the 14th of March. The manuscript of one, with copies printed in Spain probably during this same year, are yet preserved. Of the other, both the original manuscript and Spanish copies, if any were printed, are lost; but of a Latin translation, six editions are extant, supposed to have been printed in 1493, in France and in Italy, under the title *Epistola Christofori Colom*, or *De Insulis Inventis*, etc. A poetical paraphrase of the same letter appeared the same year as *Dati Questa e la Hystoria*, etc., Florence, 1493, and four other works of this year contain slight allusions to Columbus. Seven or eight editions of Columbus' letters appeared in different forms during the next forty years. Both letters may be found with Spanish translations in the first volume of Navarrete's collection. For the bibliographical notices of this sketch I have depended chiefly on Harrisse, *Bib. Am. Vet.*, as the latest and most complete essay on early American books, notwithstanding the few blunders that have subjected it to so much ridicule. I shall not consider it necessary to repeat the reference with each notice, as Harrisse's work is arranged chronologically.

As soon as Columbus had explained to Ferdinand and Isabella the nature of his important discovery, the Spanish sovereigns applied to the Pope for the same grants and privileges respecting lands discovered, and to be discovered, in the west, that had before been granted the Portuguese in the south and east. His Holiness, accepting the Spanish statements that the concessions demanded did not in any way conflict with previous grants to the Portuguese, by bull of May 2, 1493, ceded to Spain all lands which might be discovered by her west of a line drawn from pole to pole, one hundred leagues west of the Azores; the Portuguese to have all new lands east of the same line. It is obvious that his Holiness fixed this line arbitrarily, without a thought of the position or importance of the corresponding meridian at the antipodes. This opposite meridian, according to the idea of longitude entertained at the time, would fall in the vicinity of India proper; and the Portuguese, besides their natural jealousy of this new success of Spain, feared that

the western hemisphere thus given to her rival might include portions of their Indian grants. Hence arose much trouble in the few following years between the two courts. See *infra*.

Amidst the enthusiasm following his success Columbus had no difficulty in fitting out another expedition. Embarking from Cádiz September 25, 1493, with seventeen vessels and over 1,200 men, among whom were Alonso de Ojeda and Juan de la Cosa, *el almirante*, or the admiral, as Columbus was now called, touched at the Canaries, discovered Dominica the 3d of November, and Guadalupe a few days later; thence sailing north-west through the Caribbean Archipelago, he occasionally landed and gave names to islands. Resting two days at Puerto Rico, he reached the coast of Española on the 22d of November, and on the 27th anchored off the port of Navidad. The settlement established at this place in the previous voyage had totally disappeared; the colonists as is supposed falling victims to internal dissensions and general excesses. A new city called Isabela was then founded at another port of this island, and Ojeda was sent inland to explore the country. After a short absence he returned, reporting the country rich in gold. On the second of February, 1494, twelve vessels, with specimens of the people and products of the country, were despatched for Spain under Antonio de Torres. By this departure was also sent a request for immediate supplies. Recovering from a serious illness, Columbus checked a revolt among his people on the 24th of April, built a fort in the interior, and then sailed to explore the main coast of Asia—as he supposed, but in truth Cuba—south-westward from the point where he left it on his first voyage. Following the south coast of Cuba the admiral at length reached the vicinity of Philipina, or Cortés Bay, where the shore bends to the southward. This to him seemed conclusive proof that it was indeed the main-land of Asia which he was coasting. The statements of the natives who said that Cuba was in fact an island, but that it was so large that no one had ever reached its western extremity, confirmed him in his belief—since one might question the knowledge of a boundary which no one had ever reached and from which no one had ever come. The theory of the age was thus made good, and that was sufficient; so Columbus brought all his crew, officers and men, before the notary, and made them swear that the island of Cuba was the continent of Asia—an act significant of methods of conversion in those days. He even proposed to continue the voyage along the coast to the Red Sea, and thence home by way of the Mediterranean, or, better still, round the Cape of Good Hope, to meet and surprise the Portuguese; but his companions thought the supplies insufficient for so long a voyage, and the admiral was persuaded to postpone the attempt.

Returning therefore to Española, on the way back Columbus discovered and partially explored Jamaica, Isla de Pinos, and the small islands scattered to the southward of Cuba, arriving at Isabela on the 4th of September. There he found matters in a bad way. The colony, comprising a motley crew of lawless adventurers, ever ready to attribute success to themselves and ill-fortune to their governor, trumped up numerous complaints which caused the admiral no little trouble. Margarite, to whom had been given a command for an expedition inland, had revolted and sailed with several ships for Spain.

Open war had been declared with the natives, and the colonists were hard pressed; but the admiral's presence and Ojeda's impetuous bravery soon secured order. Meanwhile two arrivals inspired the colonists with fresh courage; that of Bartolomé Colon, brother of the admiral, with three ships, and that of Torres, with four vessels laden with supplies. With the gold that had been accumulated, and specimens of fruits and plants, and five hundred natives as slaves, Torres was sent back to Spain, accompanied by Diego Colon, whose mission was to defend his brother's interests at court. The pacification of the natives was then completed, and heavy taxes were imposed upon them. In October, 1495, arrived Juan de Aguado, sent by the king to ascertain the facts concerning charges against the admiral. This man, in place of executing his commission fairly, only stirred up the accusers of Columbus to greater enmity—which quality of justice well accorded with the temper of his master Ferdinand. On account of these troubles, as well as from the discovery of a new gold mine, which proved beyond question that Española was the ancient Ophir of King Solomon, Columbus decided to return to Spain. So leaving his brother, Bartolomé, in command as *adelantado*, or lieutenant-governor, he sailed with Aguado, on the 10th of March, in two caravels, carrying 225 Spaniards and thirty natives. Touching at Marigalante, and Guadalupe, he arrived at Cádiz June 11, 1496. *Segundo Viage de Cristobal Colon*, in *Navarrete*, tom. i. pp. 198–241; *Colon, Hist. del Almirante*, in *Barcia*, tom. i. pp. 42–73; *Peter Martyr*, dec. i. cap. 2–4; *Oviedo, Hist. Gen.*, tom. i. pp. 31–5; *Napione* and *De Conti, Biografia Colombo*, pp. 331–50; *Irving's Columbus*, vol. i. pp. 338–497; vol. ii. pp. 1–87; *Major's Prince Henry*, p. 358; *Humboldt's Exam. Crit.*, tom. iv. p. 217; *Cancellieri, Notizie di Colombo*, pp. 93–9. The letters which Columbus sent to Spain by Torres in February, 1494, if ever printed, are lost; but in *Syllacio, ad Sapiëtissimū ....de insulis*, etc., Pavia, 1494 or 1495, appeared certain letters from Spain to the author of this work, describing the second voyage of Columbus.

[1494.] Thus during the absence of Columbus on his second voyage we have seen the ocean route between Spain and Española six times navigated; first, by the fleet of twelve vessels sent back to Spain by the admiral under Antonio de Torres; second, by Bartolomé Colon, who followed his brother to Española with three ships; third, by Margarite, who revolted and left Española during the absence of Columbus in Cuba; fourth, by Torres in command of four vessels from Spain with supplies for the colony; fifth, by the return of the same four ships to Spain with gold and slaves; and sixth, by Juan de Aguado with four ships from Spain in August, 1495.

With the division of the world by Pope Alexander VI., Portugal was not satisfied. The world was thought to be not so large then as now, and one half of it was not enough for so small a kingdom which had boasted so great a navigator as Prince Henry. It was not their own side, but the other side, that troubled the Portuguese, fearing as they did that the opposite meridian threw into Spain's half a part or the whole of India. So Spain and Portugal fell to quarrelling over this partition by his Holiness; and the matter was referred to a commission, and finally settled by the treaty of Tordesillas in June, 1494, which moved the line 270 leagues farther west. About the location of

this line of demarcation, and its effect on Brazil, and the Moluccas, much has been written, though little has been said as to the motive that prompted Portugal in making this change. The fact is, that at a time when the Spice Islands were but vaguely known, and the existence of Brazil not even suspected, it is impossible to conceive why Portugal desired to change the partition line from 100 leagues to 370 leagues west of the Azores; for the change could only diminish the possessions of Portugal in India by 270 leagues, as in truth it did, including the Moluccas in the loss, and gaining in return 270 leagues of open Atlantic sea! True, there proved to be an accidental gain of a part of Brazil, but there could have been no idea at the time that this partition line cut through any eastern portion of lands discovered by Columbus to the west. In whatever light we imagine them to have regarded it, there is still an unexplained mystery. The Pacific ocean was unknown; between the discoveries of Spain and Portugal, so far as known, all was land—India. By carrying the partition line westward, Portugal may have thought to find some western land; at all events, it is generally believed that the effect of the partition in the antipodes was not well considered; that the only point in question was the right of making discoveries in the western ocean, and that the treaty of Tordesillas was decided in favor of Spain—Portugal being forced to yield the main point, but insisting on the change of partition in order to give her more sea-room. On the other hand it may be claimed that the antipodes, of which they knew so little, were the avowed object of all the expeditions sent out by both parties. See the original bull and treaty in *Navarrete, Col. de Viages*, tom. ii. pp. 28, 130; also *Prescott's Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. ii. pp. 173–83; *Calvo, Recueil Complet des Traités*, Paris, 1862, tom. i. pp. 1–36; *Purchas, His Pilgrimes*, vol. i. booke ii. pp. 13–15; *Curious and Ent. Voy.*, p. 20; *Cancellieri, Notizie di Colombo*, p. 183.

Italy, and especially Venice, as we have seen, was the first of the European states to display in any marked degree in mediæval times that commercial spirit so early and so well developed in the Phœnicians. Portugal caught the flame under John the Great, 1385–1433, and led the van of a more daring discovery and exploration by conquests on the north-west coast of Africa. Simultaneously Prince Henry was sending expeditions farther down the western coast of Africa, and among the islands of the Atlantic. His country reaped the reward in 1486, when the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope opened her a way by sea to Hindostan, and to the commerce of the Orient, and gave at the same time the death-blow to Venetian ascendancy in that market.

But Spain, as chance would have it, did not lag far behind her sister kingdom. The fact of the great navigators, Columbus and Vespucci, being Italians, and yet having to seek assistance of Spain, sufficiently indicates in what direction the swing of maritime power was tending. The astronomical schools of Córdova, Seville, and Granada had well prepared Spain for the application of astronomy to navigation, and the long internal wars had bred those bold and enduring spirits who alone are fitted to conduct with success great enterprises of certain danger and uncertain result.

It is claimed by some that John and Sebastian Cabot made their first voy-

age and discovered Newfoundland in 1494. The claim rests on a statement of the Spanish ambassador to England in a letter dated July 25, 1498, to the effect that during the past seven years several vessels had been sent each year from Bristol in search of Brasil and the Islands of the Seven Cities, and on an inscription on Sebastian Cabot's map of 1544, which states that land was first discovered by the Cabots on June 24, 1494. *D'Avesac, Letter on the Voyages of John and Sebastian Cabot*, in *Kohl*, pp. 506–7. But other authors consider the map—even if made by Cabot, which is extremely doubtful—insufficient authority to prove such a voyage.

[1495.] At the solicitation of the brothers Pinzon and other navigators, a license was granted April 10, 1495, permitting any native-born Spaniard to make private voyages for trade and discovery from Cádiz to the Western India; such expeditions to be under the inspection of government, one of whose officials was to accompany each vessel to ensure the payment to the crown of one tenth of the profit of the voyage. For this document in full, see *Navarrete, Col. de Viages*, tom. ii. p. 165. See also *Humboldt, Exam. Crit.*, tom. i. pp. 356 et seq. Whether any one actually took advantage of this license before its repeal—which was on June 2, 1497, at the instigation of Columbus—is a disputed point of some importance in connection with certain doubtful expeditions to be considered hereafter.

[1496.] Pedro Alonso Niño sailed from Cádiz June 17, 1496, just after the return of Columbus, in command of three vessels laden with supplies for the colony at Española.

[1497.] Amerigo Vespucci, a Florentine navigator, claims to have set sail from Cádiz with four vessels in the service of the king of Spain on the tenth, or twentieth, of May, 1497. In what capacity he accompanied the expedition, or who was its commander, he does not state, but says that he was chosen by the king to go with the expedition. "Me ad talia investiganda in ipsam societatem elegit." Sailing south-south-west to the Canaries, 280 leagues from Lisbon, he remained there eight days, and then sailed west-one-quarter-south-west 1,000 leagues in twenty-seven, or thirty-seven, days, to a point on the main-land in 16° north and 75° west of the Canaries—that is to say, on the coast of Central America near Cape Gracias á Dios. This must have been about the 1st of July, some days perhaps after Cabot's landing farther north, which was the 24th of June. The Spaniards went ashore in boats, but the natives were too timid to trade; so that continuing their voyage for two days north-west in sight of the flat coast, they reached a more secure anchorage, established friendly relations with the people, and found some traces of gold. The ships then followed the coast for several days, to a port where was found a village built over the water like Venice, and there fought with the natives (of Tabasco?); sailed eighty leagues along the coast to a region of many rivers (Pánuco?), where they were kindly received by people of a different language, and made a journey of eighteen leagues inland, visiting many towns. This province was called by the inhabitants Lariab, and is situated in the torrid zone, near the tropic of Cancer, in 23° north. Again they started, pursued a north-west course and frequently anchored, sailing thus 870 leagues, until after thirteen

months, that is to say in June, 1498, they reached "the best harbor in the world" (port of Cape Cañaveral?), in 28° 30′, where they resolved to repair their ships for the return voyage. There they remained thirty-seven days, and when about to depart, the natives complained of certain cannibals who came each year from an island 100 leagues distant to attack them. The Spaniards, in return for their kindness, promised to avenge their wrongs. Accordingly they sailed north-east and east to a group of islands, some of which were inhabited (Bermudas?); landing at one of them called Ity, they defeated the cannibals, and made 250 prisoners, with a loss of one man killed and twenty-two wounded. Returning, they arrived at Cádiz October 15, 1499, with 222 prisoners, who were sold as slaves. The above is the account given by Vespucci in a letter written in 1504, according to the edition adopted as authentic and original by Varnhagen, *Le premier Voyage de Amerigo Vespucci*, who believes that Vicente Yañez Pinzon and Juan Diaz de Solis were the commanders. This voyage is not generally regarded as authentic; and a long and complicated discussion has arisen on the question whether the account given is to be regarded as true, as wholly a fabrication, or as belonging to a subsequent voyage and accidentally or intentionally dated back two years. As this voyage, if actually made as claimed by M. Varnhagen, would be the first to touch the territory which I denominate the Pacific States, I find it necessary to give in this place the leading points in the discussion. In what may be called the standard authorities on American discovery, such as Navarrete, Humboldt, and others, is found fully presented the question of the authenticity of Vespucci's voyage, always, however, under the supposition that the land claimed to have been visited was the coast of Paria. The theory of M. Varnhagen, that that region must be sought in North America, reopens the question and introduces some new features which cannot be passed by unnoticed in this connection. Without entering upon the somewhat complicated bibliography of Vespucci's narrations, or taking up the question of his claims in the matter of naming America, I shall attempt to state briefly, and as clearly as I am able, the arguments for and against the authenticity of a voyage, in which perhaps is involved the question of the first post-Scandinavian discovery of the North American continent.

Besides Vespucci's own statement, in a letter written in 1504, no contemporary document has been found which mentions such an expedition, though most diligent search for such documents has been made in the Spanish archives by partisans and opponents of the Florentine's claim. This absence of confirmatory documents is the more noticeable as the expedition was made under royal patronage. In another and previously written letter describing his second voyage in 1499, Vespucci not only makes no mention of this voyage, but even excuses his long silence by saying that nothing had occurred worth relating. True, a short letter of one Vianello, dated 1506, published by Humboldt, mentions a voyage to which no date is given, made by Vespucci in company with Juan de la Cosa. M. Varnhagen supposes this to have been the voyage in question, and a large river discovered at the time to have been the Mississippi; but, beside the fact that there is no reason for attributing the date of 1497 rather than any other to this voyage, Vianello's letter,

with two others, published by Harrisse, indicates a much later date for the expedition with Juan de la Cosa.

Moreover, not only is there a want of original records, but contemporary historians are silent respecting this expedition; the first mention by later writers being a denial of its authenticity when it was thought to conflict with the admiral's claims as discoverer of the continent. Yet, on the supposition of a voyage to the North American coast, there are some passages in the historians Peter Martyr, Oviedo, Gomara, and Herrera, which point more or less definitely to an exploration of the gulf of Honduras before 1502. Peter Martyr, dec. i. cap. vi., writing before 1508, says that many claim to have sailed round Cuba; and later, dec. i. cap. x., he mentions a report that Pinzon and Solis had explored the coast of Honduras, giving, however, no dates. Oviedo, *Hist. Gen.*, tom. ii. p. 140, says positively that the gulf of Honduras was discovered not by Columbus, but by Pinzon and Solis, and that before the former discovered the Amazon, or the latter the Rio de la Plata, that is to say before 1499. Gomara, *Hist. de las Indias*, fol. 63, states that Pinzon and Solis are said by some to have explored the coast of Honduras three years before Columbus, which would make it in 1499. Herrera, *Hist. Gen.*, dec. iv. lib. viii. cap. iii., says that the gulf of Honduras was named Hibueras from the gourds found floating in its waters by the first Spaniards who sailed along the coast. To M. Varnhagen, this it may be random remark of Herrera is proof positive that as Columbus did not enter or name the gulf, he was not the first Spaniard who sailed along the coast. Whatever weight may be attached to these passages from the historians, in proving a voyage to North America previous to that of the admiral, such evidence is manifestly increased by the fact that the date of the voyage attributed to Pinzon and Solis seems to rest entirely on the statement of Herrera, *Hist. Gen.*, dec. i. lib. vi. cap. xvi., who describes the expedition with other events under the date of 1506. Yet in the testimony in the lawsuit hereinafter to be mentioned, it is implied, though not expressly stated, that the voyage was after that of Columbus, since special pains was taken by the king to prove the coast explored by Pinzon to be distinct from that discovered by the admiral. Another point is that in this same testimony the name 'Caria' is given to a place visited during Pinzon's voyage, and for this name Vespucci's 'Lariab' may possibly be a misprint.

Humboldt, *Exam. Crit.*, tom. iv. pp. 59, 267, 272–4, repeatedly states it as an undeniable fact that Vespucci was employed in Spain in fitting out the vessels for the third voyage of Columbus, up to the date of the sailing of the expedition, May 30, 1498, and consequently could not himself have sailed in May or any other month of 1497. He makes this statement on the authority of documents collected by Muñoz. Harrisse, *Bib. Am. Vet.*, p. 57, states, also on the authority of Muñoz, that from April, 1497, to May 30, 1498, Vespucci was "constantly travelling from Seville to San Lúcar." Vespucci is known to have succeeded Juanoto Berardi, who died in December, 1495, in a contract to fit out vessels for the Spanish government, and to have received money on account of that contract on the 12th of January, 1496. Irving, with access to the documents of Muñoz, says that four caravels fitted out by Vespucci sailed February 3, 1496, but were driven back; and he speaks of

no evidence of his presence in Spain in 1497 or 1498. Navarrete, relying on the same Muñoz documents —which consist of extracts from the books of expenses of Indian armadas in the Casa de Contratacion in Seville —gives no date to the sailing and wreck of the four vessels mentioned by Irving, but implies that the event took place before Berardi's death. After speaking of the receipt of money on the 12th of January, 1496, he states that Vespucci "went on attending to everything until the armada was despatched from San Lúcar." *Col. de Viages*, tom. iii. p. 317. He does not state that the fleet thus fitted out was that in which Columbus sailed in 1498. Muñoz in the printed portion of his work is silent on the subject. Varnhagen, *Vespuce et son Premier Voy.*, p. 18, argues that Humboldt had no authority whatever for applying Navarrete's statement respecting the armada despatched from San Lúcar to the admiral's fleet, that statement having probably been his authority, and not the original documents of Muñoz; and that the four vessels whose fitting-out Vespucci personally superintended were much more probably those in which he himself sailed and made the voyage in question. Varnhagen furthermore thinks that the death of Berardi furnished a reasonable motive for the resolution formed by Vespucci to visit the Indies, and a favorable opportunity for carrying out his resolution. If it can be proved that Vespucci was in Spain in 1497 and 1498, of course the question of his claimed voyage admits of no farther discussion; but if Humboldt's only authority be his interpretation of Navarrete's statement, even if the interpretation be not unnatural or improbable, the matter must still be considered doubtful until the original Muñoz documents are produced.

The silence of contemporary documents respecting Vespucci's voyage carries the greater weight from the fact that there are special reasons for the existence of such documents, if the voyage had been actually made. In 1508 a suit was begun by Diego Colon against the Spanish crown for the government of certain territory claimed by virtue of the discovery of Paria by his father, the admiral. The suit continued to 1513, and every effort was made by the crown to prove a previous discovery of the coast in question; hundreds of witnesses were examined, and their testimony has been preserved and published in Navarrete's collection. In this suit Vespucci was not summoned as a witness, although much of the time in royal employ, having held the office of *piloto mayor* from 1508 to his death in 1512. No claim was advanced for his discovery, although the voyage is stated to have been made under royal patronage, and by proving its authenticity the crown would have gained its object. Indeed, Vespucci's name is only mentioned once in all the testimony, and that as having accompanied Alonso de Ojeda in his voyage of 1499. That no one of the many witnesses examined knew of Vespucci's voyage in 1497, if it were a fact, is hardly possible. Not only were the witnesses silent on the Florentine's expedition, but many of them, including Ojeda, affirmed that Paria was first discovered by Columbus, and next afterward by Ojeda himself. Now as Vespucci accompanied Ojeda, the latter would surely have known of any previous discovery by Vespucci, and as Ojeda was not friendly to Columbus he certainly would have made the fact known. Moreover, the admiral's charts and sailing-directions were followed by Ojeda in his voyage, which would hardly have been done with a

skilful pilot like Vespucci on board, and one who had visited the coast before. True, this last point would have little weight if the coast of Paria was not the region visited by Vespucci, while the other points would be little if at all affected by the theory that North America was the coast explored. No other Spanish voyage to the new region was neglected; indeed, to have so completely disregarded Vespucci's expedition, it must be supposed that the king not only knew exactly what region he explored, but had a positive conviction that said region was entirely distinct from Paria; and we have seen that no such definite opinion was held at the time, but on the contrary, special pains was taken to prove that the new regions were "all one coast." When it is considered that Vespucci's voyage, that is the voyage of Pinzon and Solis, was mentioned in the testimony, the failure to summon the piloto mayor appears all the more remarkable. What more efficient witness could have been brought forward? Thus the silence of the testimony in this suit on the question under discussion, must be deemed something more than mere negative proof, as it is termed by M. Varnhagen. This gentleman also notes that only one witness mentions that Vespucci accompanied Ojeda in 1499; but he does not note that the presence of Vespucci on Ojeda's ships was of no importance to either party in the suit, while a previous discovery by him was of the very greatest importance to the crown.

The date of sailing from Cádiz is given by different editions of Vespucci's letter as May 10, and May 20, 1497; and of his return as October 1, 15, and 18, 1499. From these dates two difficulties arise; first, the duration of the voyage is stated in the letter to have been eighteen months, while the period between the dates of sailing and return is twenty-nine months; and again, Vespucci is known to have sailed with Ojeda in May, 1499, that is, five months before he returned from the voyage in question. One way of reconciling the first difficulty is to suppose that the author reckoned time by the Florentine method, then common in familiar correspondence, according to which the year began the 25th of March. Then in case of a very natural misprint in the original of May for March, the voyage really began in 1498, its duration being thus reduced to nineteen months. A more simple method of removing both difficulties is to suppose a misprint of 1499 for 1498 as the date of the return; this would reduce the time to seventeen months. Several later editions have made this change. The edition claimed as original by M. Varnhagen has the date 1499 according to his translation, and strangely enough the editor makes no allusion to it in his notes, although in a former pamphlet he speaks of 1498 as the date of the return. I attach very little weight to discrepancies in dates in this relation except as evidence against any intentional deception on the part of Vespucci. Confusion in dates is common in all relations of the period; and Vespucci's letters were written hastily, not for publication, and merely to interest his correspondents by a description of the marvels he had seen in his New World adventures. It may here be stated that the long and bitterly argued question of the rival claims of Vespucci and Columbus in the matter of naming America has no bearing on the present discussion. There is no evidence that the voyage in question had any influence in fixing the name America; and to pronounce this expedition not authentic has no tendency to weaken Vespucci's reputa-

tion for honesty, which may now be considered fully established; nor do the arguments against intentional falsification on Vespucci's part tend to prove the voyage authentic.

Several coincidences between the narratives of this voyage and that of Ojeda have led many writers to conclude that both describe the same expedition, the dates having been accidentally or intentionally changed. Humboldt, after a careful examination, was convinced that the two voyages were identical. But when we consider that Humboldt, Navarrete, and Irving formed their conclusions without a suspicion of a voyage to North America, and before that question had ever once arisen; that Navarrete severely criticises Vespucci's narrative as applied to Ojeda's voyage; that two of the strongest coincidences—the mention of Paria as the coast visited, and the discovery of a town built over the water like Venice—have no weight in view of the new theory, since the province is called Lariab in the original edition, and that method of building was not uncommon in all the tropical regions of America, it must be admitted that this argument has by itself little force against the authenticity of Vespucci's voyage.

The right granted to private individuals by the Spanish government in April, 1495, to make voyages of discovery at their own expense, subject to certain regulations, was partially revoked in June, 1497, after Vespucci's claimed departure. All authorities agree that during this time such private voyages, or even clandestine expeditions, may have been and probably were made, of which no records have been preserved. It is argued that Vespucci's voyage may have been of this number, although claimed to have been made under royal patronage, and by no means clandestine. It is even suggested that the revocation of the right of private navigation, brought about by the influence of Columbus, was purposely delayed until after Vespucci's departure —all of which proves, if it proves anything, simply that there was nothing to prevent Vespucci from making the voyage.

We have seen how certain statements of the old chroniclers may be taken as indicative of a voyage along the Central American coast previous to that of Columbus. There are also similar indications in some of the early maps. Thus Juan de la Cosa's map representing Cuba as an island in 1500 (see page 115 this volume) might be accounted for by such a voyage as Vespucci claims to have made. It will be seen hereafter that early maps show some slight traces of a knowledge of Florida before its discovery in 1512 (pp. 128–9 this vol.) In the Ruysch map of 1508 (p. 126 this vol.) the eastern coast of what seems to be Cuba is identified by M. Varnhagen with the main-land; in his opinion the inscription at the north point of that coast refers directly to Vespucci's expedition, and 'Cape S. Marci' at the southern point may indicate Vespucci's arrival on Saint Mark's day, especially as his uncle was a priest of the order of St Mark. If this appear somewhat far-fetched, perhaps more weight should be attached to the name 'Cape Doffin de Abril' on the southern point of what may be Florida on the Ptolemy map of 1513 (p. 130 this vol.), for at the end of April Vespucci may, according to his narrative, have been at that point. On this matter of an early voyage it may be noted that Columbus, striking the coast at Guanaja Island in 1502 in search of a passage westward, instead of following westward, as he naturally would have done, at

least to the head of the gulf of Honduras, turned directly east. A knowledge on his part that Vespucci had already explored westward and northward without finding a passage, would account for his actions. But they have already been satisfactorily accounted for by the fact that he simply proposed to sail along the sinuosities of the supposed southern coasts of Asia to India, rather than to penetrate any intervening continent, whose existence he did not suspect.

In addition to the leading arguments for and against the voyage in question, the following minor points are urged:

It is claimed that the command of such an expedition would not have been given to a foreigner, and Vespucci did not become a naturalized citizen of Spain until 1505. But on the other hand, if Vespucci had rendered no other service to Spain than to have accompanied Ojeda, he would hardly have received so many favors from the government, especially after having served four years under the king of Portugal.

Señor Navarrete finds a difficulty in Vespucci's claim to have brought back to Spain 222 slaves in the few small vessels under his command. Vespucci also speaks of Ferdinand as king of Castile, which it was not customary to do until after Isabella's death.

The high opinion held of Vespucci during his life by Columbus and his zealous friends is of little weight, because the admiral's claim to have discovered the supposed Asiatic continent or islands adjacent thereto was undoubted; but the favorable opinions expressed by later writers, especially by Fernando Colon, writing after America was known to be distinct from Asia, tend to prove that the Florentine made in his lifetime no claim to a voyage in 1497. Yet the publication and circulation of his letter in several languages, uncontradicted for years, would indicate its authenticity, unless it be taken as a sign of carelessness for dates and details so long as they were not supposed to conflict with the admiral's claims. It must also be remembered that the same voyager's second, third, and fourth expeditions have all been disputed and have at last proved authentic.

M. Varnhagen applies to Vespucci and his men the well-known tradition related by Sahagun and others of white men who appeared at Pánuco from the east before the coming of the Spaniards. He also supposes Guerrero, the soldier found by Cortés at Cozumel, and believed by other authors to have been a survivor with Aguilar of Valdivia's shipwreck in 1512, to have been left in Yucatan by Vespucci; but he gives no reason for this belief, except that Guerrero had married among the natives, and had adopted many of their customs. By the same writer it is thought much more likely that Cape Gracias á Dios was named by Vespucci after a long voyage in search of land, than by Columbus after following the coast a few days and taking possession; especially as Columbus in his own letter simply mentions his arrival at the cape, the fact of his having given the name coming from other sources.

The events of the voyage, and the description of the coast visited by Vespucci as given in his letter, furnish no evidence whatever for or against the authenticity of the expedition; but if it be admitted from outside evidence that the voyage was actually made, and was distinct from that of Ojeda, while the narrative has nothing except the occurrence of the name Paria in favor

of a South American destination, from it may be gathered the following points in support of the theory that a more northern coast was the one explored. The course sailed from the Canaries, W. ¼ SW.; the time thirty-seven days; the distance 1,000 leagues, taking the distance from Lisbon to the Canaries, 280 leagues, as a scale of measurement; the latitude of the landing 16°, and longitude 75° west of the Canaries; and the arrival by sailing up the coast at a province situated in about 23°, and near the tropic of Cancer, are worthy of consideration, since a series of blunders such as these is hardly probable. The natives of Lariab were of different language from and hostile to the nations passed further south, as the Huastecs of the Pánuco region are known to have been with respect to the Mexicans. Moreover, Lariab has a slight claim to being a Huastec word, since Orozco y Berra gives three names of places in that language containing an *l* and ending in *ab;* but of course this would interfere sadly with the theory that Lariab is a misprint of Caria. Vespucci's description of the natives, criticised by Navarrete as incorrect when applied to the people of Paria, agrees better, as M. Varnhagen thinks, with the aborigines of Honduras. Other parts of Vespucci's vague and rambling descriptions apply well enough to the North American coasts, or in fact to any part of tropical America, north or south.

The application of the narrative to North America is not, however, without its difficulties. Vespucci makes no mention of the Antilles, through which his course must have led him; perhaps not seeing them by reason of fog; or he had instructions not to concern himself with what the admiral had already discovered. He also refers to a larger work, never published, in which details were to be given. Neither does he mention the prominent peninsulas of Yucatan and Florida, nor the lofty mountain peaks which he would naturally have seen in following the Mexican coast. He claims to have sailed north-west from Pánuco 870 leagues (over dry land?) to the best harbor in the world. M. Varnhagen's explanation of this difficulty is that Vespucci simply states incidentally that he left Pánuco "tuttavia verso il Maestrale" still toward the north-west, not intending to include in this course the whole voyage of 870 leagues. All the windings of the coast and the entering and leaving of many ports or rivers must be taken into account to make up a distance of 870 leagues between Pánuco and Cape Cañaveral; and the latter port would hardly be considered the 'best harbor in the world' except by a great stretch of the imagination, or by a navigator little acquainted with good harbors. The archipelago of Ity has generally been supposed to be Hayti, but there is probably no reason for the identity beyond the resemblance of names. The Bermudas when discovered in 1522 were uninhabited, but this does not prove that they were always so; the Spaniards may have returned and captured the people for slaves. Indeed the Bermudas may have been the archipelago of San Bernardo, famous for its fierce Carib population, but generally located off the gulf of Urabá. It may even have been named by Vespucci, for on San Bernardo's day, the 20th of August, he was probably there.

Thus have I given, and let me hope without prejudice, the arguments for and against this disputed voyage; and from the evidence the reader may draw his own conclusions. To me the proofs seem conclusive that Vespucci made no voyage to South America prior to 1499, when he accompanied

Alonso de Ojeda. Against a North American expedition the evidence, if less conclusive, is still very strong; since the most that can be claimed in its favor is a probability that the Central American coast was visited by some navigator before 1502, and a possibility, though certainly a very slim one, that Vespucci accompanied such navigation.

On this voyage see *Navigationum Alberici Vesputii Epitome*, in *Grynæus, Novus Orbis*, pp. 122, 155; *Varnhagen, Le Premier Voyage de Vespucci;* Id., *Vespuce et son Prem. Voy.;* also in *Société Géog., Bulletin*, Jan. and Feb., 1858; *Harrisse, Bib. Am. Vet.*, pp. 58–68, and *Additions*, pp. xxvii–viii.; *Lester and Foster's Life of Vespucius*, pp. 93–139; *Leben der See-Helden*, p. 24; *Navarrete, Col. de Viages*, tom. iii. pp. 183–241, 291–3, 309–34; *Irving's Columbus*, vol. iii. pp. 395–418; *Humboldt, Exam. Crit.*, tom. iv. v.; *Major's Prince Henry*, pp. 370–5; *Kerr's Col. Voy.*, vol. iii. p. 342; *Eerste Zee-Togt van Alonso D'Ojeda, en Amerikus Vesputius*, in *Gottfried, Reysen*, tom. iii. p. 38; *Cancellieri, Notizie di Colombo*, pp. 41–7, 257.

[1497.] To continue our chronological summary. Following the brilliant success of Spain, England was the first nation to attempt discovery to the westward. Fully acquainted with the achievements and hypotheses of Columbus, having been indeed almost persuaded by him to embrace his beliefs, King Henry VII. on the 5th of March, 1496, granted a license to John Cabot, a Venetian citizen and trader of Bristol, to attempt discoveries in that direction.

Either from respect for Portuguese and Spanish rights in the south, or from some vague hints received from the Northmen during their trading voyages to Iceland, or possibly from a dim idea of the advantages of great-circle sailing, the English determined to attempt reaching India by a northern route. This expedition of Cabot's, with perhaps several vessels, sailed from Bristol probably in May, 1497; discovered land the 24th of June on the coast of Labrador between 56° and 58°; sailed some 300 leagues in a direction not known, but probably northward; and one vessel, the *Matthew*, returned to Bristol in August of the same year. No further details of the voyage are known, and those given, which are the conclusions of Humboldt, Kohl, and Stevens, have all been disputed in respect to date, commander, and point of landing. D'Avesac, as we have seen (pp. 98–9), insists on a previous voyage in 1494. Biddle, *Memoir of Sebastian Cabot*, London, 1831, p. 42 et seq., claims that Sebastian Cabot was the commander. Robinson, *Account of Discov. in the West*, Richmond, 1848, pp. 81–93, explains that by a change in the method of reckoning time after 1752, the date should properly read 1498. Many authors moreover confound this voyage with a later one. *Hakluyt's Voy.*, vol. iii. pp. 4–11; *Galvano's Discov.*, pp. 87–9; *Viages Menores*, in *Navarrete*, tom. iii. pp. 40–1. Irving, *Columbus*, vol. ii. p. 316, names but one voyage and regards the accounts as "vague and scanty." See also *Humboldt, Exam. Crit.*, tom. i. pp. 279, 313; *Hakluyt Soc., Divers Voy.*, pp. lxviii., 19–26; *Kohl's Hist. Discov.*, pp. 121–35; *Kunstmann, Entdeckung Am.*, pp. 48–53; *Stevens' Notes*, pp. 17–19; *Pinkerton's Col. Voy.*, vol. xii. p. 158; *Bancroft's Hist. U. S.*, vol. i. p. 13.

The Portuguese, to complete their discovery of the route to India by way

of the Cape of Good Hope, sent out Vasco da Gama with four ships. Sailing from Lisbon July 8, 1497, he doubled the Cape of Good Hope the 22d of November, passed the limit reached by Dias on the 17th of December, received intelligence of Prester John at several points on the eastern coast, and anchored at Calicut May 20, 1498. Trading somewhat, jealous of everybody, after quarrelling with Arabian merchants and failing to make good his arbitrary measures, he thought best to return. Accordingly he set sail the 29th of August, passed the cape March 20, 1499, and reached Lisbon about the end of August. Thus Gama was the first to accomplish the grand object of so many efforts, and to reach India by water. His achievement would doubtless have been regarded as the most glorious on record, both to himself and to Portugal, had not Columbus for Spain reached the same continent, as he supposed, farther east several years before. *Navigatione di Vasco di Gama*, in *Ramusio*, tom. i. fol. 130; *Galvano's Discov.*, pp. 93–4; *Navarrete, Col. de Viages*, tom. i. pp. xli.–ii.; *Major's Prince Henry*, pp. 391–406; *Voyages, Curious and Entertaining*, p. 103; *Leben der See-Helden*, p. 40; *Notizie di Vasquez di Gama*, in *Cancellieri, Notizie*, p. 165.

[1498.] After the return of the Cabots in August, 1497, with the news of having discovered the northern regions of Cathay, King Henry issued a new patent dated February 3, 1498, and, probably in May of the same year, two vessels with 300 men sailed from Bristol under command of Sebastian Cabot. Little is known of the voyage, save that he reached the coast of Labrador, which he followed northward until at a certain point where the coast trends eastward he found much ice even in July. This northern limit is placed by Ramusio at latitude 56°; by Gomara, who states that Cabot himself gives a much higher latitude, at 58°; by Galvano, at above 60°. Kohl follows Humboldt in the opinion that it was 67° 30′, which would place it on the Cumberland peninsula. Cabot then turned southward and sailed as near shore as possible. The southern limit of this voyage is more indefinite than the northern. In a conversation with Peter Martyr, prior to 1515, Cabot stated that he reached the latitude of Gibraltar, and the chronicler adds that he sailed so far west that he had Cuba on his left. Cabot's remark would place him in latitude 36°, near Cape Hatteras, while Martyr's addition might apply to any locality on the east coast. Martyr's statement is the only authority for the supposition by Humboldt and others—see *Exam. Crit.*, tom. i. p. 313, and Preface to Ghillany—that Cabot reached Florida. Stevens, *Notes*, pp. 17–19 and 35, considers Peter Martyr's remark as absurd, since it would place Cabot near Cincinnati. He is satisfied that the southern limit was the gulf of St Lawrence, founding this belief on maps of 1500 (see p. 115 this vol.) and 1508 (p. 126 this vol.), 1514, and 1544, the latter said to have been made by Cabot himself. That Cabot did not reach the southern coast of the United States seems proved by the fact that he was in Spain from 1513 to 1524, holding high positions, including that of piloto mayor, while that coast was actually being explored, and he making no claim to a previous discovery. The point reached, therefore, must remain undetermined between Cape Hatteras, where Kohl fixes it, and the gulf of St Lawrence, with a strong probability, as I think, in favor of the latter. Nothing whatever is known of the route or date of Cabot's return. And it is to be remembered that concerning this voyage we have only one contemporary document, which is a letter dated

in 1498, stating simply that the expedition was still absent. All additional details are from accounts written after the geography of the New World was better known in consequence of the discovery of the South Sea. Nothing, then, can be proved by Cabot's voyages beyond the discovery of the continent in June, 1497, and the exploration of the coast from the gulf of St Lawrence to above 60° in 1498. The statement of Asher, *Life of Henry Hudson*, London, 1860, that Cabot "was the first to recognize that a new and unknown continent was lying as one vast barrier between western Europe and eastern Asia," accepted also by Kohl, *Hist. Discov.*, p. 145, appears to me utterly without foundation. Cabot's complaint that a new-found land—that is a land further north and east than any part of Asia described by Polo—was a barrier to his reaching India, and the fact that on a map made as late as 1544, and doubtfully attributed to him, a separate continent is shown, seem weak authority for according him so important a discovery, especially when other voyagers and geographers, intimate with him and fully acquainted with his discoveries, continued for many years to join those discoveries to the Asiatic continent. See, beside references on page 107, *Peter Martyr*, dec. iii. cap. vi.; *Gomara, Hist. Ind.*, fol. 31, 115; *Robertson's Hist. Amer.*, book ix.; *American Antiq. Soc., Transact.*, 1865, p. 25 et seq.; *Kohl's Hist. Discov.*, pp. 135–46, 481; *Stevens' Notes*, pp. 35, 52; *Kunstmann, Entdeckung Am.*, pp. 53–4.

Returned from his second voyage, Columbus found his popularity waning, and with it the enthusiasm for new discoveries. The voyage had not been profitable, had not been fruitful enough in gold to satisfy the adventurers who accompanied him, and the ghastly faces of the mariners more than counteracted the effect of the specimens of native products exhibited. It was difficult, therefore, to obtain men for a new enterprise. Still, notwithstanding the reports of his numerous enemies, the admiral was considerately treated at court, and finally, by the efforts of the queen, six vessels were made ready, and Columbus embarked from San Lúcar on a third voyage May 30, 1498. This time he determined to steer farther to the south than before, in order to reach, as he supposed, the richer parts of Asia. After touching at Madeira, Porto Santo, and the Canaries, he divided his fleet, sent three vessels direct to Española, and with the other three reached the Cape Verde Islands the 27th of June. Thence he sailed first south-west and west through the region of tropical calms, and then northward to Trinidad Island, where he arrived the 31st of July. Coasting the island on the south, in sight of the main-land, he entered the gulf of Paria, landed, and found much gold of an inferior quality, and an abundance of pearls; from which circumstance, that land, which was the northern end of South America, was for some time thereafter known as the Pearl Coast. Passing out by the Boca del Drago on the 14th of August, he followed the northern coast of Paria to the island of Cubagua, beginning to suspect meanwhile that the land on his left was the main-land of Asia. Ill health and the state of his supplies did not permit him to satisfy himself on that point at the time, and consequently he turned his course north-west for Española. On the 30th of August he arrived at the mouth of the river Ozema, where he met his brother Bartolomé, who informed him of the internal discords and external wars of the colonists.

Francisco Roldan had refused to submit to the admiral's authority, and on the 18th of October five ships were despatched for Spain with news of the rebellion. By this departure Columbus sent letters and charts describing this Pearl Coast, as his present South American discoveries which yielded so many gems were called. During the whole year following, peace was maintained among the colonists only by the most humiliating concessions of Columbus to Roldan and his crew. On the 5th of September, 1499, Alonso de Ojeda arrived at Española from the Pearl Coast, whither he had been to take advantage of the discoveries and misfortunes of the admiral.

Vessels laden with complaints by and against Columbus were despatched for Spain in October; needy, ambitious courtiers held King Ferdinand's willing ear against him; from his persistent advocacy of Indian slave-traffic the friendship of his patron, Queen Isabella, grew cold; and in July, 1500, Francisco de Bobadilla was sent to Española with powers to investigate. Arrived at Santo Domingo August 23, the commissioner assumed at once authority, which at most was his right only after careful and conscientious inquiry, seized Columbus and his brother, and in October sent them in irons to Spain. *Colon, Hist. del Almirante,* in *Barcia,* tom. i. pp. 74–99; *Peter Martyr,* dec. i. cap. vi.–vii.; *Tercer Viage de Cristobal Colon,* in *Navarrete,* tom. i. pp. 242–76; *Napione* and *De Conti, Biografia di Colombo,* pp. 350–75; *Cancellieri, Notizie di Colombo,* pp. 99–108, where is given Columbus' letter received in Spain in December, 1498, but apparently not printed at the time.

During this third voyage, while about the gulf of Paria, new visions of the earth's form filled the mind of the great navigator, inflamed as it was by illness and anxiety. The world was indeed for the most part spherical, as had been supposed, but in this great central region on the equator he believed the surface to rise gradually to a great height, making the earth pear-shape with the terrestrial paradise, or birth-place of man, on its apex, the waters and islands visited by him being on the borders of this elevated portion. It is not necessary to enumerate the natural phenomena, scientific writings, and scripture texts with which he confirmed his theory. In his distracted enthusiasm he leaves us somewhat uncertain as to his idea of the situation of this new region with respect to India proper and those parts of Asia found by him in a former voyage farther north. If he had supposed it to be simply a southern extension of Marco Polo's Asia, he would not subsequently have sought for a strait or passage to India to the north rather than to the south of this point. Gama's successful circumnavigation of Africa forbade a revival in the mind of Columbus of the old theory of Ptolemy, that Africa extended east and north so as to enclose the Indian Ocean like an immense gulf. The admiral's idea, so far as he formed a definite one on the subject, must have been that of a large island, or detached portion of the Asiatic continent, occupying very nearly the actual relative position of the Australian archipelago, and only vaguely included, if at all, in ancient or mediæval knowledge of the far East. No other conclusion could rationally be drawn from his letters and subsequent actions; and we shall find such an idea of the geography of these parts often repeated in following years. We shall also see how unfortunate it was for the posthumous glory of the great discoverer in the matter of naming the western world, that he did not more clearly specify his idea of this

new land—for I believe this was the first suspicion that new lands of any considerable extent existed—and that his account of this and his fourth voyage were not more widely circulated in print.

[1499.] The discovery of the Pearl Coast, made known in Spain in December, 1498, caused several expeditions to be sent out in the following year. These were trading and not exploring voyages, and their commanders had no thought of cosmography, caring little whether Paria were the terrestrial paradise or the infernal regions, so that pearls, and gold, and slaves were abundant. No connected journals of these voyages have been preserved, our knowledge of them being derived from statements of the early historians and from testimony in the famous lawsuit with the heirs of Columbus, printed in Navarrete's collection.

The first was that of Alonso de Ojeda, who, by the influence of Bishop Fonseca, the admiral's most bitter enemy, obtained a commission to visit the Pearl Coast, avoiding, however, lands discovered by the Portuguese and by Columbus prior to 1495. In company with Juan de la Cosa and Amerigo Vespucci, Ojeda embarked with four vessels from Santa María, near Cádiz, on the 20th of May, 1499. Sailing by the admiral's charts, he touched at the Canaries, and after twenty-four days reached the main-land of South America between 3° and 6° north latitude—that is according to Ojeda's testimony; but Vespucci's account of what was probably the same voyage brings them first upon the continent further south. This is claimed by Varnhagen, *Examen de quelques points de l'histoire géographique du Brézil*, Paris, 1858, as the first discovery of Brazil. Following the coast north-west for 200 leagues without landing, but discovering the two great rivers Essequebo and Orinoco, they landed on Trinidad Island, the first inhabited coast which they touched, where they traded for pearls and found traces of the admiral who had preceded them. Out through the Boca del Drago, following the coast of Paria to the gulf of Pearls, or Curiana, landing on Margarita Island, anchoring in the bay of Corsarios, they continued from port to port to Chichirivichi, where they had a fight with the natives, and spent twenty days in a port near by. Ojeda then visited Curazao and the gulf of Venezuela, where was found a town built over the water like Venice. On the 24th of August he discovered Lake Maracaibo, and afterward followed the coast westward to Cape de la Vela, whence he directed his course, on the 30th of August, to Española, arriving, as we have seen, September 5, 1499. He finally returned to Spain in the middle of June, 1500, the voyage having yielded but a small profit. *Navarrete, Col. de Viages*, tom. iii. pp. 4–11 and 543–5; *Major's Prince Henry*, pp. 367–9; *Humboldt, Exam. Crit.*, tom. iv. pp. 195, 220; *Oviedo, Hist. Gen.*, tom. i. p. 76.

The second minor expedition to South America was that of Pedro Alonso Niño and Cristóbal Guerra, similar in its object to that of Ojeda. A few days after Ojeda's departure they sailed from Palos in one vessel with thirty-three men, reaching the main-land farther north, and some fifteen days later than Ojeda. They traded on the coast of Cumaná for three months, their western limit being the region of Chichirivichi, started for home February 13, 1500, and arrived in Spain about the middle of April with a large quantity of pearls. *Peter Martyr*, dec. i. cap. viii.; *Gomara, Hist. de las Indias*, fol. 98;

Navarrete, Col. de Viages, tom. ii. p. 147; tom. iii. pp. 11–18, 542; *Irving's Columbus*, vol. iii. p. 37–42; *Humboldt, Exam. Crit.*, tom. iv. p. 220.

The third expedition of this year was that of Vicente Yañez Pinzon, who had commanded a vessel under Columbus in 1492. Sailing early in December, 1499, from Palos with a fleet of four vessels he crossed the equator, and on the 20th of January—Peter Martyr says the 26th, and Irving the 28th of January—discovered land in latitude 8° south, at Cape St Augustine, which he named Santa María de la Consolacion. Varnhagen, *Examen*, pp. 19–24, entertains doubts regarding the spot where Pinzon first landed, and thinks it quite as likely to have been some cape further north. From this point, wherever it may have been, Pinzon followed the coast to the north, touched at various places, discovered the Amazon, and in due time reached the gulf of Paria. Thence he sailed through the Boca del Drago, arrived at Española on the 23d of June, and returned to Spain in September, 1500. This voyage was as disastrous as the preceding one had been profitable. Peter Martyr states, dec. i. cap. ix., that Paria was thought to be a part of Asia beyond the Ganges. See also *De Navigatione Pinzoni Socii Admirantis, et de rebus per eum repertis*, in *Grynæus, Novus Orbis*, p. 119; *Navarrete, Col. de Viages*, tom. iii. pp. 18–23; *Major's Prince Henry*, p. 369; *Humboldt, Exam. Crit.*, tom. i. pp. 313–14; tom. iii. p. 221.

Here belongs Amerigo Vespucci's account of a second voyage made in conjunction with others in the service of the king of Spain. Departing in May, 1499—some editions of his letters have it 1489—from Cádiz and touching at the Canaries he steered south-west for nineteen days, sailing in that time 500 leagues to a point on the main-land in latitude 5° south,—from incorrect readings of the originals some editors make him say 800 leagues and latitude 8°—where the days and nights are equal on the 27th of June, at which time the sun enters Cancer. Thence coasting eastward forty leagues; then north-west to a beautiful island and convenient harbor; and yet eighty other leagues to a secure harbor where he remained seventeen days and gathered many pearls; thence to another port; then to an island fifteen leagues from the main-land; and again to another island, which was called Gigantes, where captives were taken; then to a fine bay where the ships were refitted; and finally, after forty-seven days at this last place they sail for Antilla, that is Española. Two months and two days are spent at Antilla, whence on the 22d of July they embark for Spain, and reach Cádiz September 8, 1500. *De Secundariæ Navigatinis Cursu*, Latin text and Spanish translation of Vespucci's letter in *Navarrete, Col. de Viages*, tom. iii. pp. 242–62.

It has never been claimed that Vespucci attempted discoveries in 1499 as chief in command. The voyage described by him is without doubt that of Pinzon or Ojeda, although D'Avesac, in *Bulletin de la Soc. Géog.*, makes it identical with that of Lepe. Humboldt, *Exam. Crit.*, tom. iv. pp. 200 et seq., by comparing the details decides that it was that of Pinzon, and by the same method he concludes that Vespucci's first voyage was that under Ojeda. As the points of resemblance are slight in either case; as Vespucci is known to have accompanied Ojeda; as he would have been obliged to return to Spain before Ojeda in June, 1500, in order to sail with Pinzon in December, 1499; and as Vespucci describes an astronomical phenomenon which, as Humboldt

admits, could not possibly have taken place during Pinzon's voyage, I am inclined to accept the generally received opinion that Ojeda's is the voyage described. "There can now be no doubt that Vespucci's voyage in 1499 was identical with that of Ojeda." *Major's Prince Henry*, p. 370; *Varnhagen, Exam.*, pp. 1–19. Navarrete and Irving imply that this was the only voyage made by Vespucci for the crown of Spain. However it may be, for the purposes of this Summary the question is of little importance; for there are no disputed points of geographical import depending on the two trading voyages, one of which Vespucci attempts to describe; and if there were, his account in the different forms in which it exists is so full of blunders that it could throw but little light upon the subject.

The fourth minor expedition of this year was that of Diego de Lepe, who sailed in less than a month after Pinzon —that is near the end of December, 1499 —with two vessels. Touching main-land below Cape St Augustine, he observed the south-western trend of the coast below that point; but of his voyage along the shore nothing is known save that he reached the Pearl Coast. Before the 5th of June he had returned to Spain. *Navarrete, Col. de Viages*, tom. iii. pp. 23–4, 553–5; *Humboldt, Exam. Crit.*, tom. i. pp. 314–15; tom. iv. pp. 221–2.

There are some scattered hints collected in *Biddle's Memoir of Sebastian Cabot*, pp. 91 et seq., of a new expedition in 1499 by the Cabots, directed this time to tropical regions. They are not sufficient to render it probable that such a voyage was made, although Ojeda reported that he found several Englishmen cruising on the Pearl Coast. *Viages Menores*, in *Navarrete*, tom. iii. p. 41; *Kohl's Hist. Discov.*, p. 145.

[1500.] In this year Cristóbal Guerra made a second voyage to the Pearl Coast with some success, and returned to Spain before November 1, 1501. *Navarrete, Col. de Viages*, tom. iii. pp. 24–5. Spain also made preparations to explore the northern lands discovered by the Cabots, but without any known results. *Peschel, Geschichte der Entd.*, Stuttgart, 1858, p. 316; *Navarrete, Col. de Viages*, tom. iii. pp. 41–46; *Biddle's Mem. Cabot*, p. 236; *Kohl's Hist. Discov.*, pp. 192–3. In *Diccionario Universal, Apénd.*, article 'Viages,' p. 805, is mentioned a voyage to the Pearl Coast by Alonso Velez de Mendoza in two vessels. No authorities are given.

The year following the return of Gama from his successful voyage to India, Pedro Alvarez Cabral was entrusted with the command of thirteen well-armed vessels, and sent to establish commercial relations with the new countries now made accessible to Portuguese enterprise. Cabral embarked from Lisbon on the 9th of March, 1500; thirteen days later he left behind him the Cape Verde Islands, pursuing a south-westerly course. Whether he was driven by storms in this direction, or wished to avoid the calms of the Guinea coast, or whether he entertained a hope of reaching some part of the regions recently discovered by the Spaniards is not known. Certain it is, however, that notwithstanding his having sailed for India, on the 22d of April—Humboldt says in February—he found himself on the coast of Brazil in about latitude 10° south, leaving a gap probably of some 170 leagues between this point and the southern limit of Lepe and Pinzon. Thence he coasted southward, took formal possession of the land on the 1st of May at

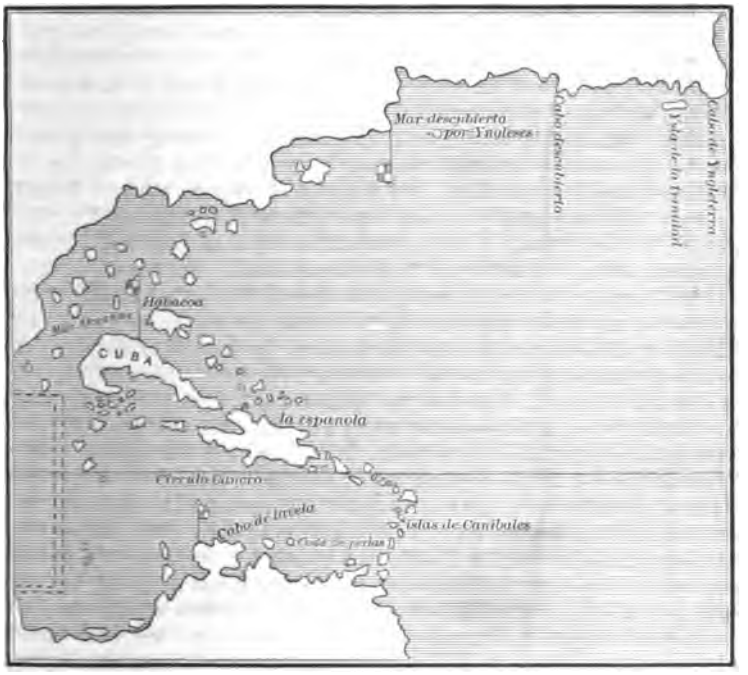
Porto Seguro, and named the country Vera Cruz, which name soon became Santa Cruz. Cabral immediately sent Gaspar de Lemos in one of the ships back to Portugal with an account and map of the new discoveries. Leaving two convicts with the natives of that coast, Cabral continued his journey for India on the 22d of May. Off the Cape of Good Hope he lost four vessels, in one of which was Bartolomeu Dias, the discoverer of the cape, and reached Calicut on the 13th of September. Returning he met at Cape Verde a fleet, on board of which is supposed to have been Amerigo Vespucci, and arrived at Lisbon July 23, 1501. *Navigation del Capitano Pedro Alvares*, in *Ramusio*, tom. i. fol. 132–9; *Purchas, His Pilgrimes*, vol. i. booke ii. pp. 30–1; *Cancellieri, Notizie di Colombo*, pp. 48–9; *Navarrete, Col. de Viages*, tom. iii. pp. 45–6, 94–101; *Humboldt, Exam. Crit.*, tom. i. p. 315; tom. iv. p. 223; tom. v. pp. 53, 61.

The Portuguese did not overlook the north while making their important discoveries to the south. Two vessels, probably in the spring of 1500, were sent out under Gaspar Cortereal. No journal or chart of the voyage is now in existence, hence little is known of its object or results. Still more dim is a previous voyage ascribed by Cordeiro to João Vaz Cortereal, father of Gaspar, about the time of Kolno, which, as Kunstmann views it, "requires further proof." Touching at the Azores, Gaspar Cortereal, possibly following Cabot's charts, struck the coast of Newfoundland north of Cape Race, and sailing north discovered a land which he called Terra Verde, perhaps Greenland, but was stopped by ice at a river which he named Rio Nevado, whose location is unknown. Cortereal returned to Lisbon before the end of 1500. *Cancellieri, Notizie di Colombo*, pp. 48–9; *Kunstmann, Entdeckung Am.*, p. 57; *Galvano's Discov.*, pp. 95–6; *Major's Prince Henry*, p. 374; *Kohl's Hist. Discov.*, pp. 166–8, 174–7. Biddle, *Mem. Cabot*, pp. 137–261, thinks that Cortereal landed south of Cape Race; Humboldt, *Exam. Crit.*, tom. iv. p. 222, is of the opinion that Terra Verde was not Greenland.

In October of this same year Rodrigo de Bastidas sailed from Cádiz with two vessels. Touching the shore of South America near Isla Verde, which lies between Guadalupe and the main-land, he followed the coast westward to El Retrete, or perhaps Nombre de Dios, on the isthmus of Darien, in about 9° 30′ north latitude. Returning, he was wrecked on Española toward the end of 1501, and reached Cádiz in September, 1502. This being the first authentic voyage by Europeans to the territory herein defined as the Pacific States, such incidents as are known will be given hereafter. For references to this voyage, see *Oviedo, Hist. Gen.*, tom. i. p. 76; tom. ii. p. 334, where the date given is 1502; *Gomara, Hist. Ind.*, fol. 67, date of voyage also 1502; *Viages Menores*, in *Navarrete*, tom. iii. pp. 25–8, 545–6; *Herrera, Hist. Gen.*, dec. i. lib. iv. cap. xi.; *Galvano's Discov.*, pp. 99–100, date of voyage 1503; *Humboldt, Exam. Crit.*, tom. i. pp. 360–1; tom. iv. pp. 224; *Voyages, Curious and Ent.*, p. 436; *Churchill's Col. Voy.*, vol. viii. p. 375; *Harris' Col. Voy.*, vol. i. p. 270; *Major's Prince Henry*, pp. 369–70; *Asiento que hizo con sus Majestades Católicas Rodrigo de Bastidas*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc. Inéd.*, tom. ii. pp. 362–467; *Robertson's Hist. Am.*, vol. i. p. 159; *Quintana, Vidas de Españoles Célebres*, 'Balboa,' p. 1.

Of the many manuscript maps and charts made by navigators prior to this

time none have been preserved. In the year 1500, however, a map of the world was made by the veteran pilot Juan de la Cosa, who had sailed with Columbus on his second voyage, and had accompanied Alonso de Ojeda to the Pearl Coast. It is preserved in the Royal Library of Madrid, and shows in a remarkably clear manner all discoveries up to that date. Drawn in colors and gold on ox-hide, on a scale of fifteen leagues to the degree, it lays down the parallels of Gibraltar and Paris, beside the equator and tropic of Cancer, and gives a scale at the top and bottom. *Stevens' Notes*, p. 16. Humboldt first published a copy of the American portion, and the whole, or parts thereof, have been since published or described in *Lelewel, Géog. du moyen âge*, tom. ii. pp. 109 et seq., atlas, no. 41; *Sagra, Hist. physique et politique de l'île de Cuba*, Paris, 1838, and atlas; *Ghillany, Geschichte*, etc., pref. by Humboldt; *Jomard, Monuments de géog.*, atlas no. xvi., which gives a full-sized fac-simile; *Kohl's Hist. Discov.*, pp. 151–5, 239, plate v., being a copy of the northern part from Humboldt with additions from Jomard. Stevens in his *Notes*, see pp. 11–16, 33, 51, and plate i., produces a photo-lithographic copy of the western hemisphere from Jomard. I give a copy of the central portions of the western hemisphere from Humboldt, Stevens, and Kohl.



JUAN DE LA COSA'S MAP, 1500.

The upper portion is North America, and the lower South America, between which a continuous coast line remains as yet undiscovered.

All the newly found regions are represented as parts of Asia, and consequently names are applied only to islands and particular localities. Up to this time three portions of the supposed Asiatic seaboard have been explored. First, there are the discoveries of the Cabots in the north, represented as extending from 'Cabo de Yngleterra' westward to the flag which bounds the 'Sea discovered by the English.' This direct western trend of the coast, most likely laid down from Cabot's charts, is one of the strongest evidences that the coast explored by Cabot was the northern shore of the gulf of St Lawrence. Another reason for entertaining such belief is the use of the words *Mar descubierta por Yngleses* instead of *Mare Oceanus*, thus indicating that it was a sea or gulf and not the open ocean. Cosa could not at the time have known the results of Cortereal's voyage. On Cabot's coast various points are named, but farther to the north-east and to the south-west the line is laid down indefinitely and without names, probably from Marco Polo. Kohl puts the inscription *Mar descubierta*, etc., farther south and west than on the original, and thinks the curve in the coast west of the last flag to be Cape Cod. Then we have in the south the northern coast of South America quite accurately laid down from Cape de la Vela south-eastward to the limit of Pinzon's voyage in 1499; with a nameless coast-line south-east to the locality of Cape St Augustine. From Cape de la Vela we have the same imaginary coast-line without names extending westward, as if to meet the line from the north-east; but just at the point where the lines must meet, or be separated by a strait leading to India proper, the non-committal map-maker inserted a picture —indicated by the double dotted lines—thus avoiding the expression of his opinion as to whether the Pearl Coast was joined to Asia, or was detached from the continent. On the original map no attempt is made to show inland topography, although the copies of Humboldt and Kohl have some lakes and rivers. I have taken the liberty to indicate the indefinite, nameless coasts by a dotted line for greater clearness. The last of the three several explored regions shown by this map are the central islands, Cuba, Española, and others discovered by Columbus, who was accompanied in at least one of his voyages by the author himself. In this part of the map some difficulty has arisen from the fact that Cuba is represented as an island, while Columbus is known to have held the opinion that it was a part of the mainland; an opinion, as before stated, which was subscribed to under oath by all his men, including Juan de la Cosa. On the original, the western part of Cuba is cut off by green paint, the conventional sign of *terra incognita*, which leads Stevens to infer that the pilot "did not intend to represent Cuba to be an island," but that he only supposed it to be such. This, however, by no means implies that the draughtsman intended to say that Cuba was not an island, but rather that he was not certain that it was an island, but only supposed it to be. It will be remembered that the natives affirmed from the first that it was an island, although so large that no one had ever reached its western extremity. This statement, together with his own observations during the voyage, probably caused Juan de la Cosa to afterward change the opinion to which he had perhaps hastily subscribed at the request of Columbus. There can be but little doubt of the authenticity of this map, although Stevens considers it has been distorted in the various copies and descriptions.

That the author did not himself make any later additions to it is evident from the fact that his own subsequent discoveries are not shown.

[1501.] Again King Henry of England issues commissions permitting private persons to make discovery at their own expense. So far as known, however, no voyage was effected under this royal encouragement, although it is not improbable that intercourse with Newfoundland was continued after Cabot's discovery. *Kunstmann, Entdeckung Am.*, p. 55; *Kohl's Hist. Discov.*, pp. 185–7; *Biddle's Mem. Cabot*, p. 228 et seq.; *Peschel, Geschichte der Entd.*, p. 334 et seq.

The Portuguese, more practical in their attempts, push discovery in all directions. Juan de Nova with four vessels sails from Lisbon March 5, 1501, doubles the Cape of Good Hope, and returning reaches Lisbon September 11, 1502, having discovered Ascension Island on the voyage out, and St Helena on the return. *Galvano's Discov.*, pp. 97–8; *Major's Prince Henry*, p. 413; *Humboldt, Exam. Crit.*, tom. iv. p. 225; tom. v. p. 107. The Cape of Good Hope route to India may now be declared open; voyages thither from this time cannot properly be called voyages of discovery; hence of the frequent subsequent voyages of the Portuguese to India I shall make no mention except of such as in some way relate to America. For a summary of these later voyages see *Major's Prince Henry*, pp. 413–18.

Gaspar Cortereal this year makes a second voyage to the regions of the north, sailing from Belem, near Lisbon, May 15, 1501, with two or three vessels, touching probably at some point in Newfoundland, and coasting northward some six or seven hundred miles. He does not, however, reach the Terra Verde of the former voyage on account of ice. One of the vessels—Kunstmann says two—returned, arriving at Lisbon October 8, 1501; the other with the commander was never afterward heard from. One of the chief objects of this expedition seems to have been the capture of slaves. The name Labrador is applied by Cortereal to this discovery, "and is perhaps the only permanent trace of Portuguese adventure within the limits of North America." *Bancroft's Hist. U. S.*, vol. i. p. 16; *Navarrete, Col. de Viages*, tom. iii. p. 44; *Major's Prince Henry*, p. 374; *Humboldt, Exam. Crit.*, tom. iv. p. 224; *Kohl's Hist. Discov.*, pp. 169–71; *Peschel, Geschichte der Entd.*, pp. 331 et seq.; *Biddle's Mem. Cabot*, pp. 237 et seq.

The Portuguese also send an expedition to prosecute the discoveries begun by Cabral, who has not yet returned from India, but whose discovery of Brazil has been reported by Lemos. Strangely enough no documents exist in the Portuguese archives touching this voyage, nor is the name of its commander known, although Varnhagen thinks it may have been Manuel. It is known as Vespucci's third voyage, and its incidents are found only in his letters. The authenticity of this as of his other voyages has been often doubted and denied, and as it is the voyage that resulted in the naming of America, it has given rise to much discussion, into which however I shall not enter. The discussion does not affect the voyage itself, nor the leading facts connected with it, the questions being whether Vespucci was in command, which indeed he does not claim to have been; and above all, whether the results of the voyage entitled him to the honor of naming America, which they certainly did not, even had he commanded, from the fact that other

navigators had discovered both of the Americas before him. Navarrete, one of Vespucci's most jealous enemies, admits that he visited the coast of Brazil in a subordinate capacity in some Portuguese expedition; and Humboldt, in an essay of 115 pages, effectually defends the veracity of Vespucci in his accounts of his voyages, which the distinguished commentator quotes with notes on the variations of different editions.

Vespucci was induced to leave Seville in order to accompany the fleet, which consisted of three vessels—some editions say ten, some fourteen—and which sailed from Lisbon on the 13th of May. Passing the Canaries without landing, to the African coast and Basilica in 14°, probably Cape Verde, there he remained eleven days. At this place he met Cabral's fleet returning from India and learned the particulars of the voyage, including the American discoveries, of which he gives a full account in a letter written at the time under date of June 4, 1501, which is a strong proof of the veracity of his other accounts. See extracts in *Humboldt, Exam. Crit.*, tom. v. pp. 34–44. It is extraordinary that in the several accounts of this meeting the name of Vespucci's commander is not mentioned. From Cape Verde the fleet sailed south-west sixty-seven days and touched the main-land the 17th of August, at a point in 5° south latitude, taking possession for the king of Portugal. Thence it followed the coast south-east, doubled Cape St Augustine, and went on in sight of land for 600 leagues to a point in 32° south—according to Gomara, 40°; Navarrete thinks it could not have been over 26°. Having found no precious metals during a voyage of ten months, the Portuguese abandoned this coast on the 13th (or 15th) of February, 1502, and after having been driven by storms far to the south-east, and discovering some land whose identity is uncertain—Humboldt thinks it was an accumulation of ice, or the coast of Patagonia—they reached the coast of Ethiopia on the 10th of May, the Azores toward the end of July, and Lisbon September 7, 1502. Vespucci gives full descriptions of the natives of Brazil, but these descriptions, together with the numerous conflicting statements, or blunders of the various texts relating to details of the voyage, I pass over as unimportant to my purpose. That Vespucci was with a Portuguese fleet which in 1501–2 explored a large but ill-defined portion of the Brazilian coast, there can be no doubt. *Grynæus, Novus Orbis*, pp. 122–30; *Ramusio, Viaggi*, tom. i. pp. 139–44; *Viages Menores*, in *Navarrete*, tom. iii. pp. 46, 262–80; *Humboldt, Exam. Crit.*, tom. v. pp. 1–115; *Major's Prince Henry*, pp. 375–7; *Galvano's Discov.*, pp. 98–9.

[1502.] Miguel Cortereal sailed from Lisbon May 10, 1502, in search of his brother Gaspar, only to share his brother's fate. Neither of his two vessels appears to have returned. *Viages Menores*, in *Navarrete*, tom. iii. p. 44; *Humboldt, Exam. Crit.*, tom. iv. p. 226; *Major's Prince Henry*, p. 374; *Kohl's Hist. Discov.*, pp. 171–2.

It is probable that Portuguese fishermen continued their trips more or less to Labrador and Newfoundland, but if so, no accounts have been preserved. *Kohl's Hist. Discov.*, pp. 187–92; *Kunstmann, Entdeckung Am.*, pp. 69, 95; *Herrera, Hist. Gen.*, dec. ii. lib. v. cap. iii.

In January, 1502, Alonso de Ojeda with four vessels departed from Cádiz on a second voyage to the Pearl Coast, with the intention of there establish-

ing a colony. Accompanied by García de Ocampo, Juan de Vergara, Hernando de Guevara, and his nephew Pedro de Ojeda, he touched at the Canaries and Cape Verde Islands, and reached the gulf of Paria. Refitting his vessels, on the 11th of March he set sail and coasted north-westward, touching at various points until he came to a port which he called Santa Cruz, probably Bahía Honda, about twenty-five miles east of Cape de la Vela. During the voyage along the coast the vessels were much of the time separated, following different courses. At Santa Cruz Ojeda found a man who had been left by Bastidas, and there he determined to establish his colony. A fort was built, and a vessel sent to Jamaica for supplies; but the colony did not prosper. To other troubles were added dissensions among the fiery leaders, and about the end of May Ojeda was imprisoned by his companions; the colony was finally abandoned, and its governor brought as a prisoner to Española in September. The few disputed points of this voyage concern only the personal quarrels of Ojeda and his fellow-captains. *Navarrete, Col. de Viages*, tom. iii. pp. 28–39, 168–70, 591 et seq.; *Humboldt, Exam. Crit.*, tom. i. p. 360; tom. iv. p. 226.

On the eleventh of May, 1502, Columbus embarked from Cádiz on his fourth and last voyage. Refitting at Española, he directed his course westward, discovered *terra firma* at the Guanaja Islands, off the north coast of Honduras, and sailing southward, followed the shores of the supposed Asia to El Retrete on the isthmus of Darien, where terminated the discovery of Bastidas from the opposite direction, whose chart may have been in the admiral's possession. Particulars of this voyage are given hereafter. See *Cuarto y Último Viage de Cristobal Colon*, in *Navarrete*, tom. i. pp. 277–313; *Colon, Hist. del Almirante*, in *Barcia*, tom. i. pp. 101–18; *Gomara, Hist. de las Indias*, fol. 31; *Peter Martyr*, dec. iii. cap. iv.; *Herrera, Hist. Gen.*, dec. i. lib. v.–vi.; *Benzoni, Historia del Mondo Nvovo*, Venetia, 1572, fol. 28; *Galvano's Discov.*, pp. 100–1; *Robertson's Hist. Am.*, vol. i. pp. 164–74; *Burke's European Settlements in Am.*, vol. i. pp. 37–45; *Napione* and *De Conti, Biografia Colombo*, pp. 379–406; *Laharpe, Abrégé*, tom. ix. p. 122; *Acosta, Comp. Histórico de la Nueva Granada*, cap. i.; *Navigatio Christophori Colvmbi*, in *Grynæus, Novus Orbis*, p. 90, and elsewhere.

Since the admiral's discovery, in 1498, of the Pearl Coast, that is, the extreme northern shore of South America, nothing had occurred to modify his views formed at that time concerning the new regions, except to show that this southern addition of the Asiatic continent was much larger than had at first been supposed. His special aim in this fourth voyage was to do what various circumstances had prevented him from doing before, namely, to sail along the eastern and southern coasts of Asia to India, passing, of course, through the supposed strait between the main-land and the land of Paria. It is certainly extraordinary that this idea entertained by Columbus corresponded so closely with the actual conformation of the eastern Asiatic coast, and its southern addition of the Australian archipelago; that this conformation is so closely duplicated in the American coasts; and that the position of the admiral's hypothetical strait was almost identical with the actual narrowest part of the American continent. Columbus followed the coast to the western limit of Bastidas' voyage and could find no opening in the shore,

either because the ancient chroniclers were faulty in making no mention of this great supposed southern extension of Asia, or because the strait had in some way escaped his scrutiny. He therefore abandoned the search, and gave himself up to other schemes, but he never relinquished his original idea, and died, 1506, in the belief that he had reached the coast of Asia, and without the suspicion of a new continent. Moreover, his belief was shared by all cosmographers and scholars of the time. *Peter Martyr*, dec. i. cap. viii.; *Humboldt, Exam. Crit.*, tom. i. p. 26; tom. iv. p. 188; Preface to *Ghillany; Major's Prince Henry*, p. 420; *Kohl's Hist. Discov.*, pp. 140, 238–9; *Draper's Int. Develop.*, p. 445; *Stevens' Notes*, p. 37.

[1503.] Another expedition was sent by Portugal in search of the Cortereals, but returned unsuccessful. *Kunstmann, Entdeckung Am.*, p. 58; *Peschel, Geschichte der Entd.*, p. 334.

According to Harrisse, *Bib. Am. Vet.*, pp. 173–4, we have "authentic deeds and depositions proving beyond doubt a French expedition to Brazil as early as 1503;" in support of which he refers to *De Gonneville, Mémoires*, Paris, 1663; *De Brosses, Hist. des Navigations*, Paris, 1756, tom. i. pp. 104–14; *Revista Trimensal*, Rio de Janeiro, tom. vi. p. 412–14; *D'Avesac*, in *Bulletin de la Soc. Géog.*, tom. xiv. p. 172.

In 1503 the Portuguese sent a third fleet of six vessels under Gonzalo Coelho to make farther explorations on the coast of Brazil, then called Santa Cruz, and to sail, if possible, around its southern extremity to India, an idea that seems to have been conceived during the preceding voyage, but which could not then be carried into effect for want of supplies. Vespucci commanded one of the vessels, and set out with high hopes of accomplishing great things for his country, his God, and himself. This is known as Vespucci's fourth voyage. Beyond the account which he gives in his letters, little is known of it except the fact that Coelho made such a voyage at the time. The identity of the two expeditions has not been undisputed, but Humboldt and Major both show that there can be little doubt in the matter. The fleet sailed from Lisbon on the 10th of June—Vespucci says May—remained twelve or thirteen days at the Cape Verde Islands, and thence sailed south-east to within sight of Sierra Leone. The navigators were prevented by a storm from anchoring, and so directed their course south-west for 300 leagues to a desert island in about lat. 3° south, supposed to be Fernando de Noronha, where Coelho lost his ship on the 10th of August. Vespucci's vessel was separated from the rest for eight days, but afterward joined one of them, and the two sailed south-west for seventeen days, making 300 leagues, and arriving at the Bahía de Todos os Santos. Remaining there two months and four days, they followed the coast for 260 leagues to the port now called Cape Frio, where they built a fort and left twenty-four men who had belonged to the vessel which had been wrecked. In this port, which by Vespucci's observations was in lat. 18° south and 35° (or 57°) west of Lisbon, they remained five months, exploring the interior for forty leagues; they then loaded with Brazil-wood, and after a return voyage of seventy-seven days arrived in Lisbon June 28 (or 18), 1504. Vespucci believed the other ships of the fleet to have been lost, but after his account was written, Coelho returned with two ships; nothing, however, is now known of his movements after the separation. *Di*

Amerigo Vespucci Fiorentino, in *Ramusio*, tom. i., *Lettera prima*, fol. 139, *Lettera secondo*, fol. 141, *Sommario*, fol. 141; *Viages de Vespucio*, in *Navarrete*, tom. iii. pp. 281–90; *Southey's Hist. Brazil*, vol. i. p. 20.

Alfonso de Alburquerque sailed from Lisbon April 6, 1503, with four vessels for India; but shaping his course far to the south-west, after twenty-four (or twenty-eight) days he reached an island previously discovered by Vespucci; thence he touched the main-land of Brazil, after which he proceeded around the Cape of Good Hope to India, and returned to Lisbon September 16, 1504. *Viaggio fatto nell' India per Giovanni di Empoli*, in *Ramusio*, tom. i. fol. 158; *Purchas, His Pilgrimes*, vol. i. pp. 32–3. *Bergomas, Nouissime historiarū omniū*, etc., Venetiis, 1503, a book of chronicles published with frequent additions to date, contains, for the first time, in this edition, a chapter on the newly found islands of Columbus. In my copy, which is dated ten years later, this chapter is on folio 328. At least nine editions of the work appeared before 1540.

[1504.] Soon after the return from his third voyage, Vespucci wrote a letter to Piero de' Medici, setting forth its incidents. This letter, which bears no date, was probably written in corrupt Italian, and after circulating to some extent in manuscript, as was the custom at the time, it may have been printed, but no copies are known to exist, and the original is lost. Translations were made, however, into Latin and German, which appeared in small pamphlet form in at least seventeen different editions before 1507, under the title of *Mundus Novus*, or its equivalent. The earliest edition which bears a date is that of 1504, but of the nine issues without date, some undoubtedly appeared before that year. It is probable that other editions have disappeared on account of their undurable form. None of Vespucci's other accounts are known to have been printed before 1507.

This same year the *Libretto de tutta le Navigazione del Re di Spagna* is said to have been printed at Venice, being the first collection of voyages, and containing, according to the few Italian authors who claim to have seen it, the first three voyages of Columbus and those of Niño and Pinzon. If authentic, it was the first account of the voyage of Columbus to the Pearl Coast; but no copy is known at present to exist, and its circulation must have been small compared with Vespucci's relations. *Humboldt, Exam. Crit.*, tom. iv. pp. 67–77; *Harrisse, Bib. Am. Vet.*, nos. 22–41.

A chart made about 1504 has been preserved which shows Portuguese discoveries only. In the north are laid down Newfoundland and Labrador under the name of 'Terra de Cortte Reall,' and Greenland with no name, but so correctly represented as to form a strong evidence that it was reached by Cortereal. On the south we have the coast of Brazil, to which no name is given; between the two is open sea, with no indication of Spanish discoveries. *Kunstmann, Entdeckung Am.*, pp. 127–8, and *Munich Atlas*, no. iii.; *Kohl's Hist. Discov.*, pp. 174–7, plate viii.

With the year 1504 the fishing voyages of the Bretons and Normans to Newfoundland are said to have begun, but there are no accounts of any particular voyage. *Sobre las navegaciones de los vascongados á los mares de Terranova*, in *Navarrete*, tom. iii. p. 176; *Viages Menores, Id.*, p. 46. Kunstmann, *Entdeckung Am.*, p. 69 et seq., makes these trips begin with Denys' in 1503.

Juan de la Cosa equipped and armed four vessels, and was despatched in the service of Queen Isabella of Spain, to explore and trade in the vicinity of the gulf of Urabá, and also to check rumored encroachments of the Portuguese in that direction. All that is recorded of the expedition is that in 1506 the crown received 491,708 maravedis as the royal share of the profits. *Carta de Cristobal Guerra*, in *Navarrete*, tom. ii. p. 293; *Carta de la Reina*, in *Id.*, tom. iii. p. 109; *Real Cédula, adicion*, *Id.*, p. 161. Stevens, in his *Notes*, p. 33, gives the date as 1505.

[1505.] Alonso de Ojeda, with three vessels, made a third voyage to Coquibacoa and the gulf of Urabá. *Noticias biográficas del capitan Alonso Hojeda*, in *Navarrete*, tom. iii. p. 169.

The letter written by Columbus from Jamaica July 7, 1503, describing the events of his fourth voyage, is preserved in the Spanish archives. If printed, no copies are known to exist, but an Italian translation appeared as *Copia de la Lettera*, Venetia, 1505.

A Portuguese map made about 1505 by Pedro Reinel shapes Newfoundland more accurately than the map of 1504, being the first to give the name 'C. Raso' to the south-east point; but Greenland is drawn much less correctly. *Kunstmann*, *Entdeckung Am.*, pp. 125–7; *Munich Atlas*, no. i. Plate ix. in *Kohl's Hist. Discov.*, pp. 177–9, differs materially from the fac-simile in the *Munich Atlas*. See also *Peschel, Geschichte der Entd.*, p. 332; *Schmeller, Ueber einigen der handschriftlichen Seekarten*, in *Akademie der Wissenschaften, Abhandl.*, tom. iv. pt. i. p. 247 et seq.

[1506.] The Bretons under Jean Denys are said to have explored the gulf of St Lawrence, and to have made a map which has not been found. The reports of this and of succeeding voyages northward are exceedingly vague. *Charlevoix, Hist. de la Nouvelle France*, Paris, 1744, tom. i. p. 4; *Viages Menores*, in *Navarrete*, tom. iii. p. 41; *Kohl's Hist. Discov.*, pp. 201–5; *Kunstmann, Entdeckung Am.*, p. 69; *Bancroft's Hist. U. S.*, vol. i. p. 16.

Vicente Yañez Pinzon made a second voyage with Juan Diaz de Solis, in which he explored the gulf of Honduras, from the Guanaja Islands, the western limit of Columbus' voyage, to the islands of Caria on the coast of Yucatan, in search of the passage which was still believed to exist between the main continent of Asia and the land known as the Pearl Coast, Santa Cruz, or, in the Latin translations of Vespucci, as the *Mundus Novus*, or New World. Brief mention of this voyage may be found in *Viages Menores*, in *Navarrete*, tom. iii. p. 46, repeated in *Irving's Columbus*, vol. iii. p. 52; and *Humboldt, Exam. Crit.*, tom. iv. p. 228. See also *Reise des Diaz de Solis und Yanez Pinzon*, in *Sammlung aller Reisebeschreibungen*, tom. xiii. p. 157.

Tristan da Cunha in a voyage to India, sailing from Lisbon March 6, 1506, round Cape St Augustine, heard of—*eut connaissance de*—a Rio São Sebastião in the province of Pernambuco, and discovered the island since called by his name, in 37° 5′ south latitude, on his passage to the Cape of Good Hope. Galvano does not mention that Cunha reached America.

On the 20th of May, 1506, at Valladolid, died the great admiral of the Western Ocean, Christopher Columbus; whose story, notwithstanding his

innumerable historians, is nowhere more fully comprehended than in the simple lines which may be seen to-day upon his tomb:

> " Por Castilla y por Lêon
> Nuevo Mundo halló Colon."

Maffei of *Volterra*, *Commentariorum urbanorum*, Rome, 1506, a kind of geographical encyclopædia, contains a section on the *loca nuper reperta*. Five editions are mentioned as having been issued in the years 1510, 1511, and 1530, all but one at Paris.

M. Varnhagen claims that the original mixed Italian text of Vespucci's first voyage was printed in Florence in 1505 or 1506, and that several copies have been preserved. This is the text used by him in his defense of Vespucci. See *Premier Voy.*, Vienna, 1869, and *Vespucci, son caractère*, etc., Lima, 1865, in which the letter is reproduced. I find no mention by any other author of such an edition.

[1507.] No voyages are mentioned in this year; but the bibliography of the year is remarkable. *Montalboddo* (or Zorzi), *Paesi Nouamente retrouati, Et Nouo Mondo da Alberico Vesputio, Florentino, intitulato*, Vincentia, 1507, is the second collection of voyages issued, and the first of which any copies at present exist. This work is divided into six books, of which the fourth and fifth relate to America, the fourth being a reproduction of the *Libretto* of 1504, while the fifth is the *Nouo Mondo*, or third voyage of Vespucci; and its mention in the title shows how important a feature it was deemed in a work of this character. In the following year, besides a new Italian edition, there appeared a German translation under the title of *Ruchamer, Newe unbekanthe landte*, Nuremberg, 1508, and a Latin translation, *Itinerariũ Portugallẽsiũ*, Milan, 1508. At least fourteen editions in Italian, Latin, German, and French appeared before 1530.

Hylacomylus (*Waldsee-Müller*), *Cosmographiæ Introductio....Insuper quatuor Americi Vespucij Nauigationes*, Deodate (St Dié, Lorraine), 1507, is the title of a work which appeared four times in the same place and year. It is the first collection of Vespucci's four voyages, and generally regarded as the first edition of the first and fourth, although as we have seen M. Varnhagen claims an Italian edition of the first in 1506. This account of the third voyage is different from that so widely circulated before as *Mundus Novus*. Three other editions of the work, or of the part relating to Vespucci, appeared in 1509 and 1510. In *Hylacomylus* the following passage occurs: "But now that those parts have been more extensively examined, and another fourth part has been discovered by Americus (as will be seen in the sequel), I do not see why we should rightly refuse to name it America, namely, the land of Americus or America, after its discoverer, Americus, a man of sagacious mind, since both Europe and Asia took their names from women." Here we have the origin of the name 'America.' To the northern discoveries of Columbus, Cabot, and Cortereal, on the islands and coast of the supposed Asia, no general name was given because those regions were already named India, Cathay, Mangi, etc., while names were applied by Europeans only to particular places on the new coasts. When Columbus in 1498 explored the northern coast of South America he had no doubt it was a portion,

though probably a detached portion, of Asia, and the terms Paria and the Pearl Coast sufficed to designate the region during the succeeding trading voyages. Concerning these voyages, only a letter of Columbus and a slight account of Pinzon's expedition had been printed, apparently without attracting much attention. The voyages of Columbus, Bastidas, and Pinzon along the coast of Central America were almost unknown. Meanwhile the fame of the great navigator had become much obscured. His enterprises on the supposed Asiatic coast had been unprofitable to Spain. The eyes of the world were now directed farther south. By the Portuguese the coasts of Brazil had been explored for a long distance, proving the great extent of this south-eastern portion of the supposed Asia, whose existence was not indicated on the old charts, and which certainly required a name. These Portuguese explorations and their results were known to the world almost exclusively by the letter of Vespucci so often printed. To the Latin translation of the letter, the name *Mundus Novus* had been applied, meaning not necessarily a new continent, but simply the newly found regions. The name 'America' suggested itself naturally, possibly through the influence of some friend who was an admirer of Vespucci, to the German professor of a university in Lorraine, as appropriate for the new region, and he accordingly proposed it. Having proposed it, his pride and that of his friends—a clique who had great influence over the productions of the German press at that period—was involved in securing its adoption. No open opposition seems to have been made, even by the Portuguese who had applied the name 'Santa Cruz' to the same region; still it was long before the new name replaced the old ones. In later years, when America was found to be joined to the northern continent, and all that great land to be entirely distinct from Asia, the name had become too firmly fixed to be easily changed, and no effort that we know of was made to change it. Later still some authors, inadvertently perhaps, attributed the first discovery to Vespucci. This aroused the wrath of Las Casas and others, and a discussion ensued which has lasted to the present time. See list of partisans on both sides in *Harrisse, Bib. Am. Vet.*, pp. 65–7. Muñoz and Navarrete insist that Vespucci was an impostor, but others, headed by Humboldt, have proved conclusively that the name 'America' was adopted as the result of the somewhat strange combination of circumstances described, without any intentional wrong to Columbus. This conclusion is founded chiefly on the following reasons, namely: The honor to Vespucci resulted chiefly from his third voyage in 1501, and not from his first voyage in 1497, which last mentioned is the only one possible to have claimed precedence over Columbus in the discovery of the continent. Furthermore, neither Columbus nor Vespucci ever suspected that a new continent had been found; and to precede Cabot in reaching Asia, Vespucci, even if relying on his first voyage, must have dated it somewhat earlier in 1497 than he did; while to precede Columbus he must have dated it before 1492, when, as they both believed, Columbus had touched Asia at Cuba. Then, again, there is no evidence whatever that Vespucci ever claimed the honor of discovery. He was on intimate terms with the admiral and his friends, and is highly spoken of by all, especially by Fernando Colon, who was extremely jealous in every particular which might affect his father's honor. Moreover, it is certain that Vespucci did not himself propose the

name 'America;' it is not certain that he even used the term Mundus Novus or its equivalent in his letters; and it is quite possible that he never even knew of his name being applied to the New World, since the name did not come into general use until many years after his death, which occurred in 1512. The most serious charge which in my opinion can be brought against Vespucci is neglect—perhaps an intentional deception for the purpose of giving himself temporary prominence in the eyes of his correspondent—in failing to name the commanders under whom he sailed; and with exaggeration and carelessness in his details. But it is to be remembered that his writings were simply letters to friends describing in familiar terms the wonders of his voyages, with little care for dry dates and names, reserving particulars for a large work which he had prepared, but which has never come to light. "After all," says Irving, "this is a question more of curiosity than of real moment ....about which grave men will continue to write weary volumes, until the subject acquires a fictitious importance from the mountain of controversy heaped upon it." *Cancellieri, Notizie di Colombo*, pp. 41–8; *Humboldt, Exam. Crit.*, tom. iv. and v., and Preface to *Ghillany; Navarrete, Col. de Viages*, tom. i. p. cxxvi.; *Major's Prince Henry*, pp. 380–8; *Kohl's Hist. Discov.*, p. 496; *Harrisse, Bib. Am. Vet.*, pp. 65–6; *D'Avesac, Martin Hylacomylus*, Paris, 1867; *Muñoz, Hist. Nuevo Mundo*, p. x.; *Stevens' Notes*, pp. 24, 35, 52 et seq.; *Viages de Vespucio*, in *Navarrete*, tom. iii. p. 183; *Carta del Excmo. Sr. Vizconde de Santaren*, in *Navarrete*, tom. iii. pp. 309–34. Ludd, *Speculi Orbis*, Strasburg, 1507, adopts Waldsee-Müller's suggestion so far as to speak of the 'American race,' or people, *gentis Americi*. Major, *Prince Henry*, pp. 380–8, explains the connection between this and other works of the time influenced by the St Dié clique. See also *Stevens' Notes*, p. 35.

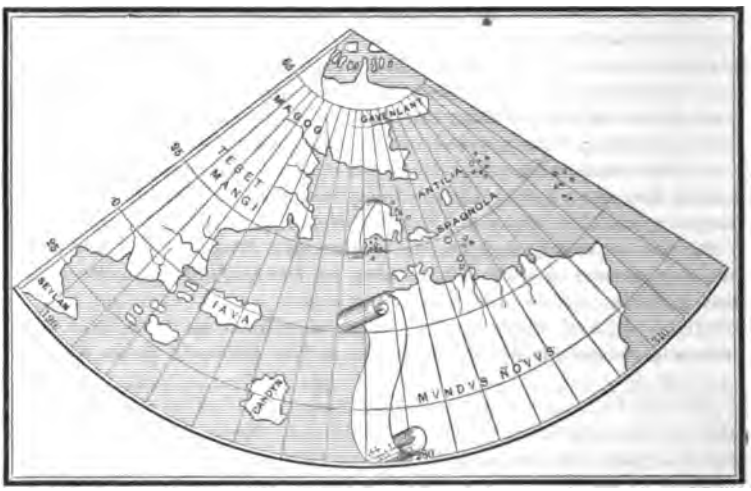
[1508.] Pinzon and Solis, with Pedro Ledesma as pilot, were sent by Spain for the third time to search southward for the strait which they, as well as Columbus and Bastidas, had failed to find farther north and west. Sailing from San Lúcar June 29, 1508, they touched at the Cape Verde Islands, proceeded to Cape St Augustine, and followed the coast south-west to about 40° south latitude, returning to Spain in October, 1509. *Viages Menores*, in *Navarrete*, tom. iii. p. 47. Kohl, *Die beiden ältesten Karten von Am.*, p. 110, joins this voyage to the preceding one of 1506.

Another of the uncertain French voyages to Newfoundland is reported to have taken place in 1508, under the command of Thomas Aubert, from Dieppe. *Viages Menores*, in *Navarrete*, tom. iii. p. 41; *Kohl's Hist. Discov.*, pp. 203–5.

In 1508 the governor of Española sent Sebastian de Ocampo to explore Cuba. He was the first to sail round the island, thus proving it such, as Juan de la Cosa probably imagined it to be eight years earlier. *Aa, Naaukeurige Verzameling*, tom. vi. p. 1; *Herrera, Hist. Gen.*, dec. i. lib. vii. cap. i.; *Stevens' Notes*, p. 35.

Ptolemy, In hoc opere hæc continentvr, Geographiæ Cl. Ptolemæi, Rome, 1508, is said to be the first edition of this work which contains allusions to the New World. Other editions of Ptolemy, prepared by different editors, with additional text and maps, and with some changes in original matter, appeared in 1511, 1512, 1513, 1519, 1520, 1522, 1525, 1532, and 1535. The edition first

mentioned contains, in addition to the preceding one of 1507, fourteen leaves of text and an engraved map by Johann Ruysch —the first ever published which includes the New World. Copies have been printed by Lelewel in his *Géog. du moyen âge*, atlas; by Santarem, in his *Recherches*, Paris, 1842, atlas; and by Humboldt, Kohl, and Stevens. I have taken the annexed copy from the three last mentioned authorities, omitting some of the unimportant names.



MAP BY JOHANN RUYSCH, 1508.

This map follows closely that of Juan de la Cosa in 1500, but illustrates more clearly the geographical idea of the time. The discoveries of Cabot, whom Ruysch is supposed to have accompanied, as well as those of Cortereal in the north, of Greenland, Labrador, and Newfoundland, are laid down with tolerable accuracy; and the rest of the supposed Asiatic coast as in Behaim's globe is taken from Marco Polo. In the centre we have the lands discovered by Columbus, and the old fabulous island of Antilia restored. To 'Spagnola' (Española) is joined an inscription stating the compiler's belief that it was identical with Zipangu, or Japan. Western Cuba is cut off by a scroll, instead of by green paint as in the map of Juan de la Cosa, with an inscription to the effect that this was the limit of Spanish exploration. Ruysch, having as yet no knowledge of Ocampo's voyage performed during this same year, evidently entertained the same idea respecting Cuba that was held by Juan de la Cosa, but did not venture to proclaim it an island. In the south, the New World is shown under the name 'Terra Sanctæ Crucis sive Mvndvs Novvs.' An open sea separates the New World from Asia, showing that Ruysch did not know of the unsuccessful search for this passage by Columbus, Bastidas, and Pinzon. It is worthy of remark that the name America is not used by this countryman of Hylacomylus. Humboldt thinks that he had not seen the *Cosmographiæ Introdvctio*, but had read some other edition of Vespucci's third

voyage. *Exam. Crit.*, tom. ii. pp. 5, 9; tom. iv. p. 121, and Preface to *Ghillany*. See also *Kunstmann, Entdeckung Am.*, pp. 136–7; *Harrisse, Bib. Am. Vet.*, pp. 107–8; *Kohl's Hist. Discov.*, pp. 156–8; *Stevens' Notes*, pp. 31–2.

[1509.] Stimulated by the admiral's gold discoveries at Veragua, which had been corroborated by subsequent voyages, King Ferdinand of Spain determined to establish colonies on that coast. The region known as Tierra Firme was to that end divided into two provinces, of which Alonso de Ojeda was appointed governor of one, and Diego de Nicuesa of the other. Ojeda sailed from Española November 10, 1509, and Nicuesa soon followed. Their adventures form an important part of early Central American history, and are fully related in the following chapters. During the succeeding years frequent voyages were made back and forth between the new colonies, Jamaica, Cuba, and Española, which are for the most part omitted here as not constituting new discoveries. *Peter Martyr*, dec. ii. cap. i.; *Gomara, Hist. Ind.*, fols. 67–9; *Galvano's Discov.*, p. 109–10; *Oviedo, Hist. Gen.*, tom. ii. pp. 421–8; *Herrera, Hist. Gen.*, dec. i. cap. vii. lib. vii. et seq.

The *Globus Mundi*, Strasburg, 1509, an anonymous work, was the first to apply the name America to the southern continent. *Humboldt, Exam. Crit.*, tom. iv. p. 142; *Major's Prince Henry*, p. 387.

[1511.] Juan de Agramonte received a commission from the Spanish government, and made arrangements to sail to Newfoundland and the lands of

PETER MARTYR'S MAP, 1511.

the north-western ocean, but nothing further is known of the matter. *Viages Menores*, in *Navarrete*, tom. iii. p. 42; *Sobrecarta de la Reina Doña Juana*, in *Navarrete*, tom. iii. p. 122. *P. Martyris, Anglimediolanensis opera*, Seville, 1511, is the first edition of Peter Martyr's first decade; containing in ten letters, or books, accounts of the first three voyages of Columbus, certain

expeditions to the Pearl Coast, and closing with a brief mention of the admiral's fourth voyage. The learned author was personally acquainted with Columbus, and his relations are consequently of great value. This work contains a map, of which I give a copy from Stevens, the only fac-simile I have seen.

The map shows only Spanish discoveries, but it is by far the most accurate yet made. Cuba, now proved to be an island, is so laid down. No name is given to the Mundus Novus, which, by a knowledge of the Spanish voyages, is made to extend much farther north and west than in Ruysch's map; but above the known coasts a place is left open where the passage to India it was believed might yet be found. The representation of a country, corresponding with Florida, to the north of Cuba, under the name of 'Isla de Beimini,' may indicate that Florida had been reached either by Ocampo in 1508, by some private adventurer, as Diego Miruelo, who is said to have preceded Ponce de Leon, or, as is claimed by some, by Vespucci in his pretended voyage of 1497; but more probably this region was laid down from the older maps—see Behaim's map, p. 93—and the name was applied in accordance with the reports among the natives of a wonderful country or island, which they called *bimini*, situated in that direction. The map is not large enough to show exactly the relation which Peter Martyr supposed to exist between these regions and the rest of the world, but the text of the first decade leaves no doubt that he still believed them to be parts of Asia.

The *Ptolemy* of 1511 has a map which I have not seen, but which from certain descriptions resembles that of Ruysch, except that it represents Terra Corterealis as an island separated from the supposed Asiatic coast; the name Sanctæ Crucis for South America being still retained. As long as the new lands were believed to be a part of Asia, the maps bore some resemblance to the actual countries intended to be represented, but from the first dawning of an idea of separate lands we shall see the greatest confusion in the efforts of map-makers to depict the New World. *Harrisse, Bib. Am. Vet.*, no. 68; *Kunstmann, Entdeckung Am.*, 133; *Kohl, Die beiden ältesten Karten von Am.*, p. 33. A copy of this map was published in *Lelewel's Atlas*.

[1512.] The West India Islands, in which the Spaniards are at length firmly established, become now the point of new departures. Conquerors and discoverers henceforth for the most part sail from Española or Cuba rather than from Spain. Juan Ponce de Leon, a wealthy citizen who had been governor of Puerto Rico, fitted out three vessels at his own expense, and sailed in search of a fountain, which according to the traditions of the natives had the property of restoring youth, and which was situated in the land called Bimini far to the north. This infatuation had been current in the Islands for several years, and, as we have seen, the name was applied to such a land on Peter Martyr's map of 1511. Sailing from Puerto Rico March 3, 1512, Ponce de Leon followed the northern coast of Española, and thence north-west through the Bahamas, reaching San Salvador on the 14th of March. Thirteen days thereafter he saw the coast of Florida, so named by him from the day of discovery, which was Pascua Florida, or Easter-day. The native name of the land was Cautio. On the 2d of April the Spaniards landed in 30° 8′, and took possession for the king of Spain; then following the

coast southward they doubled Cape Corrientes (Cañaveral) May 8, and advanced to an undetermined point on the southern or eastern coast, which Kohl thinks may have been Charlotte Bay. All this while they believed the country to be an island. On the 14th of June Ponce de Leon departed from Florida, and on his return touched at the Tortugas, at the Lucayos, at Bahama, and at San Salvador, arriving at Puerto Rico the 21st of September. He left behind one vessel under Juan Perez de Ortubia, who arrived a few days later with the news of having found Bimini, but no fountain of youth. *Reise des Ponce de Leon, und Entdeckung von Florida*, in *Sammlung aller Reisebesch.*, tom. xiii. p. 188; *Viages Menores*, in *Navarrete*, tom. iii. pp. 50–3: *Real cédula dando facultad á Francisco de Garay*, in *Navarrete*, tom. iii. p. 148; *Uitvoerlyke Scheepstogt door den Dapperen Jean Ponze de Leon gedaan naar Florida*, in *Gottfried*, tom. iii.; *Gomara, Hist. Ind.*, fols. 50–2; *Galvano's Discov.*, p. 123. Kohl places the voyage in 1513, relying on Peschel, who, he says, has proved the year 1512 to be an impossible date.

In 1512 the Regidor Valdivia was sent by the colonists from the gulf of Darien, then called Urabá, to Española for supplies. Being wrecked in a violent tempest, he escaped in boats to the coast of Yucatan, where he and his companions were made captives by the natives. Some were sacrificed to the gods, and then eaten; only two, Gonzalo Guerrero and Gerónimo de Aguilar, survived their many hardships, the latter being rescued by Cortés in 1519. *Torquemada, Monarq. Ind.*, tom. i. pp. 368–72; *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, fol. 21–2; *Herrera, Hist. Gen.*, dec. ii. lib. iv. cap. vii.; *Cogolludo, Hist. Yucathan*, pp. 24–9.

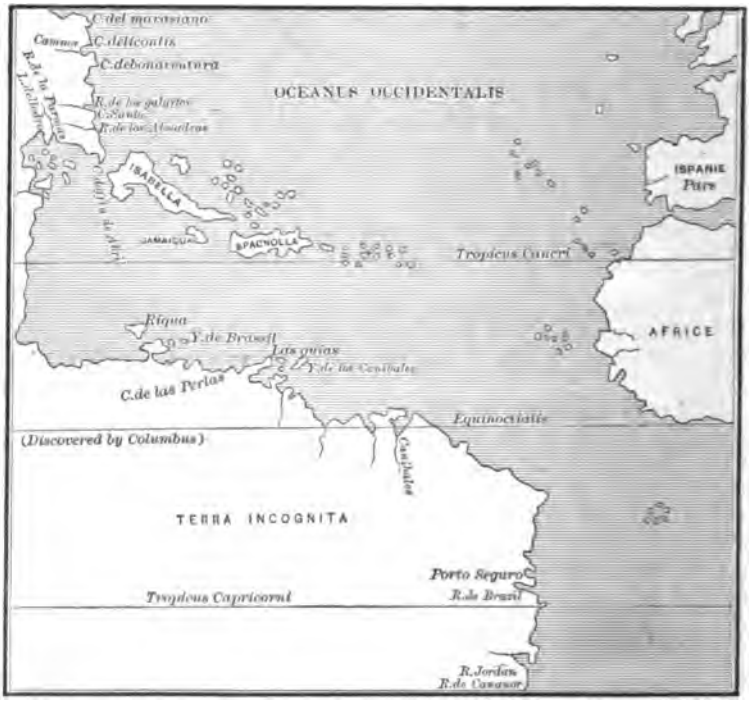
The very rare map in *Stobnicza's Ptolemy*, Cracoviæ, 1512, I have not seen. It is said to show the New World as a continuous coast from 50° north latitude to 40° south. Neither in the text nor in the map is found the name America.

[1513.] In September, 1513, Vasco Nuñez de Balboa set out from the settlement of Antigua on the gulf of Urabá, and crossing the narrow isthmus which joins the two Americas, discovered a vast ocean to the southward on the other side of the supposed Asia. The Isthmus here runs east and west, and on either side, to the north and to the south are great oceans, which for a long time were called the North Sea and the South Sea. After exploring the neighboring coasts he returned to Antigua in January, 1514, after an absence of four months. *Galvano's Discov.*, pp. 123–5; *Peter Martyr*, dec. iii. cap. i.; *Oviedo, Hist. Gen.*, tom. iii. pp. 9–17; *Andagoya's Narrative*, p. 7; *Carta del Adelantado Vasco Nuñez de Balboa*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc. Inéd.*, tom. ii. p. 526.

The *Ptolemy* of 1513 has a map which is said to have been made by Hylacomylus as early as 1508, but concerning which there seems to be much uncertainty. I give a copy from the fac-simile of Stevens and Varnhagen.

The name Cuba does not appear, and in its place is Isabela. Many of the names given by other maps to points on the coast of Cuba are transferred to the main-land opposite. The compiler evidently was undecided whether Cuba was a part of the Asiatic main or not, and therefore represented it in both ways. The coast line must be regarded as imaginary or taken from the old charts, unless, as M. Varnhagen thinks, Vespucci actually sailed along

the Florida coast in 1497. This map if made in 1508 may be regarded as the first to join the southern continent, or Mundus Novus, to the main-land of Asia. This southern land is called 'Terra Incognita,' with an inscription stating expressly that it was discovered by Columbus, notwithstanding the fact that its supposed author proposed the name America in honor of Vespucci only the year before. In fact the map is in many respects incoherent, and is mentioned by most writers but vaguely. *Harrisse, Bib. Am. Vet.*, no. 74; *Humboldt, Exam. Crit.*, tom. iv. pp. 109 et seq., and Preface to *Ghillany; Kunstmann, Entdeckung Am.*, pp. 130–2; *Kohl, Die beiden ältesten Karten von Am.*, p. 33; *Varnhagen, Nouvelles Recherches*, Vienna, 1869, p. 56; *Stevens' Notes*, pl. ii. no. i. pp. 13, 14, 51; *Major's Prince Henry*, pp. 385–6; *Santarem*, in *Bulletin de la Soc. Géog.*, May, 1847, pp. 318–23.



MAP FROM PTOLEMY, 1513.

The name America is thought by Major to occur first on a manuscript map by Leonardo da Vinci, in the queen's collection at Windsor, to which he ascribes the date of 1513 or 1514.

[1514.] Pedrarias Dávila, having been appointed governor of Castilla del Oro, by which name the region about the isthmus of Darien was now called, sailed from San Lúcar with an armada of fifteen vessels and over 2000 men, April 12, 1514. The special object of this expedition was to discover and

settle the shores of the South Sea, whose existence had been reported in Spain, but whose discovery by Vasco Nuñez de Balboa was not known before the departure of Pedrarias. *Herrera*, dec. i. lib. x. cap. xiii.; *Peter Martyr*, dec. ii. cap. vii.; dec. iii. cap. v.; *Galvano's Discov.*, p. 125; *Quintana, Vidas de Españoles Célebres*, 'Balboa,' p. 28; *Robertson's Hist. Am.*, vol. i. p. 207. See chapter x. of this volume.

[1515.] Juan Diaz de Solis sailed from Lepe October 8, 1515, with three vessels, and surveyed the eastern coast of South America from Cape San Roque to Rio Janeiro, where he was killed by the natives. *Navarrete, Col. de Viages*, tom. iii. pp. 48–50. Three vessels were fitted out at Seville, well manned and armed for a cruise against the Caribs, under command of Juan Ponce de Leon, but the Spaniards were defeated in their first encounter with the savages at Guadalupe, and the expedition was practically abandoned.

The adventures of Badajoz, Mercado, Morales, and others in 1515–16 and the following years, by which the geography of the Isthmus was more fully determined, are given elsewhere.

Schöner, Luculentissima quædã terræ totius descriptio, Nuremberg, 1515, and another edition of the same work under the title *Orbis Typus*, same place and date, have a chapter on America 'discovered by Vespucci in 1497.' In *Reisch, Margaritha Philosophica*, Strasburg, 1515, an encyclopedia frequently republished, is a map which is almost an exact copy of that in the *Ptolemy* of 1513, except in its names. The main-land to the north-west of Cuba is called Zoana Mela, but the names of certain localities along the coast are omitted. Both Cuba and Española are called Isabela, and the southern continent is laid down as 'Paria seu Prisilia.' *Harrisse, Bib. Am. Vet.*, nos. 80–2; *Kunstmann, Entdeckung Am.*, pp. 130–1; *Kohl, Die beiden ältesten Karten von Am.*, p. 33; *Stevens' Notes*, p. 52; fac-simile, pl. iv. no. 2.

[1516.] After Ponce de Leon's voyage in 1512 or 1513, and probably before that time, trips were made by private adventurers northward from Española and Cuba to the Islands and to Florida. Among these is that of Diego de Miruelo in 1516, who probably visited the western or gulf coast of Florida, and brought back specimens of gold. No details are known of the expedition. *Garcilasso de la Vega, La Florida del Inca*, Madrid, 1723, p. 5.

Lettera di Amerigo vespucci, Florence, 1516, the second collection of the four voyages; *Peter Martyr, Ioannes ruffus, De Orbe Decades*, Alcala, 1516, the first edition of three decades; and *Giustiniani, Psalterium*, Genoa, 1516, which appends a life of Columbus to the nineteenth Psalm, are among the new books of the year.

[1517.] Eden, in his dedication of an English translation of *Munster's Cosmography*, in 1553, speaks of certain ships "furnished and set forth" in 1517 under Sebastian Cabot and Sir Thomas Pert; but so faint was the heart of the baronet that the voyage "toke none effect." On this authority some authors have ascribed a voyage to Cabot in 1517, to regions concerning which they do not agree. An expedition whose destination and results are unknown, can have had little effect on geographical knowledge; and Kohl, after a full discussion of the subject, seems to have proved against Biddle, its chief supporter, that there is not sufficient evidence of such a voyage. *Navigatione di Sebastiano Cabota*, in *Ramusio*, tom. ii. fol. 212; *Kunstmann, Entdeckung Am.*,

pp. 54–5; *Roux de Rochelle*, in *Bulletin, Soc. Géog.*, Apr. 1832, p. 209; *Peter Martyr*, dec. iii. cap. vi.

Francisco Hernandez de Córdoba, with three vessels and 110 men, sailed from La Habana February 8, 1517, sent by the governor of Cuba to make explorations toward the west. Touching at Cape Catoche, in Yucatan, he coasted the peninsula in fifteen days to Campeche, and six days later reached Potonchan, or Champoton, where a battle was fought with the natives, and the Spaniards defeated. Accounts indicate that the explorers were not unanimous in supposing Yucatan to be an island, as it was afterward represented on some maps. Failing to procure a supply of water in the slough of Lagartos, Córdoba sailed across the Gulf to Florida, and thence returned to Cuba, where he died in ten days from his wounds. I find nothing to show what part of Florida he touched. *Torquemada, Monarq. Ind.*, tom. i. pp. 349–51; *Peter Martyr*, dec. iv. cap. i.; *Oviedo, Hist. Gen.*, tom. i. pp. 497–8; *Galvano's Discov.*, pp. 130–1; *Gomara, Conq. Mex.*, fol. 8–9; *Herrera, Hist. Gen.*, dec. ii. lib. ii. cap. xvii.; *Cogolludo, Hist. Yucathan*, pp. 3–8; *Prescott's Mex.*, vol. i. pp. 222–24; *Viages Menores*, in *Navarrete*, tom. iii. pp. 53–5; *West-Indische Spieghel*, p. 188; *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, tom. i. pp. 338–41.

[1518.] The following year Juan de Grijalva was sent from Cuba to carry on the explorations begun by Córdoba. Grijalva sailed from Santiago de Cuba April 8, 1518, with four vessels, reached the island of Santa Cruz (Cozumel) on the 3d of May, took possession on the 6th of May, and shortly after entered Ascension Bay. From this point he coasted Yucatan 270 leagues, by his estimate, to Puerto Deseado, entered and named the Rio de Grijalva (Tabasco), and took possession of the country in the vicinity of Vera Cruz about the 19th of June. Advancing up the coast to Cabo Rojo, he turned about and entered Rio Tonalá, engaged in a parting fight at Champoton, followed the coast for several weeks, and then turned for Cuba, arriving at Matanzas about the 1st of November. During his absence, Cristóbal de Olid had coasted a large part of Yucatan in search of Grijalva's fleet. *Peter Martyr*, dec. iv. cap. iii.–iv.; *Torquemada, Monarq. Ind.*, tom. i. pp. 351–8, *Oviedo, Hist. Gen.*, tom. i. pp. 502–37; *Gomara, Conq. Mex.*, fol. 8–11, 56–8; *Herrera, Hist. Gen.*, dec. ii. lib. iii. cap. i. ix.; *Robertson's Hist. Am.*, vol. i. pp. 240–4; *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, tom. iv. pp. 40–50; *Cogolludo, Hist. Yucathan*, pp. 8–16; *Diaz, Itinéraire*, in *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, série i. tom. x. pp. 1–47; *Viages Menores*, in *Navarrete*, tom. iii. pp. 53–64; *Alaman, Disertaciones*, tom. i. pp. 45–8; *Reise des Johann Grijalva und allererste Entdeckung Neuspaniens*, in *Sammlung*, tom. xiii. p. 258; *Itinerario de Juan de Grijalva*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, tom. i. p. 281.

I may here remark that such manuscript maps, made generally by pilots for government use, as have been preserved are, as might be expected, far superior to those published in geographical works of the period. I give a copy of a Portuguese chart preserved in the Royal Academy at Munich.

From the fact that Yucatan is represented as a peninsula, though not named, while the discoveries of Grijalva and Cortés are not shown, the date of 1518 may be ascribed to the map. Stevens believes it to have been made some time about 1514; Kohl about 1520; Kunstmann some time after 1511. Unexplored coasts are left out instead of being laid down from old Asiatic

maps; as for example the United States coast from Newfoundland (Bacalnaos) to Florida (Bimini), and the Gulf coast from Florida to Yucatan. In the central region the names 'Terram Antipodum' and 'Antilhas de Castela' are used without any means of deciding to exactly what parts they are to be applied. The South Sea discovered by Balboa in 1513 is here shown for the first time with the inscription 'Mar visto pelos Castelhanus.' To South America the name 'Brasill' is given. The presence of two Mahometan flags in locations

MAP IN MUNICH ATLAS, SUPPOSED TO HAVE BEEN DRAWN ABOUT 1518.

corresponding to Honduras and Venezuela, shows that the compiler still had no doubt that he was mapping parts of Asia. *Kunstmann, Entdeckung Am.*, pp. 129 et seq.; *Munich Atlas*, no. iv., from which I take my copy; *Kohl's Hist. Discov.*, pp. 179–82, pl. x.; *Stevens' Notes*, pp. 17, 53, pl. v. Pomponius Mela's *Libri de situ orbis*, Vienna, 1518, contains a commentary by Vadianus, written however in 1512, in which the name America is used in speaking of the New World. Other editions appeared in 1522 and 1530.

[1519.] *Stobnicza's Ptolemy* of 1519 alludes to the New World discovered by Vespucci and named after him.

Enciso, Suma de geografia, Seville, 1519, is the first Spanish work known which treats of the new regions. The author was a companion of Ojeda in his unfortunate attempt to found a colony on Tierra Firme. Another edition appeared in 1530.

On February 18, 1519, Hernan Cortés set sail from Cuba to undertake

the conquest of the countries discovered by Córdoba and Grijalva. After spending some time on the island of Cozumel, where he rescued Gerónimo de Aguilar from his long captivity (see p. 129), he followed the coast to Rio de Grijalva, where he defeated the natives in battle, and took possession of the land in the name of the Catholic sovereigns. From this place he continued his voyage sailing near the shore to Vera Cruz, where he landed his forces and began the conquest of Montezuma's empire, the history of which forms part of a subsequent volume of this series.

Francisco de Garay, governor of Jamaica, prompted by the reports of Ponce de Leon, Córdoba, and Grijalva, despatched four vessels in 1519, under Alonso Alvarez Pineda, who sailed northward to a point on the Pánuco coast (where, according to Gomara, an expedition had been sent during the preceding year, under Camargo). Prevented by winds and shoals from coasting northward as he desired, he sailed along in sight of the low gulf shores until he reached Vera Cruz, where he found the fleet of Cortés. Troubles between the commanders arose from this meeting which will be narrated hereafter.

Garay continued for some time his attempts to found a settlement in the region of Pánuco, but without success. *Peter Martyr*, dec. v. cap. i.; *Gomara, Hist. Ind.*, fol. 55–6; *West-Indische Spieghel*, p. 202; *Gomara, Hist. Conq.*, fol. 222–7; *Viages Menores*, in *Navarrete*, tom. iii. pp. 64–7; *Kunstmann, Entdeckung Am.*, p. 73.

Soon after landing at Vera Cruz Cortés despatched for Spain a vessel under the pilot Antonio de Alaminos, with messengers who were to clear up before the king certain irregularities which the determined conqueror had felt obliged to commit, and furthermore to establish his authority upon a more defined basis. Alaminos sailed July 16, 1519, following a new route north of Cuba, through the Bahama Channel, and down the Gulf Stream, of which current he was probably the first to take advantage. Touching at Cuba and discovering Terceira he reached Spain in October. *Diaz del Castillo, Hist. Verdadera de la Conqvista*, Madrid, 1632, fol. 37–9; *Herrera, Hist. Gen.*, dec. ii. lib. v. cap. xiv.; *Kohl's Hist. Discov.*, pp. 243–5.

The history of the Darien colonies is elsewhere recounted in this volume, and the introduction here of the numerous land and water expeditions on and along the Isthmus would be confusing and unprofitable. Suffice it to say that in 1519 the city of Panamá was founded, and a second expedition sent under Gaspar de Espinosa up the South Sea coast. The northern limit reached was the gulf of San Lúcar (Nicoya), latitude 10° north, in Nicaragua, and the expedition returned to Panamá by land from Burica. *Andagoya's Narrative of the Proceedings of Pedrarias Davila*, London, 1865, pp. 23–4; *Kohl, Die beiden ältesten Karten von Am.*, p. 162; *Oviedo, Hist. Gen.*, tom. iii. p. 61 et seq.

We have seen several unsuccessful attempts by both Spaniards and Portuguese to find a passage to India by the southern parts of Brazil, Santa Cruz, or America. In 1519 a native of Oporto, Fernando de Magalhaens, called by Spaniards Magallanes, and by English authors Magellan, after having made several voyages for Portugal to India *via* Good Hope, quit the Portuguese service dissatisfied, entered the service of Spain, and undertook the oft-repeated attempt of reaching the east by sailing west. His particular destina-

tion was the Moluccas, which the Spaniards claimed as lying within the hemisphere granted to them by the treaty of Tordesillas in 1494. It appears that Magellan had seen some map, of unknown origin, on which was represented a strait instead of an open sea at the southern point of America—probably the conjecture of some geographer, for, says Humboldt, "dans le moyen âge les conjectures étaient inscrits religieusement sur les cartes." See *Exam. Crit.*, tom. i. pp. 306, 326, 354; tom. ii. pp. 17–26. Sailing from San Lúcar September 20, 1519, with five ships and 265 men, he reached Rio de Janeiro on the coast of Brazil on the 13th of December, and from that point coasted southward. An attempt to pass through the continent by the Rio de la Plata failed, and on March 31, 1520, the fleet reached Port St Julian in about 49° south, where it remained five months until the 24th of August. On the 21st of October Magellan arrived at Cabo de las Vírgenes and the entrance to what seemed, and indeed proved, to be the long-desired strait. Having lost one vessel on the eastern coast, and being deserted by another which turned back and sailed for Spain after having entered the strait, with the remaining three he passed on, naming the land on the south Tierra del Fuego, from the fires seen burning there. Emerging from the strait, which he called Vitoria after one of his ships, on the 27th of November he entered and named the Pacific Ocean. Then steering north-west for warmer climes he crossed the line February 13, 1521, arrived at the Ladrones on the 6th of March, and at the Philippines on the 16th of March. This bold navigator, "second only to Columbus in the history of nautical exploration," was killed on the 27th of April, in a battle with the natives of one of these islands; the remainder of the force, consisting of 115 men under Caraballo, proceeded on their way, touching at Borneo and other islands, and anchoring on the 8th of November at the Moluccas, their destination. From this point one of the vessels, the *Vitoria*, in command of Sebastian del Cano, sailed round the Cape of Good Hope, and reached San Lúcar September 6, 1522, with only eighteen survivors of the 265 who had sailed with Magellan. Thus was accomplished the first circumnavigation of the globe.

As to the circumstances attending the naming of the Pacific Ocean, a few words may not be out of place. Magellan was accompanied by one Antonio Pigafetta, of Vicenza, afterward Caviliere di Rhodi, who wrote in bad Italian a narrative of the voyage, which was rewritten and translated into French, *Primer voyage autour du Monde, par le Chevallier Pigafetta, sur l'Escadre de Magellan pendant les années 1519, 20, 21, et 22*, by Charles Amoretti. "Le mercredi, 28 novembre," says Pigafetta, liv. ii. p. 50, "nous débouquâmes du détroit pour entrer dans la grande mer, à laquelle nous donnâmes ensuite le nom de mer Pacifique; dans laquelle nous naviguâmes pendant le cours de trois mois et vingt jours, sans goûter d'aucune nourriture fraiche." And again, p. 52, "Pendant cet espace de trois mois et vingt jours nous parcourûmes à peu près quatre mille lieues dans cette mer que nous appelâmes Pacifique, parce que durant tout le temps de notre traversée nous n'essuyâmes pas le moindre tempête;" or, as Ramusio, *Viaggio atorno il mondo fatto et descritto per M. Antonio Pigafetta*, in *Viaggi*, tom. iii. fol. 393, puts it, "Et in questi tre mesi, & venti giorni fecero quattro mila leghe in vn golfo per questo mar

Pacifico, il qual ben si puó chiamar pacifico, perche in tutto questo tempo senza veder mai terra alcuna, non hebbero né fortuna di vento, né di altra tempesta." Peter Martyr, dec. v. cap. vii., speaks of it only as "the huge Ocean" first found by Vasco Nuñez, and then called the South Sea. Galvano, *Discov.*, p. 142, alludes to it as a "mightie sea called Pacificum." Oviedo, *Hist. Gen.*, tom. ii. p. 22, merely remarks: "Es aquel estrecho en algunas partes mas é menos de media legua, y çircundado de montañas altíssimas cargadas de nieve, y corre en otra mar que le puso nombre el capitan Fernando de Magallanes, el *Mar Pacífico;* y es muy profundo, y en algunas parotes de veynte é çinco hasta en treynta braças." Gomara, *Hist. Ind.*, fol. 120, says, "No cabia de gozo por auer hallado aq̄l passo para el otro mar del Sur, por do pesana llegar presto alas yslas del Maluco," without any mention of the word Pacific. The *Sammlung aller Reisebeschreibungen*, tom. xi. p. 346, gives it essentially the same as Pigafetta: "In einer Zeit von drey Monaten und zwanzig Tagen, legete er viertausend Meilen in einer See zurück, welche er das friedfertige oder stille Meer nannte; weil er keinen Sturm auf demselben ausstund, und kein anderes Land sah, als diese beyden Inseln." Kohl, *Die beiden ältesten Karten von Am.*, p. 161, is unable to find the name on the old maps: "Der Name 'Oceano Pacifico,' der auch schon auf den Reisen des Magellan und Loaysa in Schwung kam, steht nirgends auf unseren Karten." Herrera, dec. ii. lib. ix. cap. xv., describes the exit from the strait in the language following: "a veyente y siete de Nouiẽbre, salio al espacioso mar del Sur, dando infinitas gracias a Dios." Navarrete, *Viages al Maluco; Primero el de Hernando de Magallanes*, in tom. iv. pp. 49–50, of his collection says: "Salió pues Magallanes del *estrecho que nombraron de Todos los Santos* el dia 27 de Noviembre de 1520 con las tres naos Trinidad, Victoria, y Concepcion, y se halló en una mar oscura y gruesa que era indicio de gran golfo; pero despues le nombraron *Mar Pacífico*, porque en todo el tiempo que navegaron por él, no tuvieron tempestad alguna." Happening thus, that in this first circumnavigation of the globe, as the strangers entered at its southern end the South Sea of Vasco Nuñez, the waters greeted them kindly, in return they gave them a peaceful title; other voyagers entering this same sea at other times gave to it a far different character. For further reference see *Voyage de Fernando de Magelhaens*, in *Berenger, Col. Voy.*, tom. i. pp. 1–26; *Aa, Naaukeurige Versameling*, tom. ix. pt. ii. p. 7; *Purchas, His Pilgrimes*, vol. i. pt. ii. pp. 33–46.

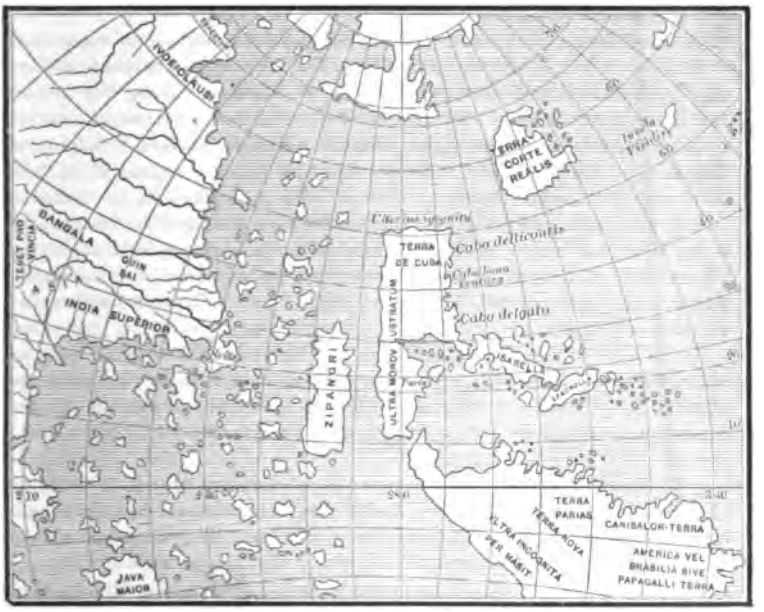
A manuscript map supposed to have been made by Malollo in 1519, of which a fac-simile is given in the *Munich Atlas*, no. v., shows the islands and main-land from Yucatan south and east, closely resembling, except in names of localities, the map of 1518 (see page 133). The eastern part of Brazil is called 'Sante Crucis,' and on the Pearl Coast is an inscription to the effect that it was discovered by Columbus. *Kunstmann, Entdeckung Am.*, pp. 135–6; *Schmeller*, in *Abhandl. Akademie der Wissensch.*, tom. iv. pt. i. p. 253.

[1520.] An anonymous pamphlet without date, *Copia der Newen Zeytung*, is a translation of a letter describing a voyage of two thousand miles along the Brazilian coast. Harrisse places it under date of 1520, and thinks it may furnish grounds for the belief that Magellan was not the first to reach the strait. Varnhagen, *Hist. Brazil*, Madrid, 1854, maintains that the voyage

described was under Solis and Pinzon in 1508. Humboldt, *Exam. Crit.*, tom. v. p. 249, applies the description to some later voyage made between 1525 and 1540.

To *Varthema, Itinerario Nello Egitto*, Venetia (supposed to be 1520), is joined an account of Grijalva's voyage to Yucatan in 1518 (see page 132), translated from the original diary of Juan Diaz, chaplain of the expedition. Other editions appeared in 1522–26–35. *Discorso sopra lo itinerario di Lodouico Barthema*, in *Ramusio*, tom. i. fol. 160. The Itinerary of Diaz is not given by Ramusio. *Provincie sive Regiones in India Occidentali*, Valladolid, 1520, is a Latin translation of an account, by an unknown author, of the conquest of Cuba by Diego Velazquez. *Pigghe, De æquinoctiorum sol*, etc., Paris, supposed to have been printed in 1520, has a passage on the lands discovered by Vespucci. *A New Interlude*, London, 1519 or 1520, has a verse in which the name America is used.

A globe made by John Schöner in 1520 is preserved in Nuremberg, and copies have been given by Ghillany, Lelewel, and Kohl, of which I give a reduction.



SCHÖNER'S GLOBE, 1520.

This is the first drawing to represent all the regions of the New World as distinct, although not distant, from the Asiatic coast, which is laid down mostly as in Behaim's globe, with some imaginary additions round the north pole. This separation was undoubtedly a mere conjecture of the compiler, for the voyage of Magellan, which might have suggested such an idea, was

not yet known or even consummated, and the map shows no knowledge of the later voyages even to the eastern coast. All the northern discoveries are given as an island, 'Terra Corterealis.' The central and southern parts—except their separation from Asia—are accurately copied from the map of Ptolemy, 1513 (see page 130), although a strait leads through the Isthmus into the South Sea. 'Terra de Cuba' is the name applied to the northern part of what may be regarded as the nucleus which afterward grew into North America, while the southern part is called Paria. Several names of localities on the coast, as 'C. Dellicontis' and 'C. Bonaventura,' are retained from the map of 1513, although Kohl erroneously calls all the names new and original. To the southern continent various names are applied, as America, Brazil, Paria (repeated), Land of Cannibals and of Parrots. On the original is an antarctic region round the south pole, called 'Brasiliæ Regio,' and separated from America in lat. 42° south by a strait, although the discovery of such a strait could not at the time have been known. *Humboldt, Exam. Crit.*, tom. ii. p. 28. Several globes of about this date preserved in Germany are said to agree with this of Schöner's in their general features. *Kohl's Hist. Discov.*, pp. 158–63, pl. vii., and *Beiden ältesten Karten von Am.*, p. 33; *Harrisse, Bib. Am. Vet.*, p. 141.

In the *Solinus-Camers, Enarrationes*, Vienna, 1520, was published a woodcut map, the first to give the name America. The map was made by Petrus Apianus, and afterward used by him in his cosmography. According to various descriptions it agrees very nearly with Schöner's globe except in the extreme north, where Engronelant is represented very much as in the map of the Zeni in 1400 (see page 82). *Kunstmann, Entdeckung Am.*, pp. 134–5; *Kohl, Beiden ältesten Karten von Am.*, p. 33; *Harrisse, Bib. Am. Vet.*, pp. 184, 192.

Cortés with his second letter dated October 30, 1520, sent to Spain a map of the Gulf of Mexico, which was printed in 1524. The map is valuable only for its list of names along the whole extent of the gulf coast, and it is therefore unnecessary to reproduce it here. Yucatan seems to be represented as an island. *Stevens' Notes*, pp. 38, 53, pl. iv. no. vii.

In 1520 Lucas Vazquez de Aillon and other wealthy citizens of Española sent two vessels, probably under one Jordan, to the Lucayos Islands for slaves. Not succeeding according to their expectations in the islands, the Spaniards directed their course northward toward the country discovered by Ponce de Leon in 1513, and finally touched the coast in about 32° or 33°—Port Royal according to Navarrete; Stevens says Cape Fear—a region probably never before visited. They called the country Chicora, and the place of landing was named Cabo de Santa Elena and Rio Jordan. They made no explorations in any direction. One vessel and nearly all the slaves were lost on the return. *Navarrete, Col. de Viages*, tom. iii. pp. 69–71; *Kohl's Hist. Discov.*, pp. 245–8; *Stevens' Notes*, p. 48.

Pánfilo de Narvaez sailed from Cuba in 1520 with a large force to dispossess Cortés, who had declared himself independent of his chief Velazquez; but after many reverses his forces went over to his opponent. *Gomara, Hist. Ind.*, fol. 52–5; *Oviedo, Hist. Gen.*, tom. i. p. 540; *Torquemada, Monarq. Ind.*, tom. i. p. 474.

The conquest of Mexico once accomplished, Hernan Cortés very soon

turned his attention to the South Sea coasts. Hearing from natives that the Pacific extended as far north as the land he had conquered, he sent small parties to explore and take possession, which they did at two points, Tehuantepec and Zacatula, before the end of 1521. Cortés was fully acquainted with the cosmographic theories of the time, and was enthusiastic in their application to the discovery of islands and main, rich in spices and precious metals. It was now established in a general way, as shown by the best maps, that the newly discovered lands were not the main Asiatic continent of Marco Polo, but a great south-eastern projection of that continent, probably separated from it by a strait. Cortés' idea was to sail down the coast as he termed it, northward at first, until he should either reach the rich Indian lands, or on the way find the strait which should afford a short cut from Spain to those lands. His efforts will be briefly noticed here in chronologic order, but fully presented in another part of my work. The best and almost only authority is *Cortés, Cartas.*

[1521.] Juan Ponce de Leon, learning from other voyagers that the land of Florida discovered by him was not, as he had believed it to be, an island, fitted out an expedition in Puerto Rico and sailed to repeat in Florida the glorious achievements of Cortés in New Spain. He reached the west coast of the peninsula, but was killed by the natives soon after landing, and his men returned without having accomplished their object.

Peter Martyr, De nvper svb D. Carolo repertis Insulis, Basiliæ, 1521, is the first edition of a part of the fourth decade.

[1522.] Pomponius Mela, *De Orbis Situ*, Basiliæ, 1522, reproduced Apianus' map of 1520 (see page 137), also *Kohl, Beiden ältesten Karten*, p. 33. The *Ptolemy* of this year, edited by Frisius, contains two maps resembling in their general appearance the Ptolemy map of 1513, and showing but little advance in geographical knowledge. These maps are also in the edition of 1525. *Asher's Catalogue*, no. civ., Berlin, 1873. *Translationus hispanischer*, etc., n. p., n. d., has a slight notice of the City of Mexico. *Ein schöne Newe zeitung*, Augsburg (1522), notices the voyages of Columbus and the conquest of Mexico. *Of the newe lãdes and of ye people founde by the Messengers of the Kynge of portyngale*, attributed to this year, is regarded as the first book in English to treat of America, which it calls Armenica. *Cortés, Carta de Relaciõ*, Seville, 1522, is the letter dated October 30, 1520, supposed to be the conqueror's second letter, the first having been lost. Eight other editions or translations appeared in various forms before 1532.

In 1522 Pascual de Andagoya followed the west coast of America southward from Panamá, to a point six or seven days' sail below the gulf of San Miguel in the province of Birú (Peru), a little beyond Point Pinos. Information obtained during this expedition concerning more southern lands, furnished the motive for the conquest of Peru undertaken a few years later by Francisco Pizarro. *Pascual de Andagoya, Narrative*, pp. 40–1.

Gil Gonzalez Dávila with a fleet of four vessels sailed from the islands in the Bay of Panamá, January 21, 1522, to explore the South Sea coast northwestward. Reaching the gulf of Nicoya, the limit of Espinosa's voyage, Gil Gonzalez proceeded by land and discovered Lake Nicaragua. The pilot Andres Niño continued westward, discovered and named the gulf of

Fonseca, and reached, according to Herrera, dec. iii. lib. iv. cap. v.–vi., the province of Chorotega, having discovered 350 leagues of sea-coast from Nicoya, or 650 leagues from the gulf of San Miguel. Peter Martyr places Niño's ultimate limit at 300 leagues beyond the gulf of San Vicente; Ribero's map at 140 leagues west of the bay of Fonseca. Kohl, *Beiden ältesten Karten von Am.*, pp. 163–9, thinks he probably reached the mountains south of Soconusco. See also *Navarrete, Col. de Viages*, tom. iii. pp. 413, 417–18; *Galvano's Discov.*, pp. 148–9; *Oviedo, Hist. Gen.*, tom. iii. pp. 97–114; *Squier's Nicaragua*, New York, 1860, pp. 157–61. Not long afterward the cities of Granada and Leon were founded, and communication with Nicaragua from the south became of frequent occurrence.

In 1522 Pedro de Alvarado occupied Tututepec on the Pacific; while at Zacatula a *villa* was founded, and a beginning made there on several vessels for exploration northward. *Cortés, Cartas*, Letter of May 15, 1522.

[1523.] Francisco de Garay fitted out a new fleet of eleven vessels, with 850 men, which sailed from Jamaica June 26, 1523. This force was intended for the conquest and settlement of Pánuco, but soon united with the army of Cortés without having accomplished anything of importance. *Navarrete, Col. de Viages*, tom. iii. pp. 67–9; *Herrera, Hist. Gen.*, dec. iii. lib. v. cap. v.–vi.; *Peter Martyr*, dec. vii. cap. v.; *Cortes, Carta tercera de Relaciõ*, Seville, 1523. This third letter was written May 15, 1522. Other editions appeared in 1524, and 1532. For the bibliography of Cortés' letters see *Harrisse, Bib. Am. Vet.*, pp. 215–23. *Maximilian, De Molvccis Insulis*, Coloniæ, 1523, is a letter written by the emperor's secretary, describing Magellan's voyage round the world. Other editions are mentioned as having appeared in 1523, 1524, 1534, 1536, and 1537.

[1524.] *Apianus, Cosmographicus Liber*, Landshutæ, 1524, contains a short chapter on America, which the author describes as an island, because he says it is surrounded by water; furthermore, he affirms this land was named from Vespucci, its discoverer. The map of *Solinus-Camers*, 1520, is repeated in this and in several succeeding editions of the cosmography. *Kunstmann, Entdeckung Am.*, pp. 134–5. Francis, *De Orbis Situ ac Descriptione*, Antwerp, 1524, also describes the New World.

In 1524 Cortés' fleet at Zacatula was not yet launched, the work having been delayed by fire. The conquest of Colima had however made known a good port, and brought new rumors of rich islands further north. The conqueror's plans were unchanged and his enthusiasm undiminished. His use of the term "la costa abajo," or down the coast, when he meant to sail northward, has sadly confused many writers as to his real intentions, and as to his ideas of the strait. *Cortés, Cartas*, Letter of Oct. 15, 1524.

In 1524 was made the first official French expedition to the New World. A fleet of four vessels was made ready under Giovanni Verrazano at Dieppe, but three of his ships were separated from him in some inexplicable manner before leaving European waters; and in the remaining one, the *Dauphine*, with fifty men, he sailed on the 17th of January, 1524, from an island near Madeira. After a voyage of forty-nine days, during which time he sailed 900 leagues, Verrazano struck the United States coast in about latitude 34°, perhaps at Cape Fear. Thence he sailed first southward fifty leagues, then

turning about he followed the coast northward, frequently touching, to Newfoundland, whence he returned to Dieppe in July, 1524. Verrazano in his journal mentions only one date, and names but one locality; consequently there is much difference of opinion concerning his landings.

The southern limit of the voyage, so far as it can be known, was in the vicinity of Cape Romain, South Carolina, though some authors, apparently without sufficient authority —the voyager says he saw palms —have placed the limit in Florida. It is probable that a large part of the United States coast was for the first time explored during this voyage, which also completed the discovery of the whole eastern shore-line of America, except probably a short but indefinite distance in South Carolina and Georgia, between the limits reached by Ponce de Leon in 1513 and by Verrazano; one intermediate point having also been visited by Aillon in 1520. *Relatione di Giouanni da Verrazzano Fiorentino della terra per lui scoperta in nome di sua Maestà, scritta in Dieppa, adi 8*, Luglio, MDXXIIII., in *Ramusio*, tom. iii. fol. 420. In the preface to this volume, edition of 1556, the author states that it is not known whether New France is joined to Florida or not. *Herrera, Hist. Gen.*, dec. iii. lib. vi. cap. ix.; *Hakluyt's Divers Voy.*, pp. 55–71; *New York Hist. Soc., Collections*, 1841, series ii. vol. i.; *Kohl's Hist. Discov.*, pp. 249–70; *Hakluyt's Voy.*, vol. iii. pp. 295–300; *Aa, Naaukeurige Versameling*, tom. x. app. p. 13. A chart given by Verrazano to Henry VIII. is said to have been used by Lock in compiling the map published in *Hakluyt's Divers Voy.*, London, 1582. (Reprint by the Hakluyt Society, 1850. Copy in *Kohl*, p. 290.)

In 1522 Pedro de Alvarado had accomplished the conquest of Tehuantepec on the South Sea; in 1524 and the following years he extended his explorations and conquests by land across the isthmus over all the north-western region of Central America, joining his conquests to those of his countrymen from Panamá. In 1523 Cristóbal de Olid made an expedition by water to Honduras in the service of Cortés, founding a settlement; and in 1524 Cortés himself marched overland from Mexico to Honduras. *Lettres de Pédro de Alvarado à Fernan Cortès*, in *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, série i. tom. x. pp. 107–50, and in *Ramusio, Viaggi*, tom. iii. fol. 296–300; *Peter Martyr*, dec. viii. cap. v. x.; *Oviedo, Hist. Gen.*, tom. iii. pp. 434, 439, 475–87; *Gomara, Hist. Conq. Mex.*, fol. 228–33, 245–6, 250–74; *Herrera, Hist. Gen.*, dec. iii. lib. iii. cap. xvii.; lib. vi. cap. x.–xii.; lib. vii. cap. viii.–ix.; lib. viii. cap. i.–vii.; *Alaman, Disertaciones*, tom. i. pp. 203–25; *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, tom. iv. pp. 546–50, 598 et seq., 631–705.

In this same year, 1524, Francisco Pizarro sailed from Panamá southward, and began the conquest of Peru, which, as related elsewhere in this volume, brought to light, before 1540, nearly the whole western coast of South America. For references to Pizarro's discovery see a later chapter of this volume.

A meeting of the leading pilots and cosmographers of Spain and Portugal, known as the Council of Badajoz, was convened for the purpose of settling disputed questions between the two governments. Failing in its primary purpose, the council nevertheless contributed largely to a better knowledge of New World geography. Indeed, from this time the European governments may be supposed to have had, and to have delineated on their official charts, tolerably accurate ideas of the general form of America and of its

relation to Asia, except in the north-west, although the existence of a passage through the continent was still firmly believed in. Writers on cosmography and compilers of published maps did not, however, for a long time obtain the knowledge lodged in the hands of government officials.

[1525.] The man who accompanied Magellan in 1519, but left him after entering the strait and returned with one vessel to Spain, was named Estévan Gomez. In 1525 this captain was sent by Spain to search for a corresponding strait in the north. Although an official expedition, and the only one ever sent by Spain to northern parts, no journal has been preserved, and only slight particulars derived from the old chroniclers are known. Gomez expected to find a strait somewhere between Florida and Newfoundland, probably not knowing the result of Verrazano's voyage of the preceding year. Cabot was at the time piloto mayor in Spain, and if Verrazano had, as is claimed for him by some, reached the southern United States coasts, it is not likely that Gomez would have looked there so confidently for his strait. This voyage lasted about ten months, and in it Gomez is supposed to have explored the coast from Newfoundland to a point below New York—possibly to Georgia or Florida. *Peter Martyr*, dec. vi. cap. x.; *Herrera, Hist. Gen.*, dec. iii. lib. viii. cap. viii.; *Kohl's Hist. Discov.*, pp. 271–81; *Navarrete, Col. de Viages*, tom. iv. p. viii.; *Kunstmann, Entdeckung Am.*, pp. 70–1. According to Harrisse, *Fries, Yslegung der Mercarthen oder Cartha Marina*, Strasburg, 1525, contains a map of the world, including America, but Kohl states that this map, although made in 1525, was not published till 1530. Other publications of the year are: *Pietro Arias* (Pedrarias Dávila), *Lettere di Pietro Arias Capitano generale, della conquista del paese del Mar Occeano*, written from Darien, and printed without place or date; *Pigafetta, Le voyage et nauigation faict par les Espaignolz es Isles de Mollucques*, an abridgment of the original account by the author, who was with Magellan; *Cortes, La quarta Relacion*, Toledo, 1525, dated October 15, 1524.

García de Loaisa sailed from Corunna July 24, 1525, to follow Magellan's track. Passing through the strait between January and May, 1526, he arrived at the Moluccas in October. *Viages al Maluco, Segundo el del Comendador Fr. Garcia de Loaisa*, in *Navarrete*, tom. v.; *Burney's Discov. South Sea*, vol. i. pp. 127–45; *Relaciones del viaje hecho á las islas Molucas*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas*, tom. v. p. 5.

[1526.] One small vessel of Loaisa's fleet, under command of Santiago de Guevara, became separated from the rest June 1, 1526, after having reached the Pacific Ocean. Guevara decided to steer for the coast of New Spain, which was first seen in the middle of July; and on the 25th he anchored at Tehuantepec. *Navarrete, Col. de Viages*, tom. v. pp. 176–81, 224–5.

Cortés' exploring vessels, begun in 1522—the first having been burned on the stocks, others were built in their place—were now, after long delay, nearly ready to sail; and Guevara's vessel was brought up from Tehuantepec to join them. *Cortés, Cartas*, Letter of September, 1526.

Aillon, in 1523, was made adelantado of Chicora, the country discovered by him in 1520, and immediately prepared a new expedition with a view to colonize the country, explore the coasts, and to find, if possible, a passage to India. The preparations were not completed until July, 1526, when he

sailed from Española with six vessels, 500 men, and ninety horses. He reached the Rio Jordan—perhaps St Helena Sound, South Carolina—and thence made a careful exploration northward, at least to Cape Fear, and probably much farther. Aillon died on the 18th of October, and after much internal dissension 150 men, all that remained alive, returned to Santo Domingo. *Navarrete, Col. de Viages*, tom. iii. pp. 71–4, 153–60; *Kunstmann, Entdeckung Am.*, p. 71.

Oviedo, *De la Natural hystoria de las Indias*, Toledo, 1526, describes the New World, but this book is not the great historical work, lately printed, by the same author. It may be found also in *Barcia, Historiadores Primitivos*, and in *Ramusio*.

Sebastian Cabot attempted a voyage to India in 1526, sailing with four vessels in April, with the intention of bearing succor to Loaisa. Owing to insubordination among his officers, and other misfortunes, he reached only the Rio de la Plata, and after extensive explorations in that region, returned to Spain, having been absent four years. *Oviedo, Hist. Gen.*, tom. ii. p. 169; *Diccionario Universal*, Mexico, apend., 'Viages,' tom. x. p. 807; *Roux de Rochelle*, in *Bulletin de la Soc. Géog.*, April, 1832, p. 212.

[1527.] June 10, 1527, an English expedition—the last officially sent by that nation within the limits of my sketch—sailed from Plymouth, still in search of a north-west passage. The two vessels sailed in company to latitude 53°, and reached the coast, where, on the 1st of July, they were separated by a storm, and one of them was probably lost. The other, under John Rut, turned southward, followed the coast of New England, often landing, probably reached Chicora, and returned to England *via* the West India Islands, arriving early in October. *Hakluyt's Divers Voy.*, pp. 27, 33; *Biddle's Mem. Cabot*, pp. 114, 275; *Oviedo, Hist. Gen.*, tom. i. p. 611; *Herrera, Hist. Gen.*, dec. ii. lib. v. cap. iii.

Francisco Montejo, who had accompanied the expeditions of Grijalva and Cortés, and had since been sent by the latter as ambassador to Spain, obtained from the king in 1526 a commission 'as adelantado to conquer the "islands of Yucatan and Cozumel." He sailed from Seville in 1527, landed at Cozumel, penetrated the northern part of the peninsula, and during the following years fought desperately to accomplish its conquest, but failed. A small colony struggled for existence at Campeche for several years, but in 1535 not a single Spaniard remained in Yucatan. *Cogolludo, Hist. Yucathan*, pp. 50–94; *Gomara, Hist. Ind.*, fol. 62–3; *Stephens' Incidents of Travel in Yucatan*, New York, 1858, vol. i. pp. 56–62.

La Salle, La Salade, Paris, 1527, contains references to Greenland and other northern parts of America.

In July, 1527, three of the vessels built by Cortés made a preliminary trip up the Pacific coast from Zacatula to Santiago in Colima and back—the first voyage along that coast. *Relacion ó Derrotero*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, tom. xiv. pp. 65–9; *Relacion de la Derrota*, in *Florida, Col. Doc.*, pp. 88–91. But an order from Spain required the fleet to be sent to India direct—instead of by the roundabout route proposed by Cortés—for the relief of Loaisa; and the three vessels sailed from Zacatula in October under Saavedra, arriving safely in India. Guevara's ship was too worm-eaten to accompany them;

but several vessels were already on the stocks at Tehuantepec to replace those sent across the ocean. *Sutil y Mexicana, Viage*, introd. pp. vi.–xi.; *Navarrete, Col. Viages*, tom. v. pp. 95–114, 181, 440–86; *Gil, Memoria*, in *Boletin de la Soc. Mex. Geog.*, tom. viii. p. 477 et seq.

In 1527 Robert Thorne, English ambassador to Charles V., wrote a book or memorial to Henry VIII. on cosmography, on the Spanish and Portuguese discoveries, and on the importance of exploring northward for a passage to Cathay. It was afterward printed as *The booke made by the right worshipful M. Robert Thorne*, in *Hakluyt's Voy.*, vol. i. pp. 214–20.

In 1526 a commissioner was appointed to correct the Spanish charts. Fernando Colon was charged with the revision, and in 1527 a map was made called *Carta universal en que se contiene todo lo que del mundo se ha descubierto fasta agora.* This map has been preserved, and a fac-simile is given in *Kohl, Beiden ältesten Karten von Am.* It shows the whole eastern coast line from the strait of Magellan to Greenland, and the western coast from Panamá to the vicinity of Soconusco, and indicates that the information in possession of the Spanish government was remarkably accurate and complete. Yucatan is represented as an island, and the discoveries on the Pacific side of South America are not laid down; otherwise this map varies but little except in names from a map made by Diego Ribero, in 1529, of which I shall give a copy. *Kohl, Beiden ältesten Karten von Am.*, pp. 1–24; *Humboldt, Exam. Crit.*, tom. ii. p. 184, and Preface to *Ghillany.*

[1528.] Bordone, *Libro di Benedetto Bordone Nel qual si ragiona de tutte l'Isole del mondo*, Vinegia, 1528, gives maps of the larger American islands, and also a map of the world, the American part of which I copy from the original. No part of the western coast is shown, although the New World is represented as distinct from Asia.

MAP BY BENEDETTO BORDONE, 1528.

Kohl, *Beiden ältesten Karten von Am.*, p. 34, mentions another work printed at Venice the same year, which has a map resembling that of Schöner in 1520.

Pánfilo de Narvaez sailed from Spain in 1527 with five ships and 600 men, to conquer the northern shores of the Gulf of Mexico, and after losing some of his ships by storm, and many of his men by desertion, in cruising about Española, Cuba, and other islands, he landed in the vicinity of Tampa Bay April 14, 1528, and nearly all the company perished in an attempt to follow the coast toward Vera Cruz. *Cabeça de Vaca's Relation*, New York, 1871, pp. 13–20; *Herrera, Hist. Gen.*, dec. iv. lib. iv. cap. iv.–vii.; lib. v. cap. v.

[1529.] Major, *Prince Henry*, pp. 440–52, entertains the opinion that Australia was discovered probably before 1529, and certainly before 1542.

In 1529 was made the before-mentioned Spanish official map by Diego Ribero, which may be supposed to show all that was known by European pilots at that time of New World geography. It contains some improvements and additions to Colon's map of 1527 with the same title, although

criticised, perhaps justly, by Stevens as partisan in its distribution of the new regions among the European powers. I give a copy reduced from the full-sized fac-simile in *Kohl, Beiden ältesten Karten von Am.*

Greenland is called Labrador and is joined to the continent, as the separating strait had not at the time been explored. It will be noticed that Greenland is far less accurately laid down on this and other late maps than on some earlier ones which are supposed to have derived some of their details from northern sources. Labrador, Newfoundland, and Nova Scotia have the general name of Bacallaos. Many of the numerous islands along the coast are named in the original. Corresponding perhaps to the New England and middle United States we have the 'Tiera de Estevā Gomez,' stated by an inscription to have been discovered by the Spaniards in 1525. From this land to Florida extends the 'Tiera de Ayllon,' between which and 'Nveva España' comes the 'Tiera de Garay,' thus dividing nearly all of the northern continent among the Spaniards. The West India Islands have here their true number, position, and names. Yucatan is given in its true proportions but is separated by a strait from the main-land. The South Sea coast is represented only to the limit of the voyage of Gil Gonzalez Dávila on the north, and extends southward to the port of Chinchax in about latitude 10° south, including, according to an inscription, the countries which had been reached by Pizarro in 1527. The form of South America is correctly laid down and the name 'Mvndvs Novvs' is applied to the whole, which is divided into the provinces of 'Castilla del Oro,' 'Perv,' 'Tiera del Brasil,' 'Tiera de Patagones,' and 'Tiera de Fernā de Magallaes,' or land of Magellan. South of the strait is the 'Tiera de los Fuegos,' whose true form and extent were not known until Schouten and Le Maire doubled Cape Horn in 1616.

Thus far I have copied or mentioned all maps which could throw any light on the progress of geographical knowledge, and have endeavored to give a statement of all the voyages by which this progress was made. Thus far we have seen the coasts of both North and South America, except in the south-west and the far north-west, more or less carefully explored by European voyagers; we have seen the New World recognized as distinct for the most part from Asia, a tolerably correct idea of its form and extent given by government pilots, and the name America applied, except on official maps, to the southern continent. Henceforth voyages to the parts already discovered become of common occurrence, and numerous maps, both in manuscript and print, are made, no one of which I shall attempt to follow. In the expeditions of the next and concluding ten years of this Summary I shall notice chiefly those by which a knowledge was acquired of the countries lying toward California and the great Northwest, presenting several maps to illustrate this part of the subject.

[1530.] During the absence of Cortés in Spain no progress had been made in maritime exploration; and by 1530 his ships on the stocks at Tehuantepec were ruined, but he made haste to build more. *Cortés, Cartas*, letters of Oct. 10, 1530, and April 20, 1532.

Nuño de Guzman, formerly president of the audiencia of New Spain, and the inveterate enemy of Cortés, undertook with a large force, recruited in

DIEGO RIBERO'S MAP, 1529.

Mexico, the conquest of the region lying to the north-west of that city. The northern limit of his conquest in 1530–1 was Culiacan, between which and Mexico the whole country was brought under Spanish control by expeditions sent by Guzman in all directions under different leaders. *Relation di Nvnzo di Gvzman*, in *Ramusio*, tom. iii. fol. 331, and abridged in *Purchas, His Pilgrimes*, vol. iv. p. 1556; *Jornada que hizo Nuño de Guzman á la Nueva Galicia*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. de Doc.*, tom. ii.; *Primera relacion*, p. 288; *Tercera relacion*, p. 439; *Cuarta relucion*, p. 461; *Doc. para Hist. de Mex.*, serie iii. p. 669; *Mota Padilla, Conquista de Nueva Galicia*, MS. of 1742; *Oviedo, Hist. Gen.*, tom. iii. pp. 559–77; *Gil, Memoria*, in *Boletin de la Soc. Mex. Geog.*, tom. viii. p. 424 et seq.

Hakluyt, in his *Voyages*, vol. iii. p. 700, states that one William Hawkins, of Plymouth, made voyages, in a ship fitted out at his own expense, to the coast of Brazil in 1530 and 1532, bringing back an Indian king as a curiosity.

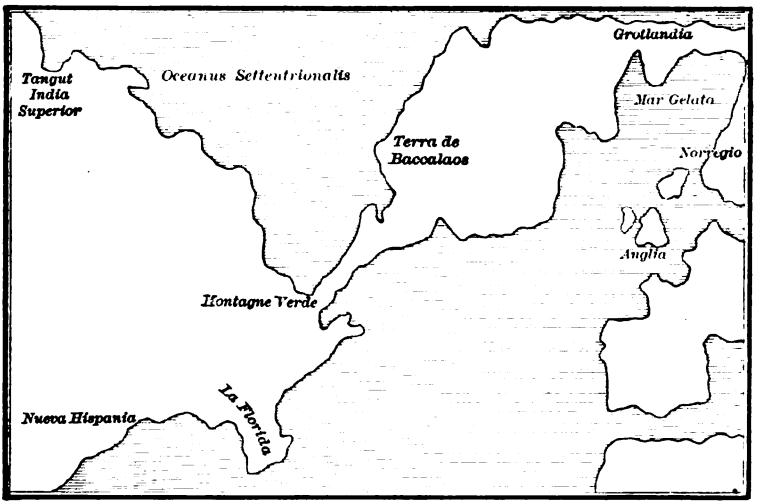
Peter Martyr, De Orbe novo, Cõpluti, 1530, is the first complete edition of eight decades; and *Opus Epistolarum*, of the same date and place, is a collection of over eight hundred letters written between 1488 and 1525, many of them relating more or less to American affairs.

In the *Ptolemy* of 1530, in several subsequent editions, and in *Munster's Cosmography* of 1572 et seq., is the map of which the following is a reduction.

THE NEW WORLD, FROM PTOLEMY, 1530.

I give this drawing, circulated for many years in standard works, to illustrate how extremely slow were cosmographers to form anything like a correct idea of American geography, and how little they availed themselves of the more correct knowledge shown on official charts. The following map, made in 1544, illustrates still further the absurdities circulated for many years

under the name of geography. Scores of additional examples might be given.



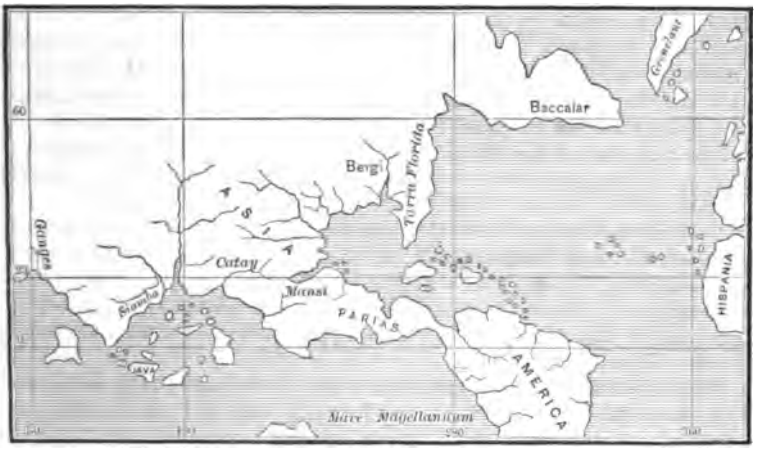
RUSCELLI'S MAP, 1544.

[1532.] At last, in the middle of 1532, Cortés was able to despatch from Acapulco two vessels, under Hurtado de Mendoza and Mazuela, to make the first voyage up the coast beyond Colima. Mendoza touched at Santiago and at the port of Jalisco, near the later San Blas, discovering the islands of Magdalena, or Tres Marías. Then they took refuge from a storm in a port located only by conjecture, probably on the Sonora coast, where after a time the vessels parted. Mendoza went on up the coast. Having landed and ascended the Rio Tamotchala—now the Fuerte—he was killed, with most of his men, by the Indians. The rest were massacred a little later, when the vessel grounded and broke up at the mouth of the Rio Petatlan, or Sinaloa. Meanwhile, Mazuela with the other vessel returning down the coast was driven ashore in Banderas Bay, where all his men but two or three were killed by the natives. Authorities, being voluminous, complicated, and of necessity fully presented elsewhere, are omitted here.

Cortes, De Insvlis nvper inventis, Coloniæ, 1532, is a translation of Hernan Cortés' second and third letters, with Peter Martyr's *De Insulis*, and a letter from Fray Martin de Valencia, dated Yucatan, June 12, 1531, with some letters from Zumárraga, first bishop of Mexico.

Grynævs, Novvs Orbis, Paris and Basle, 1532, is a collection of the voyages of Columbus, Pinzon, Vespucci, and others. In this work the assertion is made that Vespucci discovered America before Columbus, which aroused the wrath of Las Casas, and seems to have originated the subsequent bitter attacks on Vespucci. About the maps originally published with this work there seems to be some doubt, most copies, like my own, having no map.

According to *Stevens' Notes*, pp. 19, 51–2, pl. iii. no. 4, the Paris edition of *Grynæus* contained a map made by Orontius Fine in 1531. The following is a reduction from Stevens' fac-simile on Mercator's projection:



ORONTIUS FINE'S MAP, 1531.

All of the New World, so far as explored, is represented with tolerable accuracy, but the unexplored South Sea coast is made to extend westward from the region of Acapulco, and to join the southern coast of Asia, which is laid down from the ancient chronicles. Instead of being, as Stevens terms it, a "culmination of absurdities," I regard this map as more consistent with the knowledge of the time than any other printed during the first half of the sixteenth century. North America when found was regarded as Asia; South America was at first supposed to be a large island, and later an immense south-eastern extension of Asia; subsequent explorations, chiefly that of Magellan, showed the existence of a vast ocean between southern America and southern Asia; official maps left unexplored regions blank, expressing no theory as to the northern extension of the Pacific Ocean; other maps, as we have seen, without any authority whatever, make that ocean extend north and completely separate Asia from the New World. The present map, however, clings to the original idea and makes North America an eastern extension of Asia, giving the name America to the southern continent.

The map in the Basle edition of *Grynæus*, also given in *Stevens' Notes*, pl. iv. no. 4, closely resembles *Schöner's Globe* of 1520 (see page 137).

[1533.] The expedition of Becerra, Grijalva, and Jimenez, sent out by Cortés to search for Hurtado de Mendoza and to continue north-western discoveries, sailed from Santiago in November. This voyage, like those following, will be fully treated elsewhere in this work. The only result, so far as the purposes of this chapter are concerned, was the discovery of the Revilla Gigedo group of islands and the southern part of the peninsula of Lower California, supposed then to be an island. Jimenez landed and was killed at

Santa Cruz, now known as La Paz. The subsequent expedition of 1535–6, headed by Cortés in person, added only very slightly to geographical knowledge of the north-west. Many points were touched and named along the coast; but comparatively few can be definitely located except by the aid of information afforded by the earlier explorations of Guzman by land.

Schöner, *Opvscvlvm Geographicvm*, supposed to have been printed in 1533, maintains that the New World is part of Asia, and contains, so far as known, the first charge against Vespucci. *Humboldt, Exam. Crit.*, tom. v. pp. 174–5. Other books of the year are: *Franck, Weltbuch*, Tübingen, 1533, which includes America in a description of the world; and *Zummaraga, Botschafft des Grossmechtigsten Knigs Dauid*, n. p. n. d., containing a letter from Mexico dated in 1532.

[1534.] In 1534, 1535, and 1540, Jacques Cartier made three voyages for France, in which Newfoundland and the gulf and river of St Lawrence were carefully explored. *Prima Relatione di Iacqves Carthier della Terra Nvova detta la Nuoua Francia, trouata nell' anno* MDXXXIIII., in *Ramusio*, tom. iii. fol. 435; *Hakluyt's Voy.*, vol. iii. pp. 201–36; *Sammlung aller Reisebeschreibungen*, tom. xv. p. 29.

Simon de Alcazaba sailed from San Lúcar in September, 1534, with two ships and 280 men, intending to conquer and settle the western coast of South America south of Peru. After spending a long time in the strait of Magellan, he was finally prevented by the mutiny of his men from proceeding farther. His explorations in the Patagonian regions were more extensive than had been made before. Seventy-five men, the remnant of his expedition, reached Española in September, 1535, one vessel having been wrecked on the coast of Brazil. *Oviedo, Hist. Gen.*, tom. ii. pp. 155–65; *Galvano's Discov.*, pp. 198–9; *Herrera*, dec. v. lib. vii. cap. v.; *Diccionario Univ.*, app. tom. x. p. 807; *Burney's Discov. South Sea*, vol. i. p. 171.

The books of 1534 are, *Francis of Bologna, La Letera*, Venetia, n. d.; *Chronica compendiosissima*, Antwerp, 1534, containing letters from priests in Mexico; *Vadianus, Epitome*, Tigura, 1534, includes the Insulæ Oceani; *Peter Martyr, Libro Primo Della Historia*, Vinegia, 1534, which has joined to it a libro secondo by Oviedo, and an anonymous third book on the conquest of Peru; two anonymous works, *Letera de la nobil cipta*, and *Copia delle Lettere del Prefetto della India*, being letters from Peru, the latter describing the conquest; *Honter, De cosmographiæ*, Basileæ, 1534, with a chapter on the new islands; *Xeres, Uerdadera relacion de la conquista del Peru*, Seville, 1534; and an anonymous work on the same subject, *La conquista del Peru*, Seville, 1534.

[1535.] In this year appeared the first edition of the great historical work of Gonzalo Hernandez de Oviedo y Valdés, *La Historia general de las Indias*, Seville, 1535. Only nineteen of the fifty books which comprise the whole work appear in this edition; the work complete has since been published in Madrid, 1851–5. Steinhowel, *Chronica Beschreibung*, Franckenfort, 1535, has a chapter on 'America discovered in 1497.'

[1536.] In April, 1528, as we have seen, Pánfilo de Narvaez had landed on the west coast of Florida, probably at Tampa Bay, and attempted with three hundred men to reach Pánuco by land. The company gradually melted

from famine, sickness, and battles with the savages, until only Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca with a few companions remained. They were held as slaves by the natives of the Gulf coast for six years; and then escaping, traversed Texas, Chihuahua, and Sonora, by a route which has not been very definitely fixed. Cabeza de Vaca with three companions reached the Spanish settlements in northern Sinaloa early in 1536, and their reports served as a powerful incentive to more extended exploration. *Relatione che fece Alvaro Nvnez detto Capo di vacca*, in *Ramusio*, tom. iii. fol. 310–30; *Purchas, His Pilgrimes*, vol. iv. p. 1499; *Cabeça de Vaca's Relation*, New York, 1871; *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, série i. tom. vii.; *Oviedo, Hist. Gen.*, tom. iii. p. 582 et seq.; *Barcia, Historiadores Prim.*, tom. i.

Peter Martyr, De Rebus Oceanicis, Paris, 1536, contains nine decades. This work, with *Sacro Bosco, Sphera Volgare*, Venetiis, 1537, and *Nunez, Tratado da Sfera*, Olisipone, 1537, closes the bibliographical part of this Summary, in which, following Harrisse as the latest authority, I have endeavored to mention all the original works by which the geographical results of voyages of discovery were made known prior to 1540.

[1537.] After the abandonment of California by the colony, Cortés sent two vessels under Hernando de Grijalva and Alvarado (not Pedro) to Peru with supplies and reinforcements for Pizarro. There are vague reports that Grijalva sailed westward from Peru and made a long cruise in the Pacific, visiting various islands which cannot be located. *Herrera, Hist. Gen.*, dec. v. lib. viii. cap. x.; dec. vii. lib. v. cap. ix.; *Galvano's Discov.*, pp. 202–3; *Burney's Discov. South Sea*, vol. i. p. 180.

[1538.] Fernando de Soto landed on the west coast of Florida, crossed the peninsula to that part discovered by Aillon in 1526, wandered four or five years in the interior of the southern United States and followed the course of the Mississippi, probably as far up as to the Ohio. Here Soto died, and the remnant of his company, after penetrating farther west to the buffalo country, floated down the Mississippi and returned to Mexico in 1543. Soto's travels are esteemed by Kohl as "the principal source of knowledge regarding these regions, for more than a hundred years." *Discov. and Conq. of Terra Florida, Hakluyt Soc.*, London, 1851; *Selection of Curious Voy., Sup. to Hakluyt*, London, 1812, p. 689; *Purchas, His Pilgrimes*, vol. iv. p. 1532; *Ferdinands von Soto Reise nach Florida*, in *Sammlung*, tom. xvi. p. 395.

[1539.] In August, 1539, three vessels under Alonso de Camargo were despatched from Seville for India *via* the South Sea, and reached Cabo de las Vírgenes January 20, 1540. One of the vessels was wrecked in the strait of Magellan; another returned to Spain, and the third entered the Pacific, and finally, after touching Chile in 38° 30′, arrived at Arequipa in Peru. This voyage is supposed to have afforded the first knowledge of the intermediate coast between the strait of Magellan and Peru. *Diccionario Univ.*, app. tom. x. p. 807; *Herrera, Hist. Gen.*, dec. vii. lib. i. cap. viii.; *Burney's Discov. South Sea*, vol. i. p. 186.

Cabeza de Vaca brought to Sinaloa and thence to Mexico accounts of wonderful towns in the northern regions traversed by him; and in March, 1539, Fray Marcos de Niza, accompanied by one of the men who had seen the reported wonders, set out from Culiacan and proceeded northward in search

of the Seven Cities of whose existence other rumors were current besides those brought by Alvar Nuñez. Marcos de Niza reached the Pueblo towns of Zuñi and brought back greatly exaggerated reports of the wealth of the people and the magnificence of their cities. *Relatione del Reverendo Fra Marco di Nizza*, in *Ramusio*, tom. iii. fol. 356; *Purchas, His Pilgrimes*, vol. iv. p. 1560; *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. de Doc.*, tom. iii. p. 325; *Hakluyt's Voy.*, vol. iii. pp. 366–73; *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, série i. tom. ix. p. 256. See also *Whipple, Ewbank, and Turner*, in *Pacific R. R. Reports*, vol. iii. pp. 104–8.

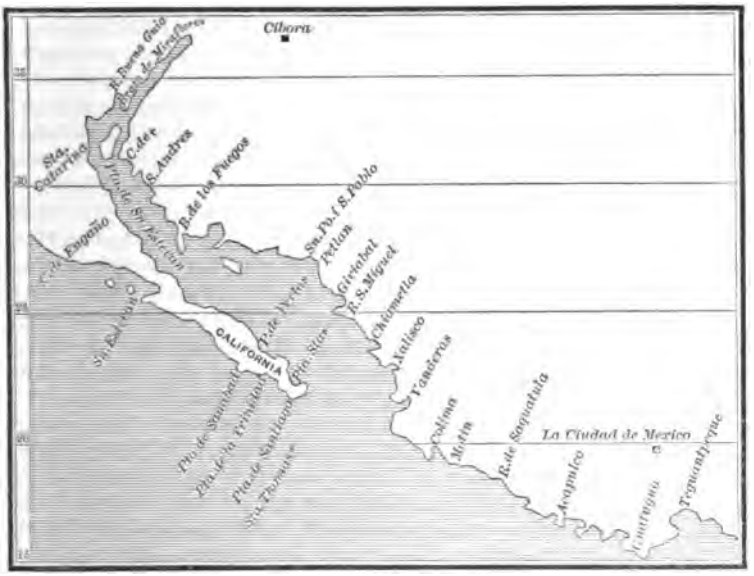
Niza's report prompted Cortés to renewed efforts in his Californian enterprise, and in July, 1539, Francisco de Ulloa was sent from Acapulco with three vessels to prosecute the discoveries by water. Ulloa spent some time in the port of Santiago for repairs, lost one vessel in a gale near the entrance to the gulf, visited Santa Cruz, and then followed the main coast to the mouth of the Colorado, and returned along the coast of the Peninsula to Santa Cruz, where he arrived on the 18th of October. From this place he doubled the southern point of California, and sailed up the western coast to Cedros Island, and somewhat beyond. During the whole voyage he touched and named many places, whose names have seldom been retained, but some of which may be with tolerable certainty identified. In April the vessels separated, one returning by a quick passage to Colima. Ulloa himself with the other vessel attempted to continue his explorations northward, with what success is not known. According to Gomara and Bernal Diaz, he returned after several months spent in fruitless endeavors to reach more northern latitudes; other authorities state that he was never heard from. Preciado, who accompanied the expedition, wrote of it a detailed but not very clear narrative or journal. *Relatione dello scoprimento che nel nome di Dio va à far l'armata dell' illustrissimo Fernando Cortese*, etc. (Preciado's Relation), in *Ramusio*, tom. iii. 339–54, and in *Hakluyt's Voy.*, vol. iii. pp. 397–424; *Gomara, Hist. Conq.*, fol. 292–3; *Bernal Dias, Hist. Conq.*, fol. 234; *Herrera, Hist. Gen.*, dec. vi. lib. ix. cap. viii. et seq.; *Purchas, His Pilgrimes*, vol. v. p. 856; *Sutil y Mexicana, Viage*, pp. xxii.–vi.; *Burney's Discov. South Sea*, vol. i. pp. 193–210; *Venegas, Noticia de la California*, quoted from *Gomara*, tom. i. pp. 159–61; *Clavijero, Storia della California*, tom. i. p. 151.

[1540.] Also in consequence of Marcos de Niza's reports, Francisco Vazquez de Coronado, who had succeeded Nuño de Guzman and Torre as governor of New Galicia, set out from Culiacan in April, 1540, penetrated to the Pueblo towns, or the Seven Cities of Cíbola, and thence to the valley of the Rio Grande and far toward the north-east to Quivira, whose location, fixed by him in latitude 40°, has been a much disputed question. While in Sonora, he sent forth Melchor Diaz, who explored the head of the gulf, and the mouths of the rivers, Gila and Colorado, where he found letters left by Alarcon. See *infra*. From Cibola, Coronado sent García Lopez de Cárdenas west, who passed through the Moqui towns and followed the Colorado for some distance. Coronado returned in 1542. *Relatione che mando Francesco Vazquez di Coronado*, in *Ramusio*, tom. iii. fol. 359; *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. de Doc.*, tom. iii. p. 511. *Hakluyt's Voy.*, vol. iii. pp. 373–82, has the same and Gomara's account. *Ternaux-Compans, Voyages*, série i. tom. ix., gives the relations of Coro-

nado, Castañeda, and Jaramillo. See also *Whipple, Ewbank, and Turner*, in *Pacific R. R. Reports*, vol. iii. pp. 108–12; *Simpson*, in *Report of Smithsonian Institution*, 1869.

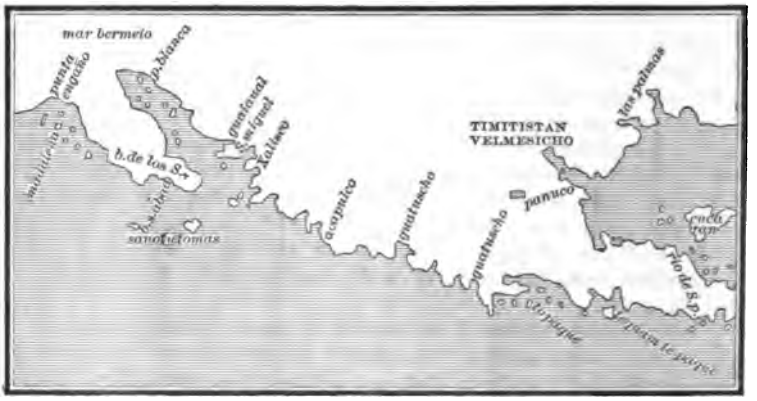
To coöperate with Coronado's land expedition, Hernando de Alarcon was despatched from Acapulco in May, 1540. Alarcon followed the coast to the head of the gulf, and ascended the Buena Guia (Colorado) some eighty-five leagues in boats, but hearing nothing from Coronado, he returned after burying letters, which, as we have seen, were found by Melchor Diaz. Beside the references given above, see *Sutil y Mexicana, Viage*, p. xxviii.; *Burney's Discov. South Sea*, vol. i. pp. 211–16; *Purchas, His Pilgrimes*, vol. iv. p. 1560; *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. iv. p. 21 et seq.; vol. vi. p. 69; *Doc. Hist. Mex.*, serie iii. p. 671.

I here present reductions of two maps of the time to illustrate the explorations on the north-west coast, with which I close this sketch. The first was made by the pilot Castillo in 1541, and is taken from *Cortés, Hist. Nueva-España*, edited by Lorenzana, Mexico, 1770, p. 325.



CASTILLO'S MAP, 1541.

A similar chart is mentioned by Señor Navarrete as existing in the hydrographic archives in Madrid. The second, from the *Munich Atlas*, no. vi., is of uncertain date. Peschel places it between 1532 and 1540; and it was certainly made about that time, as Yucatan is represented as an island, and California as a peninsula, although later it came again to be considered an island, as at its first discovery.



MANUSCRIPT MAP, AUTHOR UNKNOWN, SUPPOSED TO HAVE BEEN DRAWN BETWEEN 1532 AND 1540.

This, then, was Discovery. And in the progress of discovery we may trace the progress of mind. We can but wonder now, when we see our little earth belted with steam and lightning, how reluctantly the infant intellect left its cradle to examine its surroundings. Wrapped in its Mediterranean swaddlings, it crept forth timidly, tremblingly, slowly gaining courage with experience, until, throwing off impediments, it trod the earth in the fearless pride of manhood. Like all science, philosophy, and religion, cosmography was at first a superstition. Walled within narrow limits, as we have seen, by imaginary frost and fire, shaken from fear of heaven above and hell beneath, there is little wonder that the ancients dared not venture far from home; nor that, when men began to explore parts unknown, there should appear that romance of geography so fascinating to the Greek mind, that halo thrown by the dimness of time and distance over strange seas and lands. From this time to that of the adaptation of the magnet to purposes of navigation, about a score of centuries, there was little progress in discovery.

Is it not strange how the secrets of nature, one after another, reveal themselves according to man's necessities? Who would have looked for the deliverance of pent-up humanity from certain mysterious qualities in magnetic iron ore, which floated toward the north that side of a cork on which it was placed? When Vasco da Gama and Columbus almost simultaneously opened to Europe oceanic highways through which were destined to flow the treasures of the eastern and the western Indies, then it was that a new quality was discovered in the loadstone; for in addition to its power to take up iron, it was found to possess the rare virtue of drawing gold and silver from distant parts into the coffers of European princes; then it was that paths were marked out across the Sea of Darkness, and ships passed to and fro bearing the destroyers of nations, and laden with their spoils.

CHAPTER II.

COLUMBUS AND HIS DISCOVERY.

1492–1500.

EARLY EXPERIENCES — THE COMPACT — EMBARKATION AT PALOS — THE VOYAGE—DISCOVERY OF LAND—UNFAVORABLE COMPARISON WITH THE PARADISE OF MARCO POLO—CRUISE AMONG THE ISLANDS—ONE NATURE EVERYWHERE—DESERTION OF PINZON—WRECK OF THE SANTA MARÍA —THE FORTRESS OF LA NAVIDAD ERECTED—RETURN TO SPAIN—RIGHTS OF CIVILIZATION—THE PAPAL BULL OF PARTITION—FONSECA APPOINTED SUPERINTENDENT OF THE INDIES—SECOND VOYAGE—NAVIDAD IN RUINS —ISABELA ESTABLISHED — DISCONTENT OF THE COLONISTS — EXPLORATIONS OF THE INTERIOR—COASTING CUBA, AND DISCOVERY OF JAMAICA —FAILURE OF COLUMBUS AS GOVERNOR—INTERCOURSE WITH SPAIN— DESTRUCTION OF THE INDIANS—GOVERNMENT OF THE INDIES—DIEGO AND BARTOLOMÉ COLON—CHARGES AGAINST THE ADMIRAL—COMMISSION OF INQUIRY APPOINTED—SECOND RETURN TO SPAIN—THIRD VOYAGE— TRINIDAD DISCOVERED — SANTO DOMINGO FOUNDED — THE ROLDAN REBELLION — FRANCISCO DE BOBADILLA APPOINTED TO SUPERSEDE COLUMBUS — ARBITRARY AND INIQUITOUS CONDUCT OF BOBADILLA — COLUMBUS SENT IN CHAINS TO SPAIN.

IN the developments of progress the agent, however subordinate to the event, cannot fail to command our intelligent curiosity. The fact is less one with us than the factor. The instrument is nearer us in pulsating humanity than the event, which is the result of inexorable causations wholly beyond our knowledge. That America could not have remained much longer hidden from the civilized world does not lessen the vivid interest which attaches to the man Columbus, as he plods along the dusty highway toward Huelva, leading by the hand his boy, and bearing upon his shoulders the more immediate destinies of nations.

Nor are we indifferent to the agencies that evolved the agent. Every signal success springs from a fortuitous conjunction of talent and opportunity; from a coalition of taste or training with the approaching fancy or dominant idea of the times. While assisting his father wool-combing, the youthful Genoese was toughening his sinews and acquiring habits of industry; while studying geometry and Latin at Pavia, while serving as sailor in the Mediterranean, or afterward cruising the high seas, he was knitting more firmly the tissues of his mind, and strengthening his courage for the life-conflict which was to follow. Without such discipline, in vain from the north and south and west might Progress come whispering him secrets; for inspiration without action is but impalpable breath, leaving no impression, and genius unseasoned by application decomposes to corruption all the more rank by reason of its richness.

His marriage with the daughter of Bartolommeo Perestrello, a distinguished navigator under Prince Henry; his map-making as means of support; his residence on the isle of Porto Santo, and his interest while there in maritime discovery; his conversations and correspondence with navigators and cosmographers in various quarters; his zealous study of the writings of Marco Polo, Benjamin of Tudela, and Carpini, and his eager absorption of the fantastic tale of Antonio Leone, of Madeira; his ponderings on ocean mysteries, and his struggles with poverty; his audience of John of Portugal, and the treachery of that monarch in attempting to anticipate his plans by secretly sending out a vessel, and the deserved defeat which followed; his sending his brother Bartolomé with proposals to England; his stealing from Lisbon with his son Diego, lest he should be arrested for debt; his supposed application to Genoa; his interviews with the dukes of Medina Sidonia and Medina Celi, and the letter of the latter to Queen Isabella of Castile; his visit to the court at Córdova,

and the dark days attending it; the conference of learned men at Salamanca, and their unfavorable verdict; the weary waitings on the preoccupied sovereigns at Málaga and Seville; the succor given at La Rábida, and the worthy prior's intercession with the queen; the humble dignity of the mariner at Granada amidst scenes of oriental splendor and general rejoicings, which only intensified his discontent; the lofty constancy in his demands when once a royal hearing was obtained; the fresh disappointment after such long delay, and the proud bitterness of spirit with which he turned his back on Spain to seek in France a patron for his schemes; the final appeal of Santángel, who afterward assisted in obtaining the money, and the conversion of Isabella, who now offered, if necessary, to pledge her jewels to meet the charges of the voyage; the despatching of a royal courier after the determined fugitive, who returned in joy to receive the tardy aid—these incidents in the career of Columbus are a household story.

And therein, thus far, we see displayed great persistency of purpose by one possessed of a conception so stupendous as to overwhelm well-nigh the strongest; by one not over-careful in money-matters, or morality; proud and sensitive whenever the pet project is touched, but affable enough otherwise, and not above begging upon necessity. It was a long time to wait, eighteen years, when every day was one of alternate hope and despair; and they were not altogether worthless, those noiseless voices from another world, which kept alive in him the inspiration that oft-times now appeared as the broken tracery of a half-remembered dream.

An agreement was made by the sovereigns and the mariner, that to Columbus, his heirs and successors forever, should be secured the office of admiral, and the titles of viceroy and governor-general of all the lands and seas he should discover, with power to nominate candidates from whom the sovereigns

might choose rulers for the realms discovered; that one tenth of the net returns of gold, pearls, or other commodities brought therefrom should be his; that in disputes arising from the new traffic he, or his lieutenant, should be sole arbitrator within his domain, the high admiral of Castile being judge within his district; and that by contributing one eighth of the cost of any enterprise to the regions found by him he should receive one eighth the profits. To these dignities and prerogatives was added the right of the discoverer, and of his heirs, to prefix to their names the title 'Don,' which should elevate them into respectability beside the grandees of Spain. This agreement was signed by Ferdinand as well as by Isabella, although the crown of Castile alone assumed the risk, and alone was to receive the benefit.

It was not a common spectacle in those days along the southern seaboard of Spain, that of science urging religion into its service. Nevertheless, by royal order, reiterated by Peñalosa in person with pronounced effect, the devil-fearers of Palos were forced to provide ships and seamen for what they regarded as anything but an orthodox adventure. This they did with the greatest reluctance.

Even under pressure of that civil and ecclesiastical system so completely interwoven in Spain that to disobey one was rebellion against both, even in the face of king and priest, these mechanical sea-farers, who halted not before tangible danger in any form, shrank from the awful uncertainty of a plunge into the mysteries of the dim, lowering, unintelligible west. Then came bravely forward the brothers Pinzon, and not only assisted in providing two ships, so that Queen Isabella, after all, might wear her jewels while her deputy was scouring the high seas for new dominions, but furnished Columbus with money to equip another vessel and to pay his eighth

of the charge which should secure him one eighth of the profits —a service never sufficiently remembered or rewarded by either Columbus, his masters, or successors.

The expedition comprised one hundred and twenty men, in three small vessels, the *Santa María*, decked, and carrying the flag of the admiral, and the *Pinta* and *Niña*, open caravels, commanded by Martin Alonso Pinzon and Vicente Yañez Pinzon respectively. Among others were the inspector-general of the armament, Rodrigo Sanchez; the chief alguacil, Diego de Arana; the royal notary, Rodrigo de Escobar; and four pilots, Francisco Martin Pinzon, Sancho Ruiz, Pedro Alonso Niño, and Bartolomé Roldan. The commander-in-chief with his tall, enduring form bowed by an idea; his long, thin face, with its large, round eyes, high forehead, straight, pointed nose; features, in which tenacity and gloom struggled for the predominance, surrounded by thin locks and gray beard — was scarcely a personage either to inspire confidence or win affection. The squadron sailed from the port of Palos August 3, 1492.

But for the fact that it was the first, the voyage was quite commonplace; the most serious occurrences being the breaking of a rudder, which obliged the expedition to put in at the Canaries for repairs, and the variation of the needle, which caused a little fright among the pilots. The sea was tranquil, toward the last extremely so, and the wind generally favorable; yet no small trepidation attended this gradual loosening of hold upon the substantial world, and the drifting daily farther and farther into the fathomless unknown. Hence it was with the wildest joy that early in the morning of the 12th of October the cry of Land! was heard, and that soon afterward the venturesome navigators felt beneath their feet the indubitable isle to which they gave the name San Salvador, taking possession for Castile.

Now the sovereigns had promised that he who first saw land should be recompensed by a pension of ten thousand maravedís, equivalent to thirty-six dollars. It was at two o'clock in the morning that Rodrigo de Triana, a mariner on board the *Pinta*, gave the signal, the first that proved true after several had been mistakenly made; whereupon he claimed the reward. But previously, during the night, Columbus had fancied he descried a fitful light that should be on some shore. On the strength of this surmise he secured to himself the insignificant sum, which, to say nothing of its justness, was not a very magnanimous proceeding in so great a discoverer. We are told of Triana, that, burning under a sense of wrong, after returning to Spain, he passed into Africa and turned Mahometan. However this may have been, dawn had shown them the island, which seemed itself but dawn, to be dispelled by the full sun's rays when the night's dream had passed. Over the trackless waste of sea, suspended between earth and sky, the good ships had felt their way, until now, like goddesses, they sat at anchor on the other side of Ocean.

Though this land was unlike the Zipangu of his dreams, Columbus was not disposed to complain; but rather, midst tears and praises, to kiss the earth, be it of whatsoever quality, and smile benignantly upon the naked natives that crept timidly forward, wondering whether the ships were monsters of the deep, or bright beings dropped from heaven.

Of a truth, it was a wonderful place, this India of Marco Polo that the Genoese now sought. Intersected by rivers and canals, spanned by bridges under which the largest ships might sail, were fertile provinces fragrant with fruit and spices. Mangi alone boasted twelve thousand cities with gorgeous palaces, whose pillars and roofs were emblazoned in gold, and so situated as to be compassed within a few days'

travel. The cities and fortresses of Cathay were counted by tens of thousands, and their busy population by millions. On every side were gardens and luxurious groves; pleasure-boats and banqueting-barges floated on the lakes, and myriads of white sails swept over the bays. The mountains were veined with silver, the river-beds paved with gold, and pearls were as common as pebbles. Sheep were as large as oxen, and oxen were as large as elephants. Birds of brilliant plumage filled the enchanting air, and strange beasts of beauty and utility roamed the forests. The inhabitants were arrayed in silks and furs, and fed on luscious viands; there were living springs that cured all diseases. The army of the great Khan, the happy ruler of all these glories, was in number as the grains of the sand which the sea surrounds; and as for vessels of war, and horses, and elephants, there were a thousand times ten thousand. What a contrast to such a creation was this low-lying strip of jungle-covered sand, peopled by copper-hued creatures dwelling in huts, and sustaining life by the natural products of the unkempt earth! This, however, was but an outlying island of Cathay; the main-land of Asia could not be far distant; in any event, here was India, and these people were Indians.

There was little enough, now appearing, in the India thus far found to enrich Spain. In their noses the natives displayed gold, always a royal monopoly when discovered; and they brought cotton for barter, on which the admiral immediately laid the same restriction. Being informed, by signs, that the metal came from the south, after examining the shore thereabout in boats, the Spaniards set sail on the 14th, took possession of Santa María de la Concepcion on the 15th, of Fernandina, now Exuma, the day following, and afterward of Isabela, now Isla Larga, or Long Island; also of a group to which they gave the name Islas de Arena. Soils and

other substances, atmospheres and sunshines, were all familiar; plants and animals, though differing in degree and kind, were similar to those they had always been accustomed to see. One creation was everywhere apparent; one nature; one rule. It was wonderful, stupendous! And if these human kind have souls, what a mighty work is here to fit them for eternity!

Crossing the Bahama Bank, they came on the 28th to Cuba, which Columbus called Juana, and which, with its dense uprolling green spangled with parrots, gay woodpeckers, and humming-birds, scarlet flamingoes and glittering insects; its trees of royal palm, cocoanut, cedar, mahogany, and shrubs of spicy fragrance; its unknown fruits and foods; its transparent waters whose finny denizens flashed back the sunlight from their variegated scales, all under the brightest of skies, all breathed upon by softest airs, and lapped in serenest seas, was more like his own Zipangu, if, indeed, it was not Mangi itself.

Coasting eastward, the *Pinta* sailed away and left the other vessels, and it was with deep chagrin that Columbus saw no attention paid his signals to return. Pinzon had heard of gold-fields in advance of him, and he was going to reap them. The wreck of the *Santa María* a month afterward, leaving the admiral only the little *Niña*, made his situation all the more critical, and made him feel more keenly than ever the desertion. Nor was this the first indication of mutiny and disruption among his people during the voyage. If the truth must be told, the character of the man, though inured to the cruel hardihood of the age, seems here to be undergoing change; else it was not originally as either he or his friends have estimated. The new and varied experiences amidst the new and varied phenomena attending the idea and its consummation make it a matter of no wonder that his head began to be a little turned. He had pondered painfully on what Aristotle taught regard-

ing the sphericity of the earth, on what Seneca said about sailing to the Indies westwardly, and on the terrestrial paradise placed by Dante at the antipodes of the holy city; and now he was here among those happy regions of which so long ago philosophers had spoken and poets sung. Under the inspiration of rare intelligence, and by wonderful courage and force of will, this Genoese sailor had brought to his own terms the world's proudest sovereigns. Success, in his mind the most perfect, the most complete, was by this time proved beyond peradventure. At the outset he had suspected himself the special agent of the supernatural; now he was sure of it. It was meet, therefore, that all men should fear and obey him. Impelled to activity, he was impelled, if necessary, to severity. During the passage he had deemed it expedient several times to mislead the sailors, who were consequently backward about reposing in him the respect and confidence due a commander. Suspicious of the Spanish sovereigns from the first, his fears constantly increased as the magnitude of his discovery slowly unfolded before him, that he should eventually be robbed of it. He was jealous lest any of those who had shared with him the perils of the adventure should secure to themselves some part of the honor or profit attending it. He had quarrelled with the Pinzons, who, having staked their money and lives on what was generally regarded a mad risk, thought some consideration from the commander their due. The admiral's temper was tamed somewhat by the very boldness of Pinzon's act; for when the *Pinta* returned from her cruisings, little was then said about it; but if ever the opportunity should come, her commander must pay dearly for his disobedience.

Cuba failed to display any opulent oriental city, but furnished tobacco and maize, gifts from savagism to civilization as comforting, perhaps, as any received in return. The mariners next discovered

and coasted Hayti, or Española, thus occupying the greater part of December. On the northern side of the island, out of the wrecked *Santa María* and her belongings, Columbus built and equipped a fortress, which he called La Navidad; and leaving there thirty-nine men under command of Diego de Arana, with Pedro Gutierrez and Rodrigo de Escobedo, lieutenants, on the 4th of January, 1493, he embarked for Spain. Those left behind were expected by the ardent-minded admiral, during his absence, to obtain, in trade, a ton of gold, beside discovering mines and spices.

Violent storms attended the homeward voyage; but on the 15th of March the expedition reached Palos in safety, after touching at the Azores and the coast of Portugal. Then followed rejoicings. Over Spain, over Europe, the tidings flew: A New World to the westward! Bells rang and choirs pealed hosannas. A New World for Spain; now were their Catholic Majesties well paid for their losses and trials in connection with Mahometans and Jews!

With six natives, and divers birds and plants and other specimens from the Islands, Columbus set out for Barcelona, then the residence of the Spanish sovereigns. Throughout the journey, the highway and houses were thronged with spectators eager for a glimpse of the strange spectacle. Arrived at court, the great mariner was most graciously received, being permitted even to be seated in the presence of royalty. He told his tale. It is said that all present wept. Columbus was as much excited as any. In a delirium of joy he vowed within seven years to appoint an army of four thousand horse and fifty thousand foot for the rescue of Jerusalem, and to pay the cost out of his own pocket; but, unfortunately, he never found himself in funds sufficient to fulfil his pious promise. The original compact between the sovereigns and the discoverer was confirmed, and to

the latter was granted a family coat of arms. While Columbus was fêted by the nobles, and all the world resounded with his praises, Martin Alonso Pinzon lay a-dying; the reward for his invaluable services, exceeding a hundred-fold all that Isabella and Ferdinand together had done, being loss of property, loss of health, the insults of the admiral, the scorn of the queen, all now happily crowned by speedy death.

Never had nature made, within historic times, a paradise more perfect than this Cuba and this Hayti that the Genoese had found. Never was a sylvan race more gentle, more hospitable than that which peopled this primeval garden. Naked, because they needed not clothing; dwelling under palm-leaves, such being sufficient protection; their sustenance the spontaneous gifts of the ever generous land and sea; undisturbed by artificial curbings and corrections, and tormented by no ambitions, their life was a summer day, as blissful as mortals can know. It was as Eden; without work they might enjoy all that earth could give. Disease and pain they scarcely knew; only death was terrible. In their social intercourse they were sympathizing, loving, and decorous, practising the sublimest religious precepts without knowing it, and obeying Christ more perfectly than many who profess to serve him. With strangers the men were frank, cordial, honest; the women artless and compliant. Knowing no guile, they suspected none. Possessing all things, they gave freely of that which cost them nothing. Having no laws, they broke none; circumscribed by no conventional moralities, they were not immoral. If charity be the highest virtue, and purity and peace the greatest good, then were these savages far better and happier beings than any civilization could boast. That they possessed any rights, any natural or inherent privileges in regard to their lands or their lives; that these innocent and inoffensive people were not fit subjects

for coercion, treachery, robbery, enslavement, and slaughter, was a matter which seems never to have been questioned at that time by either discoverer, adventurer, or ruler. However invalid in any of the Spanish courts might have been the argument of a house-breaker, that in the room he entered he discovered a purse of gold, and took it, Spaniards never thought of applying such logic to themselves in regard to the possessions of the natives in the new lands their Genoese had found.

What Spain required now was a title such as the neighboring nations of Europe should recognize as valid. So far as the doctrine was concerned, of appropriating to themselves the possessions of others, they were all equally sound in it. Europe with her steel and saltpetre and magnetic needle was stronger than naked barbarians, whose possessions were thereupon seized as fast as found. The right to such robbery has been held sacred since the earliest records of the human race; and it was by this time legalized by the civilized nations. Savagism had no rights which civilization was bound to respect. The world belonged not to Christian or Mahometan, but to whatever idea, principle, or power could take it. In none of their pretended principles, in none of their codes of honor or ethics, was there any other ultimate appeal than brute force; their deity they made to fit the occasion, whatever that might be. This they did not know, however. They thought themselves patterns of justice and fair morality; and all that troubled them was in what attitude they would stand toward each other with regard to their several discoveries and conquests. But while such was the recognized condition of affairs at the beginning of the sixteenth century among the reckless adventurers of Spain, such were not the teachings of the Church, nor the views of the intelligent and right thinking men of the time. True, the army of fortune-seekers who first rushed to the new world in search of gold came

for lust and plunder, but with them, and inspired with very different motives, came the missionaries of the cross, pointing the savages to civilization and a purer religion than their own. But civilization and religion, it must be confessed, had little to recommend them in the examples of unprincipled men who were ever present to give the lie to the teachings of the priests.

Thus it was that the Spanish sovereigns, being Christian, applied for a confirmation of title to Alexander VI., then sovereign pontiff of Christendom, at the same time insinuating, in a somewhat worldly fashion, that learned men regarded the rights of their Catholic Majesties secure enough even without such confirmation. No valid objections before the holy tribunal could be raised against Christian princes powerful enough to sustain their pretensions to ownership while propagating the true faith in heathen lands; but Pope Eugene IV. and his successors had already granted Portugal all lands discovered by Portuguese from Cape Bojador to the Indies. In order, therefore, to avoid conflict, the bull issued the 2d of May, 1493, ceding Spain the same rights respecting discoveries already granted Portugal, was on the day following defined to this effect:—An imaginary line of demarcation should be drawn from pole to pole, one hundred leagues west of the Azores and Cape Verde Islands; all lands discovered east of that line should be Portugal's, while west of that line all should belong to Spain. Thus by a very mortal breath and the flourish of a pen, the unknown world, with all its multitudes of interests and inhabitants, was divided between these two sovereignties, occupying the peninsula of south-western Europe; though in their wisdom they forgot that if the world was round, Portugal in going east and Spain in going west must somewhere meet, and might yet quarrel on the other side. Subsequently, that is to say on the 7th of June, 1494, by treaty between Spain and Portugal the papal line of partition was removed,

making it three hundred and seventy leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands, Portugal having complained of want of sea-room for southern enterprise. This removal ultimately gave the Portuguese Brazil. And ecclesiastics claim that care was ever exercised by the Spanish crown to comply with the obligations thus laid upon it by this holy sanction.

Appointed to take charge of the affairs of the New World was Juan Rodriguez de Fonseca, archdeacon of Seville, and afterward patriarch of the Indies. Although high in ecclesiastical preferment, he was a bustling man of business, and ably filled the office during a period of some thirty years. Of unflinching devotion to his sovereign, sedate, stern in the accomplishment of his duty, and obliged as he was, in the interests of the crown, to exercise occasional restraint on the rashness or presumption of the conquerors, he incurred their enmity and was reviled by their biographers. That he was retained so long in office by such able monarchs as Ferdinand and Charles goes far to prove invalid the charges of misrule and villainy so liberally made against him. Associated with Fonseca was Francisco Pinelo, as treasurer, and Juan de Soria as *contador*, or auditor. Their chief office was at Seville, with a custom-house at Cádiz belonging to the same department. This was the germ of the famous *Casa de Contratacion de las Indias*, or India House of Trade, so long dominant in the government of the New World.

Thus all went swimmingly. Columbus found no difficulty in fitting out a fleet for a second venture, a royal order being issued that all captains, with their ships and crews, in all the Andalusian ports, should hold themselves in readiness for that purpose. Seventeen vessels sailed from Cádiz the 25th of September, 1493, having on board twelve hundred persons,—miners, mechanics, agriculturists, and gentlemen,—with horses, cattle, sheep, goats, hogs, and fowls; the seeds of vegetables, of orchard fruits, of oranges, lemons,

and grain for planting; together with provisions, medicines, implements, goods for trade, arms, ammunition, and all the requirements for founding a colony. Among the passengers were Diego Colon, the admiral's brother, Bernal Diaz de Pisa, contador, Fermin Cedo, assayer, and Alonso de Ojeda and Juan de la Cosa, subsequently famous in New World discoveries; also twelve priests, chief among whom was Bernardo Buil, a Benedictine monk, sent by the pope as his apostolic vicar, with all the ornaments and vestments for full service, which always had a wonderful effect upon the natives. The work of conversion had already been begun by baptizing in solemn state the six savages brought over by Columbus, Ferdinand and Isabella with Prince Juan standing sponsors. The 3d of November the expedition reached Dominica, so named from the day of arrival, Sunday. Next was discovered an island to which Columbus gave the name of his ship, *Marigalante;* then Guadalupe, where were tamed geese, and pine-apples, also human bones, significant of the presence of the horror-breeding Caribs, or cannibals. Thus cruising among these Caribbee Islands, and naming them one after another, Columbus continued his way and finally came to Navidad, only to find the fortress in ruins, its former occupants having fallen victims to their own follies.

Choosing a site a little to the east of Navidad, still on the north side of Hayti, the Spaniards landed their effects, and laid out a city, which they called Isabela, surrounding it with ramparts. As soon as the vessels could be laden with gold, they were to be sent back to Spain; but the death of the Spaniards left at Navidad had somewhat marred original plans.

While Columbus lay ill, directing affairs as best he might, early in January, 1494, two parties under Ojeda and Gorvalan reconnoitred the island, each in a different direction, and returning, reported gold. As it was inconvenient to their anchorage, and as many

of the colonists were prostrate with disease, it was deemed best to let the ships go back empty rather than detain them longer; hence, on the 2d of February, twelve of the largest craft put to sea under command of Antonio de Torres, having on board further specimens of the people and products of the country. By this departure was sent a request for immediate supplies.

Murmurs now arose against Columbus, the sick and disappointed ones complaining most loudly that he had deceived them, had lured them thither with false hopes to die. And they begged Diaz de Pisa, already at the head of a faction, and Cedo, who said there was not gold in those isles in paying quantities, to seize the remaining ships and sail with them for Spain. But the admiral hearing of it, arrested Diaz, and held him in irons on board one of the vessels to await trial in Spain.

Recovered from illness, Columbus left his brother Diego in command at Isabela, and set out, at the head of four hundred men, for the golden mountains of Cibao, in the interior of the island, intending there to build a fortress, and to work the mines on an extensive scale. Arrived at a favorable locality, where gold seemed plentiful in the brooks, the Spaniards threw up a strong wooden fort, which they called Santo Tomás, a piece of pleasantry aimed at the doubting assayer, Cedo. Leaving in command Pedro Margarite, Columbus returned to Isabela. Afterward a smaller post was built, called Magdalena, and the command was given to Luis de Arriaga.

The natives could not welcome so large an invasion, which they now clearly saw would bring upon them serious results. Thereupon they withdrew from the vicinity of Santo Tomás, refusing all intercourse with its inmates; and as a Spanish hidalgo could by no means work, even at gold-gathering, success in that direction was not marked. Provisions and medicine

then began to fail, and fresh discontent arose, even Father Buil arraying himself in opposition to the admiral.

As much to keep his people occupied as through any expectation of profit, Columbus sent another expedition into the interior of Hayti, and himself crossed to the south side of Cuba in three caravels, intending thence to reach Cathay. Soon he discovered to the southward a lofty isle, which he called at first Santa Gloria, then Santiago, but which finally retained its native name, Jamaica, that is to say, Island of Springs. After reaching nearly the western end of Cuba, thinking it still the continent of Asia, and that possibly he might by that way reach Spain, in which event he could then see what was beyond, he coasted the south sides of Jamaica and Hayti, and returned to Isabela, where he arrived insensible from excitement and fatigue. When he awoke to bodily suffering, which for a time had been drowned in delirious energy, there, to his great joy, he found his brother Bartolomé, who had come from Spain with three well-laden ships to his assistance.

Great events generally choose great men for their accomplishment, though not unfrequently we see no small dust raised by an insignificant agent. As a mariner and discoverer, Columbus had no superior; as colonist and governor, he had by this time proved himself a failure. There are some things great men cannot do as well as their inferiors. It was one thing to rule at sea, and quite another to rule on shore. In bringing to his India these unruly Spaniards, he had sown for himself the whirlwind. Had he been more judicious in the selection of his followers, his later days would have been more successful as well as more peaceful. Discovery was his infatuation; he was never for a moment unattended by a consuming curiosity to find a western way to civilized India. Had he been possessed of sound practical judgment

in the matter, of the same knowledge of himself and of political affairs that he had of navigation, he would have seen that he could not, at the same time, gratify his passion for discovery and successfully govern colonies. In his fatal desire to assume rulership, and upon the ill-understood reports of simple savages, with no knowledge of the resources or capabilities of the country, without definite purpose or mature plans, he had brought upon himself an avalanche of woes. Beside his incapacity for such a task, his position was rendered all the more trying by the fact that he was a foreigner, whose arbitrary acts galled his impatient subordinates, and finally wrought them to the pitch of open rebellion. The Spaniards were quick enough to perceive that this Genoese sailor was in no wise fitted to lay the foundation of a prosperous Spanish colony; and when during his absence he left in command his brother, to whom attached no prestige of high achievement to make up for his misfortune in not being born in Spain, complications grew daily worse. Even the ecclesiastics were against the admiral; for with a foresight born of a deep study of human nature they saw that between the fires of the real and the unreal this man was becoming mad. They saw the religious hypochondria, which had already inflamed his intellect, now aggravated by the anxieties incident to the government of a turbulent element under circumstances unprecedented, undermining his health, and bringing rapidly upon him those mental and physical distempers which rendered the remainder of his life prolonged misery. Thus we may plainly see how Columbus brought upon himself the series of calamities which are commonly found charged to unscrupulous sovereigns and villainous rivals.

And thickly enough misfortunes were laid upon him on his return to Isabela. Margarite, who had been ordered to explore the island, leaving Ojeda in command at Santo Tomás, had abandoned himself to

licentious idleness, followed by outrages upon the natives, which notwithstanding their pacific disposition had driven them to retaliation.

And here was the beginning of these four centuries of such rank injustice, such horrible atrocities inflicted by the hand of the stronger upon the weaker, of the civilized upon the savage, that should make a man blush to own kinship to a race so defiled before its maker in whose image it was created.

It is the self-same story, old and new, from Española to Darien and Mexico, from Brazil to Labrador, and from Patagonia to Alaska, by sailor and cavalier, Spaniard and Englishman, by gold-hunter and fur-hunter—the unenlightened red man welcoming with wonder his destroyer, upon whom he is soon forced to turn to save himself, his wife, his children, but only at last to fall by the merciless arm of development beneath the pitiable destiny of man primeval.

Throwing off all pretence of allegiance to Columbus, when satiated with his excesses, Margarite, with a mutinous crew at his heels and accompanied by Father Buil, had taken such ships as best suited them and had departed for Spain. Two *caciques*, or native chieftains, Guatiguana, and Caonabo the Carib, with their followers had arisen in arms, had killed some of the Spaniards, had besieged Magdalena and Santo Tomás, and had even cast an ominous eye on Isabela. Such were the chief occurrences at the settlement during the absence of the admiral.

First of all, Columbus made his brother Bartolomé *adelantado*, that is to say, leader of an enterprise, or governor of a frontier province. Then he sent relief to the fortress of Magdalena, and established another military post near where was subsequently Santiago, which he called Concepcion. Later the chain was continued by building other posts; one near the Rio Yaquí, called Santa Catalina, and one on the river Yaquí, called Esperanza. Meanwhile Ojeda

offered to take the redoubtable Carib, Caonabo, by stratagem; which was accomplished, while he was surrounded by a multitude of warriors, by first winning the admiration and confidence of the cacique, and then on the plea of personal ornamentation and display obtaining his consent to wear some beautiful bright manacles, and sit bound behind Ojeda on his steed; in which plight he was safely brought by the dashing cavalier at the head of his horsemen into Isabela.

About this time Antonio de Torres arrived with four ships from Spain, and was sent back with the gold which had been collected, and five hundred Indians to be sold as slaves. By this departure went Diego Colon to refute the charges of incompetency and maladministration now being preferred against his brother at court.

Though suffering from a fresh attack of fever, on the 27th of March, 1495, accompanied by the adelantado and all his available forces, Columbus set out from Isabela to subjugate the caciques of the island, who had combined to extirpate the Spaniards. Charging the naked red men amidst the noise of drum, trumpet, and halloo, with horse and bloodhound, lance, sabre, and firelock, a peace was soon conquered. Multitudes of the inhabitants were butchered, and upon the rest was imposed such cruel tribute that they gradually sank beneath the servitude. But when the white men thus had the domain to themselves, they did not know what to do with it. It was not for them to till the soil, or labor in the mines; hence famine threatened, and they were finally reduced to the last extremity.

There is little wonder, under the circumstances, that orders were issued in Spain to depose Columbus, first by the appointment of a commission of inquiry, and finally by removal.

Thus far the government of the Indies, as the New World began to be called, had been administered

solely by the admiral, according to agreement, with Fonseca as superintendent in Spain. None but they were permitted to freight or despatch any vessel to the New World. Columbus was authorized to appoint two subordinate officers subject to royal sanction; and yet the sovereigns took offense when he named Bartolomé adelantado, which office was not that of lieutenant-governor, as many writers aver, but nearer that of territorial governor, with political as well as military powers, usually appointed by and subject only to the king. Assuming a certain degree of state, the admiral appeared at Isabela richly dressed, with ten *escuderos de á pié*, or squires of foot, and twenty *familiares*, composing his civil and military family. He had been directed before leaving Spain to appoint in each of the several settlements or colonies which should be planted an *alcalde*, or justice, exercising the combined duties of mayor and judge, with jurisdiction in civil and criminal cases, appeal being to the admiral; also an *alguacil mayor*, or high sheriff; and, if necessary, an *ayuntamiento*, or town council. All edicts, orders, and commissions must be issued in the name of the sovereigns, countersigned by the notary, with the royal seal affixed. The admiral had been further directed to build a warehouse where the royal stores should be kept, and all traffic should be subject to his direction. When he sailed upon his Cuban expedition he left for the direction of the colony a junta, of which his brother Diego was president, and Alonso Sanchez Carvajal, Juan de Luxan, Pedro Fernandez Coronel, and Father Buil, councillors.

Diego Colon was a well-meaning man, gentle and discreet, approaching in visage and dress nearer the priest than the cavalier; he was neither shrewd nor energetic. Bartolomé was quite the opposite, and in many respects was the ablest of the brothers. Powerful in mind and body, authoritative and determinate in demeanor, generous in disposition, fearless in spirit,

a thorough seaman, a man of no narrow worldly experience, fairly educated, and talented with the pen, he was neither the amiable, inefficient Diego, nor the dreamy, enthusiastic admiral.

Quick to notice in their deputy any indication of misrule, or undue assumption of authority, their Majesties did not fail to lend an attentive ear to the charges preferred against him. Yet the record does not show from first to last that either Isabella or Ferdinand ever really desired or intended to do Columbus injustice or injury. When Torres returned from Spain, after the first accusation had been made, the sovereigns, besides a letter expressing the warmest confidence in the discoverer, and high consideration for the affairs of the colony, sent a special *real provision* ordering all to obey the admiral as themselves, under penalty of ten thousand maravedís for every offence. When further accusations came, instead of divesting him of his authority, they sent as commissioner of inquiry Juan Aguado, a warm friend of the admiral. Often they checked Fonseca's too harsh measures with regard to Columbus and his brothers, and interposed their royal protection from such officers as acted too severely under the exasperating folly of the admiral. To satisfy the discoverer would have been impossible for any patron, so wild were his desires, so chimerical his plans, so injudicious his acts.

Aguado arrived at Isabela in October. He brought four caravels laden with supplies, and Diego Colon, passenger. Soon it was noised abroad that the conduct of the admiral was to be questioned, whereat both white men and red rejoiced. Aguado could but see the pitiable state of things upon the island, idleness, poverty, excesses, and disobedience among the colonists, folly and mismanagement among the rulers, and seeing, could but report accordingly; for which, and for no other reasons that I am able to

discover, the biographers of Columbus heap upon the commissioner opprobrious epithets.

When Aguado returned to Spain, Columbus accompanied him to make such excuses before the sovereigns as best he might. They embarked from Isabela March 10, 1496, leaving the adelantado in command, and carrying with them two hundred and twenty-five disaffected colonists, and a number of Indian captives, among whom was the proud and once powerful chieftain, Caonabo, so treacherously taken by Ojeda. Contrary winds and starvation attended them, Caonabo dying during the voyage. Arrived at Cádiz in June, the admiral found Pedro Alonso Niño about to sail with three caravels for Hayti. Niño carried out more priests, and brought back more slaves.

Columbus appeared in Spain in a Franciscan garb and with dejected demeanor. To all the world, except to himself, it was by this time evident that his gorgeous India was a myth, and settlement on the supposition of its existence a mistake. He seemed now dazed by reverses, as formerly he had been dazed by successes. Nevertheless, he continued to make as much as possible of his discoveries, parading a brother of Caonabo in a broad gold collar with a massive gold chain attached.

Still the sovereigns were gracious. They scarcely alluded to the complaints and ever-increasing charges against the admiral, but confirmed anew his dignities, enlarged his perquisites, and showed him every kindness. The title of adelantado was formally vested by them in Bartolomé. When asked for more ships and money, they readily granted both; moreover, they offered the admiral a tract of land in Hayti, twenty-five by fifty leagues, which, however, he declined; they offered him sixty sailors, a hundred and forty soldiers, one hundred miners, mechanics, and farmers, and thirty women, the services of all to be paid by the crown. But because there

was some delay, occasioned by the operations in Italy and the armada for Flanders, the biographers of the admiral again break out in abuse of the sovereigns and their servants. The truth is, Ferdinand and Isabella stood by the Genoese much longer than did their subjects. For example, when certain millions of maravedís, equivalent to over a hundred thousand dollars to-day, had been appropriated, and eight vessels equipped, so unpopular had the admiral and his enterprises become, that it was found necessary to press sailors into the service, and empty the prisons for colonists. And it was only when their admiral, viceroy, and governor of the Indies so far forgot himself, when on the point of sailing, as publicly, and with his own hand and foot, to strike down and kick Jimeno de Berviesca, an official under Fonseca, that the sovereigns began to realize the unfitness of Columbus for the management of colonies. It was a serious offense to attack a public servant; and when this was done under the very eyes of royalty, and by the man they had so delighted to honor, the truth came home to them, and they never afterward regarded the Genoese with the same degree of favor. Yet for his great merits, his genius, enthusiasm, and perseverance, and for the glory unparalleled conferred by him on Spain, they would ever be to him just and generous. He could never become again the pauper pilot, as he had been called at Granada while begging help for his first voyage.

Two vessels were despatched to the colony under Pedro Fernandez Coronel early in 1498. On the 30th of May Columbus embarked from San Lúcar with six vessels, arrived at the northern seaboard of South America, and discovered there the isle of Trinidad the 31st of July, sailed through the gulf of Paria, where gold and pearls were seen in profusion, discovered the Margarita Islands, and came to

Hayti, arriving off the river Ozema, on the southern side of the island, the 30th of August.

Prior to the last departure of the admiral for Spain, gold had been discovered in this vicinity, and during his absence a military post, called San Cristóbal, had been planted there, and at the adjacent harbor a fort built, which was named Santo Domingo, and which was from this time the capital of the Indies. At intervals during the past two years, the adelantado at the head of his marauders had scoured the island, collecting the quarterly tribute, and making observation on such measures as he thought might increase the same. Insurrections had been occasionally organized by the caciques, but were usually stifled by the prompt and politic action of the adelantado. Many of the colonists had gradually relaxed in their loyalty to Columbus, until finally, at the instigation of Francisco Roldan, they declared their independence of the adelantado, though still acknowledging fealty to Spain. After creating no small disturbance about Concepcion and Isabela, Roldan had retired with his band to the province of Jaraguá.

On landing at Santo Domingo, the admiral first proclaimed his approval of the adelantado's measures, and then set about to pacify the colonists. With the common people, many officers of trust had joined the revolt of Roldan. Columbus offered amnesty to all, which was at first refused, and letters from both sides were sent to Spain. But at length there was reconciliation; Roldan became a partisan of Columbus, and assisted in subduing other hostile factions, which resulted in flinging Adrian de Moxica off the battlements of Fort Concepcion.

The distracted state of the colony, the continued charges against Columbus, and the inadequate returns from large outlays, impelled the sovereigns to send out another commission with power to punish offenders, civil and criminal, and, if necessary, to

supersede the admiral in the government. The commissioner chosen for this purpose was Francisco de Bobadilla, an arrogant, shallow-minded man, who delighted rather in degrading merit than in exercising justice. He was authorized by letters patent to acquaint himself concerning the truth of the rebellion against the admiral; what robberies, cruelties, or other overt acts had been committed; he was directed to seize the person and sequestrate the property of any offender, or punish in any way he might deem best. A provisional letter was addressed by the sovereigns to the admiral of the ocean sea, ordering him to surrender to the commissioner all forts, arms, ships, houses, cattle, or other public property, which letter was to be used only if necessary. Bobadilla, accompanied by a body-guard of twenty-five men, sailed with two caravels in July, 1500, and arrived at Santo Domingo on the 23d of August. By this opportunity some of the Indians sent over by Columbus as slaves were returned in charge of six friars. It is doubtful whether the enslavement of the red man could ever have been made profitable, but whether it could or not, the Catholic Church is entitled to much credit for thus promptly setting its foot upon the diabolical traffic which had already received the approval of some of the first jurists of the day. Indeed the doctrine that the Indians were not endowed with souls was rapidly spreading, and had found many believers, and had not the pope fortunately at this juncture decided against the proposition, the subject of Indian slavery would not have been so easily or so quickly settled.

Among the first objects to meet the eye of Bobadilla, on landing, were the bodies of two Spaniards swinging from gibbets, which argued not very favorably for the quietude of the island. Columbus was absent at Fort Concepcion; the adelantado and Roldan were pursuing rebels in Jaraguá; Diego Colon, who was in charge at Santo Domingo, was

peremptorily commanded to surrender certain prisoners, which he refused to do until the admiral, whose commission was higher than that of Bobadilla, and under whom he served, should order it.

Thereupon Bobadilla broke open the jail, and the prisoners were finally set at liberty. He not only assumed the custody of the crown property, but he entered the house of Columbus, took possession of his effects, and made his residence there. He sided with the late insurgents, giving ear only to them. Next he ordered to appear before him the admiral, who came with all quietness, and was immediately ironed and cast into prison. The brothers of Columbus met the same fate. It was a most villainous proceeding on the part of Bobadilla, wholly unauthorized, wholly unnecessary. Columbus was condemned before he was tried. While in the act of coming forward of his own accord, not with hostile front, but unattended, he was seized, manacled, and incarcerated. It was not until afterward that he was charged with inflicting on the colonists, even on hidalgos, oppressive labor, abuse, and cruel punishments; with failing to provide them sufficient food; with opposing royal authority; with secreting gold and pearls; and with unjust treatment of the natives, making unnecessary war upon them, levying iniquitous tribute, preventing their conversion, and sending them as slaves to Spain. Some went so far as to hint at an intended transfer of allegiance to some other power. But were all the calumnies true, twice told, which vile, revengeful men had heaped upon him, he would not have merited the treatment that he now received at the hand of their Majesties' agent. Ever loyal, high-minded, and sincere, ever performing his duties to the best of his ability, the worst that can be truthfully said of him is that he was unfitted by temperament and training, unfitted by his genius, by those very qualities which made him so superior to other men in other directions, for

organizing in a tropical wilderness that social thrift upon which might be built a staid community out of the ignorant, presumptuous, and desperate element fresh from conflicts with Jews and Moors.

After having been subjected to much insult and indignity, the three brothers were placed on shipboard and sent to Spain. Andrés Martin, master of the caravel, offered to remove the manacles, but the admiral said no. It was by the king's agent the irons were put on; it must be by the king's order if ever they are taken off. "And I will always keep these chains," he added with proud bitterness, "as memorials of reward for faithful services."

Both Ferdinand and Isabella and all the people were shocked to see the illustrious discoverer in such a plight. Immediately the sovereigns heard of it the chains were stricken off, and the prisoners released. From the odious abasement into which he had been unjustly thrust by an infamous agent, Columbus was once more lifted high into favor by the sovereigns, whose moist eyes testified their hearts' sincerity.

CHAPTER III.

DISCOVERY OF DARIEN.

RODRIGO DE BASTIDAS — EXTENSION OF NEW WORLD PRIVILEGES — THE ROYAL SHARE — JUAN DE LA COSA — SHIPS OF THE EARLY DISCOVERERS — COASTING DARIEN — THE TERRIBLE TEREDO — WRECKED ON ESPAÑOLA — SPANISH MONEY — TREATMENT OF BASTIDAS BY OVANDO — ACCUSED, AND SENT TO SPAIN FOR TRIAL — HE IS IMMEDIATELY ACQUITTED — FUTURE CAREER AND CHARACTER OF BASTIDAS — THE ARCHIVES OF THE INDIES — THE SEVERAL COLLECTIONS OF PUBLIC DOCUMENTS IN SPAIN — THE LABORS OF MUÑOZ AND NAVARRETE — BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES OF THE PRINTED COLLECTIONS OF NAVARRETE, TERNAUX-COMPANS, SALVÁ AND BARANDA, AND PACHECO AND CÁRDENAS.

THE first Spaniard to touch the territory which for the purposes of my work I have taken the liberty to denominate the Pacific States of North America was Rodrigo de Bastidas, a notary of Triana, the gypsy suburb of Seville.

Although the discoveries of Columbus had been made for Castile, and Castilians regarded their rights to the new lands superior to those of any others, even other inhabitants of Spain; and although at first none might visit the New World save those authorized by Columbus or Fonseca; yet, owing to inadequate returns from heavy expenditures, and the inability of the admiral properly to control colonization in the several parts of the ever-widening area, at the solicitation of several persons desirous of entering the new field of commerce and adventure at their own charge, on the 10th of April, 1495, the sovereigns issued a proclamation granting native-born subjects of Spain permission to settle in Hayti,

or Española,[1] as I shall continue to call the island, and to make to other parts private voyages of discovery and trade, under royal license. The regulations were that the vessels so sailing should be equipped under royal inspection, that they should depart only from the port of Cádiz, and that they should carry one or two crown officers. The sovereigns retained, without payment, one tenth of the tonnage, and were to receive one tenth of the gross returns. Settlers on Española were to receive grants of land, and one year's provision; of the gold they gathered they were to pay two thirds to the crown; on all other products one tenth. Although this step was taken without consulting Columbus, it was the aim of the sovereigns fully to respect his rights in the matter; therefore, and in lieu of his property in one eighth of all the tonnage, for every seven vessels thus privately adventured he was privileged to despatch one on his own account. The admiral still complaining, such parts of the proclamation as in any wise interfered with his rights were revoked, and his former privileges confirmed, the 2d of June, 1497.[2]

[1] The island known to-day as Hayti was named by Columbus *Insula Hispaniæ*, Island of Spain. On one of his maps it is called *Insula Hyspaniæ*, and on another *Hyspana*. By the early navigators and chroniclers the name was turned into Spanish and spoken and written *La Isla Española*, the Spanish Isle, or *La Española*. *Hispaniola*, as it is called at a later period by English authors, is neither Latin nor Spanish; it may be a syncope of the words *Insula Hyspaniæ*, or more likely it is a corruption of *La Española* by foreigners to whom the Spanish *ñ* was not familiar. The choice lies between the mutilation, *Hispaniola*, of English authors, and the correct but unfamiliar *Española*, and I adopt the latter.

[2] Usually two royal officers went out by each departure; a treasurer to take charge of the gold, and a notary to watch the treasurer and write down what was seen and done. The government was exceedingly strict in its regulations of discoveries by sea, as well as in all matters relative to commerce and colonization. Notice was given by Ferdinand and Isabella September 3, 1501, by Charles V. November 17, 1526, and by Philip II. in 1563, that no one should go to the Indies except under express license from the king. In 1526 Charles V. ordered that the captain of any discovering or trading vessel should not go ashore within the limits mentioned in his patent without the permission of the royal officers and priests on board, under penalty of confiscation of half the goods. The law of 1556 stipulates that ships must be properly equipped, provisioned for one year, always sail in pairs, and carry in each two pilots and two priests. In his *ordenanzas de poblaciones* of 1563 Philip II. directs that vessels making discov-

Among those to take advantage of this permission,

eries shall carry scissors, combs, knives, looking-glasses, rifles, axes, fish-hooks, colored caps, glass beads, and the like, as means of introduction and traffic. *Recopilacion de Leyes de los Reynos de las Indias*, ii. 6–7. In regard to the share of the crown in the gold gathered our popular writers seem to have found original authorities somewhat vague. It is clearly enough stated that settlers are to pay two thirds; the question is whether in relation to discoverers gold is included in products of which one tenth was to go to the crown, or whether the exception to a rule was unintentionally omitted. Mr Irving glides gracefully over the difficulty with the same degree of indefiniteness that he finds in the authorities. Mr Prescott states positively, *History of Ferdinand and Isabella*, ii. 488, that 'the ships fitted out under the general license were required to reserve....two thirds of all the gold' for the crown, quoting Muñoz and Navarrete as vouchers, the words of neither justifying the statement. Muñoz, *Hist. Nuevo Mundo*, i. 240, says, 'se concedió á todos generalmente, sin mas gravamen que pagar la décima de lo que se rescatase,' while Navarrete, *Col. de Viages*, ii. 167, printing the *real provision* itself, states simply 'es nuestra merced que de lo que las dichas personas hallaren en las dichas islas é tierra-firme hayan para sí las nueve partes, é la otra diezma parte sea para Nos.' The misstatement of the talented author of *Ferdinand and Isabella* is rendered all the more conspicuous when on the very next page quoted by him Muñoz settles the whole matter exactly contrary to Prescott's account. 'A todos se permitió llevar víveres y mercancías, rescatar oro de los naturales contribuyendo al rey con la décima.' And after thus stating distinctly that all might trade with the natives for gold on paying one tenth to the crown, he gives the reason why miners must pay two thirds to the crown; or if the recipient of pecuniary aid from the crown, then four fifths; it was because of the supposed exceeding richness of the mines, the ease with which gold could be obtained; and, further, the dependence of the crown on its mines, more than on anything else for a colonial revenue. Prior to 1504 the regulation of the royal share was not fixed, some of the traders paying one tenth gross, some one fifth gross, and some one fourth net. Bobadilla, in 1500, granted twenty years' licenses to settlers in Española to work gold mines by paying only one eleventh to the crown. Summarizing the subsequent laws upon the subject, we find ordered by Ferdinand and Isabella, February 5, 1504, reiterated by Philip, 1572, that all dwellers in the Indies must pay to the crown one fifth of all gold, silver, lead, tin, quicksilver, iron, or other metal obtained by them; likewise traders were to pay one fifth of all gold, silver, or other metals, pearls, precious stones, or amber obtained by them. September 14, 1519, Charles V. declared that of all gold received in trade from the natives one fifth must be paid to him; and March 8, 1530, he said that where a reward has been promised to a prospector of mines the royal treasury would pay two thirds of that reward, and the private persons interested one third. It was ordered September 4, 1536, and reiterated June 19, 1540, that all persons must pay the king's fifth on the before-mentioned articles, whether obtained in battle or by plundering-expeditions, or by trade. Of all gold, silver, pearls, and precious stones received as ransom of a cacique or other principal personage the king was to have one third; the remainder, after deducting the king's fifth, was to be divided among the members of the expedition. Of the spoils secured from a cacique slain in battle, or executed, one half was the crown's, and one half, except the king's fifth, the property of the conquerors. June 5, 1551, it was ordered, and reiterated August 24, 1619, that beside the king's share, there be levied a duty of 1½ per cent. to pay for smelting, assaying, and stamping. By the *ordenanzas de poblaciones* of Philip II., 1563, the adelantado of a discovery by land, and his successor, and the settlers were to pay the crown but one tenth on metals and precious stones for the term of ten years. *Recop. de Indias*, ii. 10, 68, 75–7, 79, and 480–1.

beside Bastidas, was Alonso de Ojeda, who embarked with four vessels from Spain in May, 1499, in company with Juan de la Cosa and Amerigo Vespucci, sailed along the seaboard of South America from Paria and the Pearl Coast, discovered by Columbus, to the gulf of Venezuela, so called because like Venice the native villages were built over the water. At Cape de la Vela, Ojeda left the coast and crossed to Española, whence he was driven off by Roldan at the command of Columbus. He reached Spain in June, 1500; and though his ships were crowded with slaves, after paying expenses there were left but five hundred ducats to divide among fifty-five persons. Sailing in a caravel of only fifty tons, a few days later than Ojeda, were Pedro Alonso Niño and Cristóbal Guerra, who, following the track of Columbus and Ojeda to the Pearl Coast, thence crossed to Margarita, returned to the main-land and coasted Cumaná, and finally returned to Spain, arriving about two months before Ojeda, well laden with gold and pearls. This was the first really profitable voyage, pecuniarily, to the New World. Then there was Vicente Yañez Pinzon, who sailed in four caravels in December, 1499, and shortly after Diego de Lepe, in two vessels, both going to Brazil.

Quite exceptional to the ordinary adventurer was Bastidas. He was a man of standing in the community, possessed of some means himself and having wealthy friends; he was intelligent and influential, and withal humane, even Las Casas admitting that no one ever accused him of illtreating the Indians.

The friends of the honest notary, among them Juan de Ledesma, were ready enough to join him, pecuniarily, in a venture to the famous Pearl Coast, as the South American shore of the admiral's third voyage was now called. Obtaining from Fonseca's office a royal license,[3] and enlisting the coöperation

[3] The document may be seen to-day in the archives of the Indies. Begin-

of Juan de la Cosa, already veteran in western pilotage, Bastidas equipped two caravels,[4] embarked

ning: 'El Rey é La Reina. El asiento que se tomó por nuestro mandado con vos Rodrigo de Bastidas, vecino de la cibdad de Sevilla, para ir á descobrir por el mar Océano, con dos navíos, es lo siguiente:'—it goes on to state, 'First, that we give license to you, the said Rodrigo de Bastidas, that with two vessels of your own, and at your own cost and risk, you may go by the said Ocean Sea to discover, and you may discover islands and firm land; in the parts of the Indies and in any other parts, provided it be not the islands and firm land already discovered by the Admiral Don Cristóbal Colon, our admiral of the Ocean Sea, or by Cristóbal Guerra; nor those which have been or may be discovered by other person or persons by our order and with our license before you; nor the islands and firm land which belong to the most serene prince, the king of Portugal, our very dear and beloved son; for from them nor from any of them you shall not take anything, save only such things as for your maintenance, and for the provision of your ships and crew you may need. Furthermore, that all the gold, and silver, and copper, and lead, and tin, and quicksilver, and any other metal whatever; and *aljofar*, and pearls, and precious stones and jewels, and slaves and negroes, and mixed breeds, which in these our kingdoms may be held and reputed as slaves; and monsters and serpents, and whatever other animals and fishes and birds, and spices and drugs, and every other thing of whatsoever name or quality or value it may be; deducting therefrom the freight expenses, and cost of vessels, which in said voyage and fleet may be made; of the remainder to us will belong the fourth part of the whole, and the other three fourths may be freely for you the said Rodrigo de Bastidas, that you may do therewith as you choose and may be pleased to do, as a thing of your own, free and unincumbered. *Item*, that we will place in each one of the said ships one or two persons, who in our name or by our order shall be witnesses to all which may be obtained and trafficked in said vessels of the aforesaid things; and that they may put the same in writing and keep a book and account thereof, so that no fraud or mistake happen.' After stating further under whose direction the ships should be fitted out, and what should be done on the return of the expedition, the document is dated at Seville, June 5, 1500, and the signatures follow: 'Yo El Rey. Yo La Reina. Por mandado del Rey é de la Reina, Gaspar De Grizio.' All this under penalty of the forfeiture of the property and life of the captain of the expedition, Rodrigo de Bastidas. *Archivo de Indias*, printed in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas*, *Col. Doc.*, ii. 362–6.

Caravel.

[4] It is often remarked with wonder in what small and apparently insecure vessels the early navigators traversed perilous seas and explored unknown coasts. That shipwreck so often attended their ventures is less surprising than that so many escaped destruction. Two of the three vessels employed by Columbus were open boats, according to *March y Labores, Historia de la Marina Real Española*, i. 98, of forty tons each, and the decked *Santa María*, only sixty tons. The term caravel was originally given to ships navigated wholly by sails as distinguished from the galley propelled by oars. It has been applied to a great variety of vessels of different size and construction. The caravels of

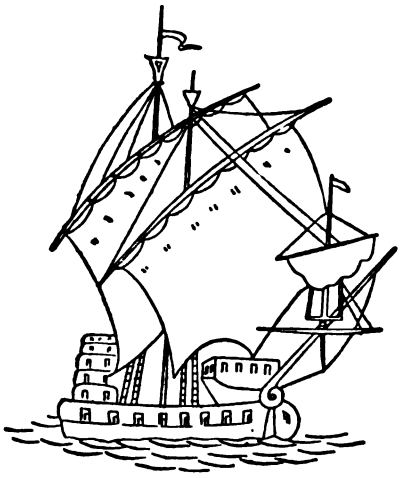
at Cádiz in October, 1500, took on board wood,

the New World discoverers may be generally described as long, narrow boats of from twenty to one hundred tons burden, with three or four masts of about equal height carrying sometimes square and sometimes lateen sails, the fourth mast set at the heel of the bowsprit carrying square sails. They were usually half-decked, and adorned with the lofty forecastle and loftier poop of the day. The

GALLEY.

GALEAZA.

latter constituted over that part of the vessel a double or treble deck, which was pierced for cannon. A class of vessels like the *Santa María*, beside a double stern deck, had a forward deck armed with small pieces for throwing stones and grape. In the archives of Mallorca is a picture of a caravel drawn in 1397,

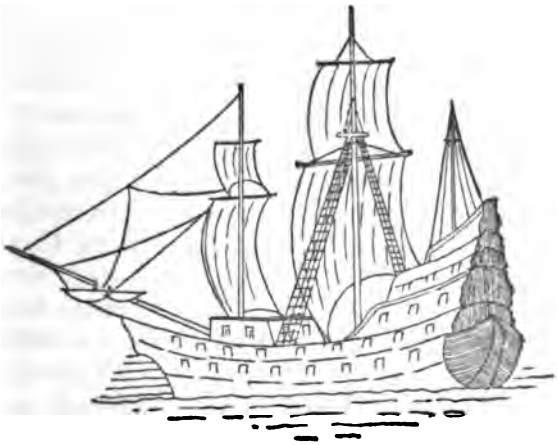


GALLEON.

and a very fair representation of those in use a century later may be found on Juan de la Cosa's map. The large decked ships of from 100 to 1200 tons had two, three, or four masts, and square sails, with high poop and sometimes high prow. In naval engagements and in discovery the smaller vessels seemed to be preferred, being more easily handled. Columbus, at Paria, complained of his vessel of 100 tons as being too large. In his *ordenanzas de poblaciones*

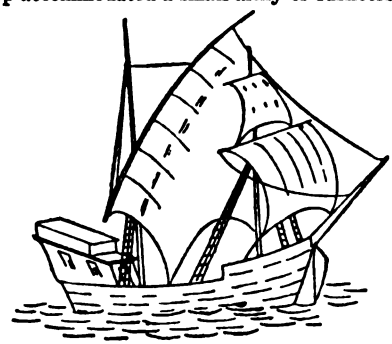
water, meat, and cheese at Gomera, and steering a little north of the admiral's last track, came to a

of 1563 Philip II. required every discoverer to take at least two vessels of not over sixty tons each, in order to enter inlets, cross the bars of rivers, and pass over shoals. The larger ships, if any were of the expedition, must remain in a safe port until another safe port was found by the small craft. Thirty men and no more were to go in every ship, and the pilots must write down what they encountered for the benefit of other pilots. *Recop. de Indias*, ii. 5–6. The *galera* was a vessel of low bulwarks, navigated by sails and



Navío.

oars, usually twenty or thirty oars on either side, four or five oarsmen to a bench. It frequently carried a large cannon, called *cruxia*, two of medium size, and two small guns. The *galeaza* was the largest class of galera, or craft propelled wholly or in part by oars. It had three masts; it commonly carried twenty cannon, and the poop accommodated a small army of fusileers and sharpshooters. A *galeota* was a small galera, having only sixteen or twenty oarsmen on a side, and two masts. The *galeon* was a large armed merchant vessel with high bulwarks, three or four decks, with two or three masts, square-rigged, spreading courses and top-sails, and sometimes top-gallant sails. One fleet of twelve galleons, from 1000 to 1200 tons burden, was named after the twelve apostles. Those which plied between Acapulco and Manila were from 1200 to 2000 tons burden. A *galeoncillo* was a small galeon. The *carac* was a large carrying vessel, the one intended for Columbus' second voyage being 1250 *toneles*, or 1500 tons. A *nao*, or *navío*, was a large ship with high bulwarks and three masts. A *nave* was a vessel with deck and sails; the former distinguishing it from the *barca*, and the absence of oars from a galera. The *bergantin*, or



Brigantine.

green isle, which he called Isla Verde, and reached the mainland near Venezuela. Coasting westward, he passed Santa Marta, and arrived at the Magdalena River in March, 1501, so naming it on arrival from the day, which was that of the woman's conversion. There he narrowly escaped shipwreck. Continuing, and trading on the way, he found the ports of Zamba and Coronados—the latter so called because the natives wore large crowns—the islands of San Bernardo, Barú, and the Arenas, off Cartagena Bay. Next he saw Fuerte and tenantless Tortuga, touched at the port of Cenú, passed Point Caribana, entered the gulf of Urabá, and saw the *farallones*, or craggy islet peaks, rising abruptly from the water near the Darien shore. Thus far from Cape de la Vela he had discovered one hundred and fifty leagues[5] of new seaboard. And because when the tide was low the water was fresh, he called the place Golfo Dulce. Thus came the Spaniards upon the isthmus that unites the two Americas; and along it they sailed to Point Manzanilla, in which vicinity were El Retrete and Nombre de Dios.[6]

It is a balmy beginning, this of these men from Spain, of that intercontinental commerce which is shortly to bring destruction on one side and retro-

brig, had low bulwarks; the *bergantin-goleta* was a hermaphrodite brig, or brigantine, built for fast sailing. The name brigantine was applied in America also to an open flat-bottomed boat which usually carried one sail and from eight to sixteen men, with a capacity for about 100 persons.

[5] The Spanish league varies with time and place. It was not until 1801 that the diverse measurements of the several original kingdoms were by royal order made uniform, the legal league then becoming throughout all Spain 20,000 Spanish feet. Of these leagues there are twenty to the degree, making each three geographical miles, being, as specified by the law, the distance travelled on foot at a steady gait in one hour. The land league was, by law of Alfonso the Wise, 3000 paces, as specified by the *Siete Partidas*. The discoverers roughly estimated a league at from two and a half to three and a half English miles. A marine or geographical league at that time was about 7500 varas, or little less than four English miles, there being nearly 17½ to a degree of latitude. In different parts of Spanish America the league is different, being sometimes quite short. In Cuba a league consists of 5078 varas, and in Mexico of 5000 varas. The vara is the Spanish yard, comprising three Spanish feet of eleven English inches each. Since the decline of Roman influence, the Spaniards have had no equivalent for the English mile.

[6] See next chapter, note 18.

gression on the other; a commerce which shall end only with the next general cataclysm. Threading their way among islands smothered in foliage, which seemed upon the glossy water-surface as floating fragments of the thickly matted verdure of the mainland, listening to notes unfamiliar to their ears, and seeing these strange men and women so like and yet so unlike Spaniards, they find themselves wondering whether they are in the world or out of it. We who so well know our little planet and its ways can scarcely imagine what it was in the darkness to be taken up at Seville, and put down amidst the magic play of light and shade at Darien. Probably now the world was round; yet still it might be fungiform, or crescent-shaped, or amorphous, having a smooth or ragged edge, from which a fearful slipping-off might any moment ensue. All they can know is what they see, and that they cannot half know, for they can scarcely more than half see or feel or smell. Some part of the perpendicular rays of the incandescent sun falling on their toughened skins they can feel; some part of the water that from the surcharged reservoirs of low-lying clouds so frequently and freely pours upon the spot whence it is pumped by this same vertical sun. They can turn their bewildered eyes toward the south and see beyond its clean white border the mainland stretching off in billows of burnished green to the far-away hazy horizon, where like a voluptuous beauty it imprints a kiss upon the blushing sky; they may lie in the gray mist of evening and dream, and dream, their minds—how many removes from the intelligence of the impatient sea and the self-tuned life upon the shore? Or they may drift about in the amber light of a soft vaporous morning without much dreaming; one thing at least to them is real, and that is gold. Without the aid of divine revelation they fathom the difference between the precious solid substance and hollow brass. So do the savages, thinking the latter much the prettier; and thus

both sides, each believing the others fools and well cheated, are happy in their traffic. The Spaniards are enchanted less by the lovely garb in which nature everywhere greets them than by the ease with which the golden harvest is gathered. Thus all betokens the most flattering success when a luckless event casts a shadow over their bright fortunes.

The two ships were found to be leaking badly. An examination was made, when the bottoms were found pierced by teredos;[7] and thus before they knew it their vessels were unfit for service. Hoping still to reach Cádiz, Bastidas immediately set sail, touched at Jamaica for wood and water, and continued his voyage as far as Contramaestre, an islet one league distant from Española, where he was obliged to anchor and repair his ships. Again embarking for Spain, he was met by a gale which threw him back upon the island. Buffeted in a second attempt, he ran the ships for safety into the little port of Jaraguá, where they filled and sank, the loss in vessels, slaves, Brazil-wood, cloth, and gold, being not less than five millions of maravedís.[8] For notwithstanding the esti-

[7] Called by the Venetians *bissas*, and by the Spaniards *broma;* a terrible pest to tropical navigators before the days of copper-bottoming. This, and another tropical marine worm, the *Simnoria terebrans*, brought hither by ships, play havoc with the wharf-piling of San Francisco and other west-coast harbors.

[8] The early chroniclers make their reckonings of values under different names at different times. Thus during the discoveries of Columbus we hear of little else but *maravedís;* then the *peso de oro* takes the lead, together with the *castellano;* all along *marco* and *ducado* being occasionally used. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, and before and after, Spanish values were reckoned from a mark of silver, which was the standard. A mark was half a pound either of gold or silver. The gold mark was divided into fifty castellanos; the silver mark into eight ounces. In the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella the mark was divided by law into 65 *reales de vellon* of 34 maravedís each, making 2210 maravedís in a mark. To show how changeable were the values of subsidiary Spanish coins, and how utterly impossible it is accurately and at all times to determine by their names the amount of metal they represent, it is only necessary to state that in the reign of Alfonso XI., 1312–1350, there were 125 maravedís to the mark, while in the reign of Ferdinand VII., 1808–1833, a mark was divided into 5440 maravedís. In Spanish America a *real* is one eighth of a *peso*, and equal to 2½ reales de vellon. The peso contains one ounce of silver; it was formerly called *peso de ocho reales de plata*, whence came the term *pieces of eight*, a vulgarism at one time in vogue among the merchants and buccaneers in the West Indies. This coin is designated more particularly as *peso fuerte*, or *peso duro*, to distinguish it from

mable reputation for piety, justice, and humanity which he has always borne, the good Bastidas did not scruple gently to entrap on board his ships, along the shore of Darien, several scores of unsuspecting natives, to be sold as slaves; nor, having thus exercised his virtues in the klopemania of the day, did he scruple to abandon with his sinking ships the greater portion of these innocent wretches in order to save the more of his gold, which was deemed of greater proximate and certain value than the bodies or even the souls of the heathen.

Thus observing everywhere, as perforce we must as we proceed, the magnanimity and high morality with which our so prized and petted civilization greeted weak, defenseless, and inoffensive savagism, we are prepared when shipwrecked mariners are thrown upon a distant isle inhabited by their own countrymen, subjects of the same sovereigns—we are prepared by their reception, which we shall presently see, to exclaim with uplifted hands, Behold, how these brethren love one another!

peso sencillo, equivalent in value to four fifths of the former. The mutilator of Herrera translates *pesos de oro* as pieces of eight, in which as in other things he is about as far as possible wrong. The castellano, the one fiftieth of the golden mark, in the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, was equivalent to 490 maravedís of that day. The *peso de oro*, according to Oviedo, was exactly equivalent to the castellano, and either was one third greater than the ducado, or ducat. The *doblon*, the popular name for the *excelente*, was first struck by Ferdinand and Isabella as a gold coin of the weight of two castellanos. The modern doubloon is an ounce of coined gold, and is worth 16 pesos fuertes. Reduced to United States currency the peso fuerte, as slightly alloyed bullion, is in weight nearly enough equivalent to one dollar. Therefore a mark of silver is equal to eight dollars; a piece of eight, equal to one peso, which equals one dollar; a real de vellon, five cents; a Spanish-American real, 12½ cents; a maravedí, $\frac{100}{34}$ of a cent; a castellano, or peso de oro, $2.56; a doubloon, $5.14; a ducat, $1.92; a mark of gold, $128, assuming the United States alloy. The fact that a castellano was equivalent to only 490 maravedís shows the exceedingly high value of silver as compared with gold at the period in question. The modern ounce, or doubloon, is valued at about $16. As to the relative purchasing power of the precious metals at different times during the past four centuries economists differ. The returns brought by the first discoverers began the depreciation, which was rapidly accelerated by the successive conquests, notably of Mexico and Peru. Any one may estimate; no one can determine with exactness. Robertson, Prescott, and other writers make but guess-work of it (see *Hist. America*, and *Conq. Mexico*, passim) when they attempt to measure the uncertain and widely diversified denominations of centuries ago by the current coin of to-day.

After burning superfluous ammunition, the Spaniards gathered up their valuables, and placing them on the backs of such captives as for that purpose they had kindly permitted to live, set out in three divisions over separate routes, so as to secure a more liberal supply of provisions on the way, for Santo Domingo, distant seventy leagues. In his license, as we have seen, Bastidas was authorized to trade only in lands discovered by himself. But on the way his followers with their trinkets had purchased food from the natives; for which offence, on his arrival at Santo Domingo, Bastidas was seized by Bobadilla and cast into prison. In vain did all the shipwrecked company protest that they had bought only such articles as were necessary for their nourishment during the march. To their affirmations the governor turned a deaf ear; and as Bobadilla was about to depart for Spain, the notary was ordered thither for trial, sailing in July, 1502.

Before the sovereigns Bastidas found no difficulty in justifying his conduct; and so rich were the returns from his traffic with the natives of Darien, that notwithstanding the unfortunate termination of the adventure he was enabled to pay a large sum into the royal treasury. For their important successes, to Rodrigo de Bastidas was awarded an annual pension of fifty thousand maravedís, and to Juan de la Cosa a similar sum with the title of alguacil mayor of Urabá, all to be paid them out of returns from the new lands which they had found. "Such," remarks Irving, "was the economical generosity of King Ferdinand, who rewarded the past toils of his adventurous discoverers out of the expected produce of their future labors."[9]

[9] Las Casas, who was at Santo Domingo when the shipwrecked mariners arrived, saw Bastidas, and part of his gold, and the natives of Darien whom he had brought, and who in place of the Adamic fig-leaf wore a funnel-shaped covering of gold. There were great riches, it was said; three chests full of gold and pearls, which on reaching Spain were ordered to be publicly displayed in all the towns through which the notary passed on his way to

court. This, as an advertisement of the Indies, was done to kindle the fires of avarice and discontent in sluggish breasts, that therefrom others might be induced to go and gather gold and pay the king his fifth. Afterward Bastidas returned with his wife and children to Santo Domingo, and became rich in horned cattle, having at one time 8000 head; and that when a cow in Española was worth 50 pesos de oro. In 1504 he again visited Urabá, in two ships, and brought thence 600 natives, whom he enslaved in Española. In 1520 the emperor gave him the pacification of Trinidad with the title of adelantado; which grant being opposed by Diego Colon, on the ground that the island was of his father's discovering, Bastidas waived his claim, and accepted the governorship of Santa Marta, where he went with 450 men, and was assassinated by his lieutenant, Villafuerte, who thought to succeed him, and to silence the governor's interposed objections to the maltreatment of the natives. Thus if the humane Bastidas, in accordance with the custom of the day, did inhumanly enslave his fellow-creatures, he gave his life at last to save them from other cruelties; which act, standing as it does luminous and alone in a century of continuous outrage, entitles him to the honorable distinction of Spain's best and noblest *conquistador*. As the eloquent Quintana says: 'Bastidas no se hizo célebre ni como descubridor ni como conquistador; pero su memoria debe ser grata á todos los amantes de la justicia y de la humanidad, por haber sido uno de los pocos que trataron á los indios con equidad y mansedumbre, considerando aquel país mas bien como un objeto de especulaciones mercantiles con iguales, que como campo de gloria y de conquistas.'

Among the standard authorities mention is made of Bastidas and his voyage by Las Casas, *Hist. Ind.*, iii. 10–12, who refutes certain of Oviedo's unimportant statements in *Historia General y Natural de las Indias*, i. 76–7; ii. 334–5; by Herrera, i. 148–9; Gomara, *Hist. Ind.*, fol. 67; and in *Galvano's Discov.*, 99–100, and 102–3. But before these I should place original documents found in *Navarrete, Col. de Viages*, iii. 25–28, 545–6, and 591–3, and in the *Coleccion* of Pacheco and Cárdenas, of both of which works I shall presently speak more fully. In tom. ii. pp. 362–6 of this latter collection is given the *Asiento que hizo con sus Majestades Católicas Rodrigo de Bastidas*, before mentioned; and on pp. 366–467, same volume, is *Informacion de los servicios del adelantado Rodrigo de Bastidas, conquistador y pacificador de Santa Marta*. Next in importance to the chroniclers are, *Historia de la Marina Real Española*, i. 284; *Morelli, Fasti Novi Orbis*, 11; *Robertson's Hist. Am.*, i. 159; *Help's Spanish Conquest*, i. 294; *Acosta, Compend. Hist. Nueva Granada*, 21; *Irving's Columbus*, iii. 53–6, and *Quintana, Vidas de Españoles Célebres*, 'Vasco Nuñez de Balboa,' 1. *Robinson's Acct. Discov. in West*, 105; *Lardner's Maritime Discovery*, ii. 32; *Holmes' Annals of America*, i. 20; *Lerdo de Tejada, Apuntes Hist.*, 89; *Harris' Voy.*, i. 270; *Major's Prince Henry*, 369, and like allusions are worthless. In *Kerr's Col. Voy.*, ii. 58–63, is given a translation of Galvano. In Aa's collection the narrative is substantially the same as in Gottfried's.

The most fertile source of information relative to the early affairs of America is the *Archives of the Indies*, a general term comprising various collections in various places. From this source many writers have drawn, and are still drawing; many documents have been printed, and many yet remain to be printed. Altogether the collections are very numerous, as the government required full records, and in some cases copies, to be kept of official documents concerning discovery, conquest, and settlement. The several council-chambers and public offices where the business was transacted were the first depositories of these papers, the chief places then being Seville, Cádiz, and Madrid. In 1566 Philip II. ordered all collections, ecclesiastic and secular, to be united, and deposited in the fortress of Simancas. Again in 1717, when all the councils were consolidated in one, Felipe V., who founded the *Academia de la Historia*, among other things for the gathering and preserving of mate-

rials for history, directed all papers to be conveyed annually to the *Archivo de Simancas*. These provisions could not have been fully carried out, or else a very extensive system of copying must have been practised; for later, when the Archives were thrown open to the search of historians, the accumulation at Simancas, though large, did not appear to be much greater than at some other places. Further than this, there were family archives in the houses of those who had played prominent parts in public affairs, and ecclesiastical *relaciones* in the convents of the several orders, of little less importance than public records. And while the government insisted on the making of complete records, and observed great care in preventing their contents from being known, especially to foreigners, little pains was taken to preserve them from damage or destruction, or to arrange them for convenient reference. Therefore when they came to light it was in the form of bulky masses of unassorted, worm-eaten, and partially illegible papers. Many documents, mentioned by contemporary writers, are known to have been lost, and their contents blotted from existence. Fernando VI., 1746–1759, commissioned Burriel and Santiago Palomares to examine the archives of the kingdom and to copy and form into a collection such of the manuscripts as they should deem best. This collection was placed in the *Biblioteca Nacional* at Madrid. Other collections were made during the two following reigns by Abella, Traggia, Velazquez, Muñoz, Navarrete, Sans, Vargas Ponce, and Villanueva, which found lodgment in various localities.

The early chroniclers of the Indies picked up their knowledge as best they might, by observation, by conversation, and by the examination of written evidence. Las Casas and Oviedo spent much time in the New World; Peter Martyr had access to whatever existed, beside talking with everybody who had been to America; Gomara copied much from Oviedo. Everything was at the disposal of Herrera as crown historiographer, as a matter of course, though he did not always make the best use of his opportunities. Gashard affirms that both Cabrera and Herrera were ignorant of the existence of many of the most valuable documents of their day. Ramusio, Hakluyt, Purchas, and others, succeeded in getting now and then an original paper on the Indies to print in their several collections. Among the first English historians who attempted for purposes of history to utilize the Archives of the Indies was William Robertson, who published the *History of the Reign of the Emperor Charles*, London, 1769; and in 1777, his *History of America*, 2 vols. 4to, several editions appearing subsequently also in 8vo. Robertson was a Scotch clergyman of great learning and ability. His style was elegant and vigorous, and he was by far the most philosophic writer on America up to his time. Although his statements are full of errors, intensified by dogmatism, but for which he cannot always be blamed, all who have come after him have profited by his writings; and some of these, indeed, have reaped richer rewards than he to whom they owed their success, and with far less labor.

Early in his work Mr Robertson applied to the proper authorities at Madrid, Vienna, and St Petersburg for access to material. Germany and Russia responded in a spirit of liberality, but Spain would none of it. In 1775 Robertson ascertained that the largest room occupied by the *Archivos de Simancas* was filled with American papers, in 873 bundles; that they were

concealed from strangers with solicitous care, Spanish subjects even being denied access without an order from the crown; and that no copies could be obtained except upon the payment of exorbitant fees. However, through the assistance of Lord Grantham, English ambassador at Madrid, and by preparing a set of questions to be submitted to persons who had lived in America, much new and important information was elicited, and copies of certain manuscripts were obtained. The letters of Cortés, and the writings of Motolinia, Mendieta, and others, which Robertson used in manuscript, have since been printed.

It is greatly to be regretted that the learned Juan Bautista Muñoz did not live to complete his *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, only the first volume of which appeared. This was published in Madrid, in 1793, bringing his work down to 1500. Muñoz was born near Valencia in 1745, graduated at the University, and in 1779 was commissioned by the king to write a history of America, all public and private material being placed at his disposal by royal order. Many papers were wanting in the archives of the department of the Indies in Madrid; whereupon he went to Simancas, Seville, Cádiz, and other towns, armed with a royal *cédula*, which opened to him family and monastic accumulations as well as all public depositories. So great was the confusion in which he found the royal archives, that it seemed to him as if they had been disarranged purposely to hide what they contained. Even in the indices of the *Archivo Secreto del Consejo de Indias* there was scarcely any indication of papers belonging to the earlier American periods. Nevertheless, by persistent search, mass after mass of rich material was unearthed in the secret archives as well as in the *Real Casa Audiencia de la Contratacion*, the archives at Simancas, the royal libraries of Madrid and the Escorial, the *Contaduría Principal* of the *Audiencia de Indias* in Cádiz, the *Archivo General de Portugal*, the monastery of Monserrate, the colleges of San Bartolomé and Cuenca at Salamanca, and San Gregorio at Valladolid, the cathedral of Palencia, the Sacromonte of Granada, and in the convents of San Francisco of Tolosa in Guipúzcoa, Santo Domingo of Málaga, and San Acacio, San José, and San Isidro del Campo of Seville, until it may be said of him that his efforts were buried beneath the magnitude of their invocation. Then it was that he found he had undertaken greater things than he could accomplish. Even with the aid of government he could not master the confused masses; for money and men unlimited cannot accomplish everything without time. The indefatigable Muñoz worked faithfully; the king complained of the meagre results; the author died doing his best, and his work to this day remains undone. During his labors he made an extensive collection of papers, memorials, and other manuscripts relating to America, known as the *Coleccion de Muñoz*, which he once intended to publish, but this with a portion of his history was left in manuscript. Irving states that the papers of Muñoz were left with Señor Uguina, and Ternaux-Compans claims to have obtained all of Uguina's manuscripts; but Prescott asserts that the collection of Muñoz was deposited in the archives of the Royal Academy of History at Madrid, and was there augmented by the manuscripts of Vargas Ponce, obtained chiefly from the archives of the Indies at Seville. Prior to 1793 the *Archivo General de Indias* was established at Seville, and a large quantity of old papers con-

veyed thither from Madrid and Simancas. About 1810 the archives at Simancas were sacked by Napoleon; in 1814 the remnant was re-arranged and classified.

Before the death of Muñoz, Navarrete was commissioned by the king to search the archives for documents relating to the doings of the Spanish navy. By him personally, or under his direction when occupied in other duties, the search was continued from 1789 to 1825. The results of these labors were as follows: before 1793, twenty-four folio volumes of copies from the Royal Library at Madrid, the collections of the marquises of Santa Cruz and of Villafranca, of the dukes de Medina Sidonia and del Infantado, and from the *Biblioteca de los estudios reales de San Isidro*, and the *Biblioteca alta del Escorial;* after 1793, seventeen volumes of copies from the *Archivo General de Indias*, including the papers in the *Casa de Contratacion* in Seville, the *Colegio de San Telmo*, the *Biblioteca de San Acacio*, and from the collection of the Conde del Aguila. With this material, increased by subsequent researches in the libraries of the Royal Academy of History in Madrid, and other public institutions, and in many private collections, particularly that of the Duke of Veraguas, and with access to the Muñoz collection, Navarrete began in 1825 the publication of his *Coleccion de los Viages y Descubrimientos, que hicieron por mar los Españoles desde fines del Siglo* XV., in 5 vols., Madrid, 1825–37, in which he printed over 500 documents, many of them of the highest importance. As this collection constitutes one of the chief authorities upon the early affairs of Darien, a brief notice of the author may not be out of place.

Martin Fernandez de Navarrete was born in 1765 in Ábalos in old Castile. He entered the seminary of Vergara in 1777, where he studied Latin and mathematics and displayed some literary taste. In 1780 he joined the navy, was stationed first as a midshipman at Ferrol, joined Córdoba's squadron in 1781, and cruised in the summer of that year on the English coast. He did good service before Gibraltar in September, 1782, and in the battle off Cape Espartel the 20th of October following. In 1783, having been promoted to a naval ensigncy, he was appointed to the Cartagena department, and cruised in consequence against the Moors during the years 1784–5. On the close of the Algerine wars he studied the higher mathematics, navigation, and manœuvring with Gabriel de Císcar, distinguishing himself in these branches. In 1789, his health forcing him to quit active service, he was commissioned by Carlos IV. to examine the archives of the kingdom and collect manuscripts relating to marine history; a work for which his zeal and knowledge particularly fitted him. This was the beginning of his famous Collection of Voyages, although its first volumes did not appear till thirty-six years after. When the war broke out between France and Spain in 1793, he joined the squadron commanded by Juan de Lángara, who appointed him his chief aid, *primer ayudante*, and secretary. He was still at sea, in 1796, when war was declared against England; but in 1797, Lángara being named minister of marine, and unwilling to lose his young secretary, he brought him to Madrid, giving him a place in the department. Here, in 1802, Navarrete published, as a preface to the *Relacion del Viage hecho por las goletas Sutil y Mexicana*, a résumé of Spanish discoveries on the Californian and Northwest coasts,

that has been much cited in the English-American disputes about the Oregon boundary. Meanwhile his merits were recognized in Madrid. In 1807 he was named *ministro fiscal* of the supreme council of the admiralty court, he holding already the rank of captain. But in this year came the French invasion, overturning all things. Madrid fell in 1808. In 1812 Navarrete was found in Cádiz; in 1814 in Murcia. Fernando regained his throne, however, May 14, 1814; four months after which event Navarrete returned to Madrid. In 1815 he proposed from his place in the Spanish Academy that new system of orthography which has been adopted for its dictionary. He interested himself also in the fine arts, and as secretary of the Academy of San Fernando contributed many valuable papers to its Transactions. Soon after his return to Madrid, being little pleased with the stormy and veering statesmanship of the day, he retired as much as possible from politics, and began to collect materials for his life of Cervantes—an excellent and very complete work published by the academy, with its edition of *Don Quijote*, in 1820. Honors continued to cluster around the historian. Toward the close of 1823 he was appointed director of the hydrographic department, and he became for many years in fact, if not in name, the great and chief naval authority of Spain; and this without prejudice to his literary activity. In 1825 appeared the first two volumes of his Collection of Voyages; the third appeared in 1829; the fourth and fifth in 1837; while the sixth and seventh were still unfinished at the author's death. On the publication of the *Estatuto Real*, in 1834, he received a place in the new peerage, and sat afterward as senator for his own province, in almost every legislature. But his studious life and pacific character were hardly destined to shine in a political career, nor was it for the interest of science that they should. In the winter of 1844, in the seventy-ninth year of his age, Navarrete died. The Academy issued a posthumous work of his in 1846, a dissertation on the history of the nautical and mathematical sciences in Spain. A collection of his smaller works, *Coleccion de Opúsculos*, was begun in 1848 by his son. The two volumes which have already appeared consist mainly of short biographies of Spanish navigators and literary men, previously scattered in periodicals and in the transactions of the various academies and societies. Navarrete was a man of learning and research, as clearly appears; inclined somewhat to verbosity; tiresome to most readers, though pronounced *elegante y castizo* by his contemporaries. Of the historical value of his works, however, there is but one opinion. Humboldt speaks of his Collection of Voyages as 'one of the most important monuments of modern times,' and calls him 'the most accurate historian of the geographical discoveries on the New Continent.' The Baron de Zach, M. de Berthelot, Prescott, Helps, Irving, and Stirling, have all given him much consideration. Indeed, the friends of Navarrete cannot complain that he has not been honored. Decorated with grand orders, member in high place of many academies and societies, his lot was more fortunate than is usual among literary men. The parts of Navarrete's collection which bear most directly upon this history are: *Relacion de Diego de Porras*, i. 282–96; *Carta que escribió D. Cristóbal Colon*, i. 296–313; *Relacion hecha por Diego Mendez*, i. 314–29; *Cartas de Colon*, i. 330–52; *Viages Menores*, iii. 1–74; *Real cédula por la cual, con referencia á lo capitulado con Diego de Nicuesa y Alonso de Hojeda*, iii. 116–17; *Noticias biográficas del capitan Alonso Hojeda*, iii. 163–

76; and the *Establecimientos ó Primeras Poblaciones de los Españoles en el Darien*, including instructions to Pedrarias, letters of Vasco Nuñez, memorial of Rodrigo de Colmenares, and the relation of Pascual de Andagoya, iii. 337–459.

Scarcely was Navarrete's *Coleccion de Viages* put to press, when Washington Irving heard of it, and went to Madrid with the intention of translating it into English. But he soon saw that with less labor he could accomplish a work which would yield him greater returns. Navarrete, who had already collected the material and prepared the way, was still disposed to lend the genial American every assistance; it was necessary for him to make few original investigations; so that under the circumstances the *Life of Columbus* was by no means a difficult task for so ready a writer. Humboldt visited Madrid before coming to America, but seems to have consulted no important historical documents not in the possession of others. Prescott obtained from the collections of Muñoz and Navarrete 8000 foolscap pages of copies, most of which having any importance have since been printed by Icazbalceta, Alaman, and others.

Between the years 1837 and 1841 Henri Ternaux-Compans published at Paris twenty volumes of *Voyages, relations, et mémoires originaux pour servir à l'histoire de la découverte de l'Amérique*, containing, beside translations of several rare and then unobtainable works, some seventy-five original documents, several of them from the Muñoz collection, and others obtained from the Spanish archives in some unexplained way, possibly not wholly disconnected with the French campaign on the Peninsula. Among his translations are documents relating to the conquest and settlement of Central America and Mexico, the relations of Cabeza de Vaca and Ixtlilxochitl, Oviedo's History of Nicaragua, Zurita's Report on New Spain, and Ixtlilxochitl's History of the Chichimecs. Ternaux-Compans also published *Recueil de documents et mémoires originaux sur l'histoire des possessions espagnoles dans l'Amérique*, Paris, 1840; and *Bibliothèque américaine*, a catalogue of books on America appearing prior to 1700.

The project of printing original papers selected from national and family archives was agitated in Spain by Campomanes, Jovellanos, Villamil, and others, who collected and wrote much upon the subject. The scheme was delayed by the political disruptions incident to the early part of the century, by which the archives became badly scattered. In 1842, under the auspices of the *Academia de la Historia*, was begun the publication, at Madrid, of a *Coleccion de Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de España*, with the names of Martin Fernandez Navarrete, Miguel Salvá, and Pedro Sainz de Baranda on the title-page. Navarrete lived to see only the fifth volume; Salvá and Baranda continued the publication to vol. xxiii., after which, Salvá edited alone to vol. xxxii., when he was joined by the marquises of Pidal and of Miraflores. After vol. xlvii., Pidal's name was dropped, and with vol. lvii. Salvá and the Marqués de Fuente del Valle appeared as editors. In connection with documents relating to the general history of Spain is here printed a vast amount of matter about America, and the doings of Spaniards in that quarter.

During the next score of years floods of light are let in upon the dark

recesses of hidden treasures, the spirit of unearthing which extends to Mexico. I may mention incidentally Ramirez, who, in his *Proceso de Residencia contra Alvarado* and *Nuño de Guzman*, gives some original Mexican documents not elsewhere published. Alaman, at the close of his *Disertaciones*, prints about forty original documents on the time of the Conquest, some of them from the collection of Navarrete, and others from original sources, such as the Hospital de Jesus in Mexico. The *Documentos para la Historia de México*, Mexico, 1853–7, in 21 volumes, was made chiefly from Mexican sources, and is specially valuable for north-west Mexico. Icazbalceta's collection includes fifty-three documents, with few exceptions *inéditos*, the existence of several of which, such as a letter of Cortés, and the relation of Tapia on the Conquest, was then unknown. Most of them were obtained through Gonzalez de Vera, of Madrid; only two or three were found in Mexico. Thus far Icazbalceta's collection refers exclusively to the sixteenth century. Brasseur de Bourbourg, for his *Histoire des Nations Civilisées du Mexique*, Paris, 1857–9, one volume of which is devoted to a history of the Conquest from an Indian stand-point, seems to have relied on his Nahua manuscripts, the standard histories, and a few Spanish manuscripts. Although much thus far had been done, it seemed little to the savans of Spain in comparison with what yet might be accomplished. And it was with this feeling that the government authorized the printing of any documents in the *Real Archivo de Indias* affecting the history of America down to the end of the seventeenth century. The publication of this new series of papers was begun at Madrid in 1864 under title of *Coleccion de Documentos Inéditos relativos al Descubrimiento, Conquista y Colonizacion de las posesiones Españolas en América y Occeanía, sacados, en su mayor parte, del Real Archivo de Indias.* Joaquin F. Pacheco, Francisco de Cárdenas, and Luis Torres de Mendoza were editors at the first. After vol. iii. the first two names were dropped, and after vol. xii. the third, the work being thenceforth continued, *competentemente autorizada.* By this publication alone were placed within easy reach of all the world hundreds of the richest treasures of the Archives of the Indies, twenty for every one that the writer of thirty years ago could reach.

CHAPTER IV.

COLUMBUS ON THE COASTS OF HONDURAS, NICARAGUA, AND COSTA RICA.

1502–1506.

THE SOVEREIGNS DECLINE EITHER TO RESTORE TO THE ADMIRAL HIS GOVERNMENT, OR TO CAPTURE FOR HIM THE HOLY SEPULCHRE — SO HE SAILS ON A FOURTH VOYAGE OF DISCOVERY — FERNANDO COLON AND HIS HISTORY—OVANDO DENIES THE EXPEDITION ENTRANCE TO SANTO DOMINGO HARBOR—COLUMBUS SAILS WESTWARD—STRIKES THE SHORE OF HONDURAS NEAR GUANAJA ISLAND — EARLY AMERICAN CARTOGRAPHY — COLUMBUS COASTS SOUTHWARD TO THE DARIEN ISTHMUS—THEN RETURNS AND ATTEMPTS SETTLEMENT AT VERAGUA — DRIVEN THENCE, HIS VESSELS ARE WRECKED AT JAMAICA — THERE MIDST STARVATION AND MUTINY HE REMAINS A YEAR — THEN HE REACHES ESPAÑOLA AND FINALLY SPAIN, WHERE HE SHORTLY AFTERWARD DIES—CHARACTER OF COLUMBUS—HIS BIOGRAPHERS.

SINCE his last return to Spain, Columbus had rested at Granada under the smiles of the sovereigns, who readily promised him all that he might wish, while resolved to grant nothing which could interfere with their absolute domination of the new lands that he had found for them. When tired of begging the restoration of his rights he urged their Majesties' assistance in seizing the holy sepulchre, that his vow might be fulfilled, and his mind at rest. After profound study and elaborate preparation he presented the case to them in a manuscript volume of prophecies and portents intermingled with poetry. Failing in winning them to this scheme, he promised, if ships were provided him, to undertake new discoveries. Partly because they would know more of their New World possessions, and partly to rid themselves of

uncomfortable importunities, the sovereigns assented to this proposal, meanwhile intimating that after two years had been allowed in which to quiet Española, the admiral should have his own again, but as clearly indicating to others that he should not.

Four vessels, ranging in burden from fifty to seventy tons, were then made ready, the *Capitana*, the *Santiago de Palos*, the *Gallego*, and the *Vizcaino*, commanded respectively by Diego Tristan, Francisco de Porras, Pedro de Terreros, and Bartolomé de Fresco, and embarked at Cádiz the 9th of May, 1502. With the expedition sailed Diego de Porras as chief clerk and notary, and Juan Sanchez as chief pilot; one hundred and forty men and boys constituted the company. The admiral was accompanied by his brother Bartolomé, the adelantado,[1] and by his son Fernando,[2] then thirteen years of age. The

[1] His nephew, Fernando, in his *Hist. Almirante*, in *Barcia*, passim, and those who follow this author closely, as Napione and De Conti, call him El Prefecto; Herrera, Diego Mendez, Diego de Porras, Robertson, Navarrete, and others, employ the title adelantado. Herrera says he was captain of one of the ships.

[2] Ferdinand Columbus, or as he is more commonly called Fernando Colon, was an illegitimate son of Christopher Columbus, by a lady of respectable family. He was born at Córdova, and in 1494, after his father became famous, was brought with his elder brother to court, where he was placed as page to Prince Juan. Upon the death of the heir apparent young Fernando served Queen Isabella in the same capacity, thereby securing an excellent education. During this perilous voyage he was an object no less of comfort than of anxiety to his father, now infirm and troubled in spirit, and his conduct throughout merited and received paternal commendation. 'El ha salido y sale de muy buen saber,' writes the fond father, 'bien que él sea niño en dias, no es assi en el entendimiento.' *Cartas de Colon*, in *Navarrete, Col. de Viages*, i. 341 and 344. See also *Zúñiga, Anales de Sevilla*. His manhood fulfilled the promise of his youth. He cultivated literature with considerable success, and became, as Muñoz, *Hist. Nuevo Mundo*, i. viii., expresses it, 'doctísimo para su siglo, y de grandes pensamientos en materias literarias, segun demostraré á su tiempo.' He travelled extensively in Europe, in the train of Charles V., probably visited Africa and Asia, and is said to have made two voyages to America after his father's death. He formed a collection of over 20,000 printed books and manuscripts, which went to the cathedral of Seville. He neither married, nor left any recognized progeny. He was the author of several works which have not been preserved, the inscription on his tomb mentioning one in four divisions relating partly to the New World and his father's voyages. Antonio de Leon Pinelo, *Epitome*, 565, 633 and 711, speaks of a work, *Apuntamientos sobre la Demarcacion del Maluco*, preserved in manuscript at Simancas. The only printed book of Fernando Colon is a history of the admiral, his father. The original title is not known, the manuscript disappearing before its publication in Spanish. Luis Colon, duke of Veraguas, and grandson of the admiral, brought the manuscript to Genoa

sail across the ocean was prosperous, with favorable winds and nothing to augur the approaching misfortunes until the ships arrived off Santo Domingo on the 29th of June.

During the past two years matters had not improved at Española. It seems that others could govern badly as well as the admiral. Indeed, the kings of Spain, most of them meaning well by their

about 1568, and delivered it to one Fornari, an old man who, according to Barcia, began to print it in Spanish, Italian, and Latin. Others assert that it passed into the hands of Marini, who caused it to be translated into Italian by Alfonso de Ulloa. *Spotorno, Codice Diplomatico*, 1823, lxiii. Ulloa's translation, badly made from a bad copy—'sans doute d' après un texte assez fautif,' *Humboldt, Exam. Crit.*, i. 13,—was printed in Venice, in 1571, under the title, *Historie del Fernando Colombo; Nelle quali s'ha particolare, & vera relatione della vita, & de' fatti dell' Ammiraglio D. Christoforo Colombo, suo padre*, etc. It was reprinted in Italian some six or eight times. A French translation was published in 1680–1, and an English translation has gone the rounds, appearing in *Churchill's Col. Voy.*, ii. 480–604; *Kerr's Col. Voy.*, iii. 1–242; and *Pinkerton's Col. Voy.*, xii. 1–155. It was carelessly retranslated from the Italian into Spanish by Andrés Gonzalez de Barcia, and printed in his *Historiadores Primitivos de las Indias Occidentales*, 3 vols., Madrid, 1749, comprising pp. 1–128, tom. i., of that series, and entitled, *La Historia de D. Fernando Colon en la qual se da Particular, y verdadera relacion de la vida, y hechos de el Almirante D. Christoval Colon, su Padre*, etc. This is the edition most commonly used, and to this I refer, although I have before me an Italian copy of the edition of 1709. Fernando Colon had peculiar advantages for writing his father's history. Himself an actor in the events described, he was moreover personally acquainted with his father's friends, and held possession of his father's papers. All agree that he made good use of his opportunity, and that he has given a clear statement of events which even in his own time began to be distorted. If he was silent touching his father's family, country, and birth, we must remember that poverty and obscurity were a disgrace in those days, and that the son Fernando was a Spaniard. Those who should best know the merits of this author pay him the highest tribute. Of his work says Muñoz, *Hist. Nuevo Mundo*, i. viii., 'Confieso deberle mucho;' and the author Navarrete, *Col. de Viages*, i. lxx., remarks, 'habló siempre con verdad y exactitud, salvo alguna equivocacion fácil de discernir en buena crítica....y por tanto pueden aun estas leves faltas ser efecto de la incuria ó poca inteligencia de ambos traductores.' Attempts have been made to deny to Fernando the authorship, but this, if correct, does not materially affect its value, since it is allowed to have been written from his documents and under his supervision. The vicissitudes to which the work has been subjected and the mutilation it has suffered afford grounds for caution not to be disregarded by the historian. Still, the general tenor and details of the narrative, and the literary bent of the reputed author, present in themselves sufficient evidence of its authenticity.

With regard to the use of certain proper names encountered thus far in this history I would say a word. The question presents difficulties in whatsoever aspect viewed. There are Spanish names of places and persons which custom has so anglicized as to give to their use in the original the appearance of affectation—instance Castilla, for Castile; Sevilla, Seville; Fernando and Isabel, Ferdinand and Isabella; Cárlos V., Charles V.; Felipe II., Philip II. On the other hand, in writing in English of Spanish affairs, the attempt to continue indefinitely the anglicizing of Spanish names would be as im-

New World subjects, were too often unfortunate in their choice of agents. Until recently Bobadilla had held sway, the sovereigns being apparently in no haste to displace him; from which course it was evident either that they had not been properly informed of his conduct, or they approved of it. Perhaps it was true that a knave was better for the place than an honest man. A successor, however, had at length arrived in the person of Nicolás de Ovando, and the superb fleet which had brought him, and was to carry back the displaced governor to Spain, now rode at anchor in the harbor.

In following that contriving policy which others beside princes sometimes regard as necessary when straightforwardness were better, it had been deemed expedient that Columbus should not on this expedition touch at Española, lest his presence engender fresh broils on the island. And the admiral appeared to entertain no intention of breaking the royal commands, until he found, on reaching the Indies, that one of his vessels was unfit for service; or else he pretended that it was so in order to look in on his late government. But whether in actual or feigned distress, when the admiral sent the 29th of June to ask of Ovando permission to exchange a leaky caravel, or at least to shelter the vessels from an impending storm, his messenger Terreros returned with a refusal.

It was certainly an anomalous position in which the great discoverer found himself, vainly knocking at the door of a possession which he had so lately given to

possible as absurd. The two chief objects with me have been to adopt the best forms, and to preserve consistency; I do not claim eminent success in either attempt. The result, however, has been the adoption of the following method, if it may be called a method: The prominent places and persons of Spain, whose names are invariably given in their anglicized form in current English literature, I write in the same way; but those same names, as well as all others, appearing in the New World, where no prominent English writers have made them familiar in an English form, I present in the original as written by the best Spanish scholars. Thus the name of the great Genoese I give in its common latinized form, Christopher Columbus, while in the use of those of his less eminent brothers and sons, who soon became almost or altogether Spaniards, I adopt the forms employed by Spaniards.

Spain, and he not convicted, nay, scarcely accused of any crime. Columbus sent again and warned the governor of approaching bad weather. Ovando would not heed him. The gubernatorial fleet sailed; but only to face a hurricane which soon strewed the shores of Española with its fragments. Current biographies here read like a moral story. On the wrecked vessels were Bobadilla, Roldan, and other inveterate enemies of the admiral, who with a huge mass of ill-gotten treasure were buried beneath the waves. On a little caravel which survived the tempest was the good Bastidas with his property; and on another, which likewise reached Spain in safety, were four thousand *pesos de oro* belonging to Columbus. Furthermore the admiral sheltered his vessels, and so received no injury from the storm. From all which, grave deductions were severally made —by Columbus, that the Almighty had preserved him; by his enemies, that he had employed witchcraft to save himself and property; by others, of a luckless order which providence refuses to recognize, that the admiral and adelantado were good seamen. After certain ship repairs, made without difficulty in a little port near Santo Domingo, on the 14th of July Columbus sailed westward on his explorations.

It must be remembered that at this time, and for several years afterward, the Spaniards did not know where they were. They supposed the earth smaller than it is, and that they were on the barbarous outposts of India,[3] whose interior was civilized and wealthy; and it was the present object of the admiral to find some strait or passage between this

[3] Instance the title-page of the first work published on the New World, in 1493:—*Epistola Christofori Colom: cui etas nostra multū debet: de Insulis Indie supra Gangem nuper inuentis. Ad quas perquirendas octauo antea mense auspiciis et ere inuictissimi Fernandi Hispaniarum Regis missus fuerat: ad Magnificum dūm Raphaelem Sanxis: eiusdem serenissimi Regis Tesaurariū missa: quam nobilis ac litteratus vir Aliander de Cosco ab Hispano ideomate in latinum conuertit: tertio kal's Maij. M.cccc.xciij. Pontificatus Alexandri Sexti Anno Primo.* Letter of Christopher Colom, to whom our age is greatly indebted, respecting the Islands of India beyond the Ganges, lately discovered. In search of which he was sent eight months since, under the auspices and at the expense

border-land and the detached southern regions about Paria, on which he might sail to these rich inner realms, still coasting Asia south-westward.

A storm greeted him, followed by a calm, during which he was carried first southward by Jamaica, then northward past the western end of Cuba; after which, the wind freshening, he continued his course, and on the 30th of July came to a small elevated island, called by the natives Guanaja,[4] to which, from

of the most invincible Ferdinand, king of the Spains. Sent to the magnificent lord Raphael Sanxis, treasurer of the same most serene king, and which the noble and learned man, Aliander de Cosco, translated from the Spanish idiom into Latin. The third day of the Calends of May, 1493. Pontificate of Alexander VI., Year One.

[4] Guanaja is the most easterly of a group called the Bay Islands. To the west of Guanaja, in the order here named, lie Barbaretta, Helena, Morat, Ruatan, the largest, and Utila. On Peter Martyr's map, *India beyond the Ganges*, 1510, Guanaja is written *guanasa*. On map iv., *Munich Atlas*, supposed to have been drawn by Salvat Pilestrina in 1515, Guanaja is called *sam fr.co*, San Francisco; Ruatan, *todo samto;* and Utila, *I:lhana*. Fernando Colon locates on his map, 1527, *y:llana*, *s:francisco*, and *todos sanctos*, and between the last two, *sancta ffe*. On the map of Diego de Ribera, 1529, are *s:franco*, *to stos*, *ya llana*, and *s:. fe*. Vaz Dourado, 1571, map x., *Munich Atlas*, calls Guanaja, *lla ganaxa;* Ruatan, *aguba;* and Utila, *dotila*. *Mercator's Atlas*, 1574, gives *Guanaxos; Ogilby's Map*, 1671, *Guanaja*, *Guajama*, *Roatan*, and *Vtila; Laet*, *Novus Orbis*, 1633, the same; *Jefferys' Voyages*, 1776, *Guanaja* or *Bonaka*, *Guajama* or *Rattan*, and *Utila*. Of Guanaja, Diego de Porras in *Navarrete*, *Col. de Viages*, i. 283, remarks:—'es pequeña, bojará veinte leguas, no tiene cosa de provecho.' Utila is low and level; hence the name, Ya Llana. In his remarks on the two oldest maps of America, Kohl says of Guanaja:—'Das Columbus sie schon gesehen hat, ist zu bezweifeln, da er wohl nicht so weit westwärts segelte oder blickte. Vielleicht sahen sie jedoch Pinzon und Solis 1508. Gewiss ist es, dass sie schon 1516 von einer spanischen Expedition, die zum Menschenraub von Cuba nach Süden ausgelaufen war, besucht wurde.' Fernando Colon complains that Solis and Pinzon, visiting these regions in 1508, re-named many localities, claiming to be the first discoverers, and thus causing much confusion in the charts of the times.

And here as well as elsewhere I may speak of a work from which I have derived no inconsiderable advantage in tracing the metamorphoses of names from those originally given to those finally established. Believing that much curious and valuable historical information might be obtained by instituting a close comparison of the nomenclature employed by the earlier makers of charts at their respective dates, in 1873 I directed Mr Goldschmidt to bring out and arrange for convenient reference all such relevant maps as my library contained. Beginning then with the earliest, we entered on paper prepared for the purpose the names of all the principal places contained within our territory. And so with the next, and the next, through the successive periods of discovery, following the coast on one side from Darien to Texas, and on the other from Panamá to Alaska, and along the Arctic seaboard to the Mackenzie River. Inland names were included, but their number was small as compared with those along the ocean. Some 200 maps, each original authority for its time and place, were thus examined, and the names which had been applied at various times and by various persons to the several important geographical points along this vast shore line, and throughout the inland area, were brought together so that comparisons might be

the trees that covered it, he gave the name Isla de Pinos. On going ashore, the adelantado found the

made, and the nomenclatural history of the several places be quickly and correctly traced. All of the authorities I cannot mention here, but they will severally be referred to in their proper places during the course of this history. The result of this labor at the end of six months, Mr Goldschmidt working alone after the first fortnight, was three folio manuscript volumes, entitled *Cartography of the Pacific Coast of North America, and of the Eastern Coasts of Mexico and Central America.* The maps more particularly examined in writing this volume are as follows. Passing the sea charts of Nicolo and Antonio Zeno, made about 1390, and used by Frobisher; the ocean and islands between western Europe and eastern Asia from the globe of Martin Behaim, 1492; the chart of Juan de la Cosa, 1500, showing the West India Islands, but omitting the coast of Central America; and the map of Johann Ruysch, 1508,—we have, in part most important, the following: Map of *India beyond the Ganges*, drawn by Peter Martyr in 1511, and showing a coast line from Brazil to the middle of Yucatan. Along this line, in the order here given, from east to west, are *vraba, tariene, el mamol, beragua, c gra de dios, guanasa, b de lagartos.* North of Cuba is a section of the continental shore line lettered *isla de beimini, parte.* In Ptolemy's Cosmography, 1513, the coast between Brazil and Florida is given, but without names. The Atlantic is called *Oceanus Occidentalis;* and South America, *Terra Incognita.* By Reisch, in *Margaritha Philosophica*, 1515, the map is called *Typvs Vniversalis Terre Ivxta.* Two only of the islands are given and both called *Isabella.* South of *Oceanus Occidentalis* is a large continent called *Paria sev Prisilia*, Paria or Brazil. There are no names on the line of Central America, and the only lettering on the small portion of the northern continent are the mysterious words *Zoana Mela*, which have given rise to much discussion. In 1859 was published at Munich, by the Royal Bavarian Academy of Sciences, from manuscripts in the university library and army archives, under the auspices of Friedrich Kunstmann, Karl von Spruner, and Georg M. Thomas, and as supplementary to the text of Kunstmann's *Die Entdeckung Amerikas*, a collection of fac-similes of thirteen early maps of America, entitled *Atlas zur Entdeckungsgeschichte Amerikas.* This work I shall cite briefly as the *Munich Atlas.* Parts of the Pacific States are shown on maps numbers iv. v. vi. vii. viii. ix. x. xii. and xiii., which will be further mentioned in their several places. Map iv. was drawn by Salvat de Pilestrina probably in 1515. It shows none of the main-land above Yucatan, which is a peninsula. The northern coast of Central America is given, and the southern seaboard only of the Isthmus. No names are written on the southern coast. The South Sea is called *Mar Visto pelos castellianos*, Sea seen by the Spaniards. Map v. is supposed to be by Visconte de Maiollo, 1519. It shows the northern coast of the continent only from Cape Camaron to about 30° south latitude. In a book entitled *Apiano, Cosmographia*, 1575, is a copy of a map supposed to have been drawn by Peter Apianus in 1520, and the first upon which I have seen the name 'America.' The northern part is long and narrow, of a horseshoe shape, and lettered *Baccalearum.* A large continent is placed north of a strait running round the northern end of North America. Evidently Master Apianus was determined no one during his time should out-north him in map-delineation of a region of which absolutely nothing was known, either then or for a long time after. On a map of North America from the globe of Johann Schöner, 1520, the name 'America' likewise appears, the lettering on the globe being placed in Brazil, and being in these words:—*America Vel Brasilia Sive Papagalli Terra.* The northern and southern continents are separated by a strait at the Isthmus. It is to be regretted that Master Schöner had not the making of the world, so that it should agree with his map, and save canal-cutting. The western line of the northern continent runs north and south;

island inhabited by people like those of Española and Cuba, except that they seemed more intelligent and

the western line of the southern continent north-west and south-east. The extreme northern end of the northern continent is called *Terra de Cuba*. Along the western shore are the words *Ultra mondv lustratum*. West of the northern continent lie the large island of *Zipangri* and a multitude of islets. The north Pacific is called *Orientalis Oceanus*. Cortés' chart of the Gulf of Mexico, 1520, is a rough draft of oval shape with several names along the coast, many of which are obsolete. Yucatan is represented as an island. In 1860 J. G. Kohl published at Weimar a dissertation on two of the oldest general maps of America, with the origin of the names on each. The maps were those of Fernando Colon, 1527, and Diego Ribero, 1529, then in the grand-ducal library at Weimar. The text accompanying these fac-similes is entitled *Die Beiden Ältesten General-Karten von Amerika. Ausgeführt in den Jahren 1527 und 1529, auf Befehl Kaiser Karl's V.* The maps being full of names, concerning many of which there has been much discussion, 185 royal folio pages are devoted to their explanation. Beside a critical review of nomenclature is given much information, both geographical and historical. Colon's map shows the eastern coasts of North and South America, and the southern shores of the Isthmus and Central America to about Nicaragua. Ribero's map contains more names than Colon's, and a section of the Peruvian coast; otherwise they are not unlike. Continuing the present list we have all of South America, and part of North America, given in 1527 by Robert Thorne; and the western side of the New World in 1528 by Bordone. Ptolemy, in *Munster, Cosmography*, 1530, gives the two Americas entirely surrounded by water, with Yucatan an island; in the interior of Mexico *Chamalo*, and *Temistitan;* and near Zipangu *Archipelagus 7448 insularum*, counted in all probability specially for this map. Orontius Fine's globe, 1531, unites the southern continent, which it calls America, by the isthmus *dariena* to the northern, which extends toward the north-west across the ocean and forms part of Asia, with a continuous coast line to Japan. The Atlantic is *Alanticum*, and the Pacific *Mar del Sur*. Yucatan is an island. It is difficult to tell where Mexico ends and Asia begins. *Temistitan* is just south of *Catay*, and Mexican and Asiatic names promiscuously occur. Grynæus, in 1532, gives America in two parts, divided by a strait at the Isthmus; the western end of the northern continent is called *Terra de Cuba*. Map vi., *Munich Atlas*, 1532–40, shows the Pacific coast from Peru to California, which is represented as a peninsula. The gulf of California is called the Red Sea. Yucatan is an island. Baptista Agnese, 1536, gives North America in the shape of a horseshoe, with Yucatan an island. Map vii., *Munich Atlas*, is supposed to be by Baptista Agnese, 1540–50. It shows the whole of the Atlantic coast, and the Pacific coast from Peru to Mexico. Ramusio, *Viaggi*, iii. fol. 455–56, 1565, lays down about half the Pacific coast. Maps ix. x. and xii., *Munich Atlas*, are supposed to have been drawn by Vaz Dourado in 1571. The first delineates South America, and a small part of the Isthmus; the second both shores of Central America, and the Gulf of Mexico; the third the Pacific coast only from Mexico to Anian Strait. On map x. is a large lake north of Mexico, in latitude 40° to 43°, and under it in large letters, *Bimenii Regio*. Gerard Mercator, *Atlas sive cosmographicæ*, 1569, and another edition 1574, represents the world on two globes, and surrounds the two Americas with water, beside capping either pole with a huge continent. In the north-eastern corner of Asia, map iv., is *Americæ pars*. There are also *Anian rej, Quiuira reg, Tuchano*, a city, and *El freto de Anian*. On map v. the strait of Magellan separates the southern continent from another large continent to the south of it, on which is placed *Terra del fuego*. Luckily this antarctic polar continent is labeled *Terra Avstralis nondvm cognita*, lest the author be embarrassed by questions about it. After well passing the strait of Magellan, *El Mar Pacifico* is entered, though as the tropics are

knew more of the useful arts. Presently a large canoe appeared coming from the direction of Yucatan. It measured eight feet in its greatest width, and was rowed by twenty-five men. In the middle, under a palm-leaf awning, sat a *cacique*,[5] or chief, who manifested neither surprise nor fear on being brought into the presence of the admiral. He signified to the Spaniards as best he was able the extent and power of Mexico, and displayed utensils of copper, stone, and wood, earthen-ware, and cotton cloth brought thence. Gold was plentiful there, he also said; but the imagination of the admiral had mapped his strait somewhere southward; so Mexico was kept for Cortés.

There was on the island an ancient aboriginal of scientific attainments sufficient to enable him to draw for the Spaniards a chart of the mainland coast, and tell them much of the country. Him they took on board, and after dismissing the cacique with presents, crossed to the continent, and anchored near a point

reached it becomes *Mar del Zur*. The northern part of this map v., the two Americas, is quite interesting, and will be explained elsewhere. This cartographical monstrosity Michael Lock, *Hakluyt's Divers Voy.*, 1582, endeavored, and with very fair success, to exceed. Map xiii., *Munich Atlas*, by Thomas Hood, 1592, gives the Gulf of Mexico, the Islands, and the eastern coast of North America. In *Drake's World Encompassed*, 1595, another source of information not remarkable for reliability, Hondius traces the western coast to Bering Strait. Hondius' map, 1625, in *Purchas, His Pilgrimes*, iv. 857, gives North America to the mythical strait of Anian. Ioanne de Laet, *Novvs Orbis*, 1633, has at p. 220 a map of *Nveva España, Nveva Galicia*, and *Gvatimala*, and at p. 346 a map of *Tierra Firma*. A map of the world in the atlas of Jacob Colom, 1663, will require mention hereafter. *Ogilby's America*, 1671, gives the northern continent to Anian Strait with *Nova Albion* in the northern part, and California as an island; and a map at p. 222 shows parts of Mexico and Central America. There is a map of the middle part of America in *Dampier's Voyages*, i. 44, 1699. Beside these, I shall have occasion to mention others, such as the maps in the *Buccaniers of America*, 1704; *Funnell's Voyage*, 1707; the Dutch collection of voyages by Pieter Van der Aa; the German collection of Gottfried; *Voyages de François Coreal*, 1722; *Anson's Voyage*, 1756; *Morden's Geography Rectified*, 1693; Harris, Harleian, Oxford, Rogers, Shelvocke, Jefferys, and other coll - tions of voyages. I may also mention incidentally in this volume maps and charts relating more especially to another part of the Pacific States and described more fully in a succeeding volume.

[5] Cacique, lord of vassals, was the name by which the natives of Cuba designated their chiefs. Learning this, the conquerors applied the name generally to the rulers of wild tribes, although in none of the dialects of the continent is the word found. Peter Martyr says that 'in some places they call a king Cacicus, in other places they call him Quebi, and somewhere Tiba.'

which Columbus called Punta de Caxinas,[6] from the native name of a certain fruit abounding thereabout. Here the Spaniards landed on the 14th of August, and celebrated mass; then proceeding eastward some fifteen leagues to the mouth of a river,[7] they again landed on the 17th, and took formal possession for Spain. About a hundred painted savages displayed themselves, finer specimens than any on the islands, some naked, and others partially covered with white or colored cotton. They were friendly, and presented fruit and vegetables, fish, fowl, and maize. So conspicuously distended were the ears of the natives at one place that the name Costa de la Oreja was given to that vicinity.[8]

Proceeding, the discoverers encountered a succession of gales which continued more than forty days, and having weathered them safely they were so delighted that in sailing round the point of their deliverance they thanked God, and called it Cape Gracias á Dios.[9] All this time Columbus suffered severely. Indeed, he was now but little better than a wreck in body and mind. On the after part of the deck his bed was placed, and there he lay overwhelmed with pain and melancholy, lost in endless

[6] 'Porque,' says Herrera, 'auia muchos arboles, cuya fruto es vnas mançanillas buenas de comer.' Navarrete calls the place *Punta Castilla y Puerto de Trujillo*, and the coast *La Costa de Trujillo*. The name Honduras was applied first to the cape and afterward to a long stretch of shore. Fernando Colon, *Hist. Almirante*, 103, *Barcia*, i., gives 'Cabo de Onduras.' In *Oviedo*, lib. iii. cap. ix., is written 'el cabo de Higueras;' this chronicler also employs the word Honduras; *Galvano's Discov.*, 100, 'the Cape of Higueras, and vnto the Islands Gamares, and to the Cape of Honduras, that is to say, the Cape of the Depthes;' *Benzoni, Hist. Mondo Nvovo*, 28, 'Prouincia grande, che da' paesani è nominata Iguera, è da' Spagnuoli Capo di Fonduri;' *Gomara, Hist. Ind.*, 31, 'cabo de Higueras.'

[7] Named by Columbus Rio de la Posesion, now known as Rio Tinto.

[8] For full descriptions of the several peoples inhabiting this region at the coming of the Europeans, their physique, character, customs, myths, and languages, I must refer the reader to my *Native Races of the Pacific States*, 5 vols., passim.

[9] This name has never changed. On Peter Martyr's *India beyond the Ganges*, 1510, it is put down as *c. gr̃a de dios;* Maiollo, 1519, writes *C de gratia dios;* Fernando Colon, 1527, *C. de gracius á dios;* Ribero, 1529, *C:. de gr̃ac a dios;* Maps vi. and vii., *Munich Atlas*, 1532–50, *C. de gracia dios;* Vaz Dourado, *C:. de grasias adios;* Mercator, *C. de Gracias á Dios;* Dampier, *C. Gratia Dios*, etc.

mazes of speculation. Now and then he would rouse himself to translate his visions, or to direct the management of the ship, for though half his senses should leave him, he was still a sailor from instinct; but had it not been for the faithful energy of the adelantado, the voyage might as well never have been undertaken.

The mariners had now entered a smooth sea; with a favorable wind they passed rapidly down the Mosquito Coast, giving the name Limonares to a cluster of islands on which grew something like lemons or limes, and on the 16th of September anchored at the mouth of a large river. Boats were sent ashore for water, and in returning one was upset and the whole crew were drowned; from which melancholy occurrence the stream was named Rio del Desastre.[10] Continuing, the 25th found the Spaniards off the Rio San Juan de Nicaragua, where, to escape a storm, they ran in behind an island, the native name of which was Quiriviri,[11] but which from its verdant beauty Columbus called La Huerta, The Garden. There they rested several days, and found sweet speculation, easily inducing the savages to tell them such things as they should most delight to hear. Indeed, all along the coast had vague information been given, by signs ill interpreted, of a remarkable country called Ciguare, nine days' journey westward beyond the mountains. The people there were like the Spaniards, clothed, and armed with steel weapons, with horses and great ships. The women wore bands of coral and strings of pearls, and the commonest utensils were of gold. Ten days' journey from Ciguare must lie the river Ganges; and best of all, there was

[10] Rio Escondido, or Bluefields, sometimes spelt Blewfields, but erroneously. The name originated from the Dutch pirate Bleeveldt. On map iv., *Munich Atlas*, in this vicinity are found the words *R:. del su.*

[11] Mercator places half-way between Cape Gracias á Dios and Laguna de Chiriqui, *Quicuri*, designating a town. Peter Martyr, dec. iii. cap. iv., says: 'He came to a region which the inhabitants call Quicuris, in which is the hauen called Cariari, named Mirobalanus by the Admirall, because the Mirobalane trees are natiue in the regions thereabout.'

a passage thither by sea; all the Spaniards had to do was to keep right on; they could not miss the way. The Europeans gave full credit to these assertions. Thus from the beginning mankind have been directed, and oftentimes to the grandest discoveries, by mingled accident and ignorance, and wise men like Columbus have believed these supremely silly stories because it pleased them to do so. These savages may have had rumors of Mexico or Peru on which to build their brilliant fictions; their statements were fictions none the less.

And indeed as they came together there for the first time, the white men and the red, it is often difficult to tell on which side was the greater simplicity and credulity. The folly of the Spaniard was moulded into firmer consistence, was less inept and vapory than the folly of the Americans, and that was about all. For instance, at the village of Cariay,[12] just opposite on the main-land, Columbus thought to raise the Spaniards in the estimation of the savages by declining to take the *guanin*, an inferior kind of gold which they presented; whereupon for the same reason, and in retaliation, the natives refused European trinkets. When the adelantado, seated on a knoll with the notary by his side, sought to transfix some of the wild knowledge of those parts, the natives fled terrorstruck, supposing some magic spell was being cast upon them by the pens, ink, and paper so solemnly drawn forth by the scribe. Presently with great caution they returned, and with exorcising gesticulations burned and scattered in the air an odorous powder. On the other hand, with equally enlightened common sense, the Christians, unable to fathom the incantations of savagism, fancied

[12] The name of the province also. Diego de Porras calls it *Cariay;* Herrera and those who follow him write *Cariari.* On the maps of Colon and Ribero, and also in Mercator's atlas, the word is *Cariay.* On the map of Vaz Dourado in this locality is written *masnoro.* 'Einige Geographen haben geglaubt, dass unsere heutige "Blewfields-Lagune" dieser Ankerplatz des Columbus sei. Andere haben dafür die Mündung des grossen Flusses von Nicaragua den Rio San Juan genommen.' *Kohl, Beiden ältesten Karten,* 114–15.

these heathen sorcerers bringing from the shades of their wilderness wrathful demons to hurl upon their adversaries; and ever after on the voyage all the ills that befell the Spaniards were attributed to the enchantments of the people of Cariay.[13] At another port called Huiva, Columbus found the huts of the natives built in trees, which he attributed to fear of griffins. After a short excursion into the interior the adelantado returned to the ships. Near Cape Gracias á Dios the old man of Guanaja had been liberated with presents, as no longer of use; now, seven natives were seized and made to divulge what they knew of the country, two of them being retained as guides.

Sailing from Cariay the 5th of October, the second day they came to the Laguna de Chiriquí, the country thereabout being called by the natives Cerebaro.[14] If some distance back Columbus had found The Garden, here was a pluralized paradise. The wonder was how nature contrived such glories. Round the entrance clustered islands whose outspread foliage brushed the venturesome sails that threaded the deep narrow channels. Celestial beauty irradiated the land, and a celestial brightness overspread the sea. But a small additional rent was necessary in the ragged imagination of the admiral to fancy himself already translated. The part of the

[13] 'En *Cariay*, y en esas tierras de su comarca, son grandes fechiceros y muy medrosos.' *Carta de Colon, Navarrete, Col. de Viages*, i. 307. 'Nos parecian à nosotros grandes hechiceros, i no sin alguna raçon, pues quando se acercaban à los Christianos, esparcian, por el aire cierto polvo à cubuelta, i conperfumes, que hechaban del polvo, hacian, que el humo fuese aciá los Christianos.' *Colon, Hist. Almirante*, 107, in *Barcia*, i.

[14] Says Fernando Colon, *Hist. Almirante*, 108, in *Barcia*, i., of this place:—'arribò al Canal de Zerabora, que son 6 leguas de largo, i mas de tres de ancho, en el qual, ai muchas Isletas, i tres, ò quatro Bocas mui à proposito para entrar.' And Mr Kohl remarks, *Beiden ältesten Karten*, 115, 'Diese Schilderung passt auf kein anderes Gewässer südlich vom San Juan 'cariay,' als auf unsere 'Laguna de Chiriqui,' die auch wohl noch heutiges Tages besonders in ihrer westlichen Abtheilung 'Baia del Almirante'....genannt wird.' Ribero places *ysª de cerebaro* in the laguna. Vaz Dourado writes *Carabare;* Maiollo puts here somewhere *la casera bruxada*, and near by *oro boro*. Mercator makes *Cerebaro* a town. Hondius, in *Purchas, His Pilgrimes*, places in this vicinity the town, *Quicari*. *West-Indische Spieghel*, 1624, gives *Carabaro*, and a little to the north a town, *Quicura*.

laguna explored by this expedition was the north-western, known to-day as the Bahía del Almirante; the southern part was called by the natives Aburema.

Hanging from the necks of the natives was pure gold in plates, now first found since touching these shores, but the owners were content to keep it. Further on, anywhere but here, they said, was plenty of gold, notably at a place called Veragua, twenty-five leagues distant, where these much-admired plates of gold were fabricated. Hastening forward, the Spaniards arrived, on the 18th, at a river twelve leagues to the eastward of Cerebaro, called by Fernando Colon, Guaiga, and by Porras, Guyga, where the savages attempted at first to drive them away by splashing water, brandishing wooden swords, beating drums, and sounding conchs; which demonstration being over they quietly traded sixteen of their gold-plates, valued at one hundred and fifty ducats, for three hawk-bells. The following day the Spaniards were met in like manner by other savages whom a shot sent scampering; after which they returned and traded dutifully.

After this the discoverers touched at the provinces of Catibá and Cobrabá, where they saw the ruins of a wall built of stone and lime, which excited in them anticipations of a near approach to civilization; but as they neared the rich river the wind freshened and carried them past, without however preventing a glimpse of five towns, one of which the guides assured them was Veragua.[15] In the next province, Cubigá, terminated the gold region, so they were told. Some were eager to go back to Veragua and gather gold, but anxious to find his strait Columbus put them off, saying he would return anon.

Fancy the old admiral groping in the darkness, the

[15] Aboriginally the name of a town, province, and river famous for gold. Later the name became historically celebrated, being applied by the Spaniards to that whole region, and given as a title to the descendants of Columbus, who were called dukes of Veraguas. Peter Martyr, Colon, and Ribero, all write *beragua;* Vaz Dourado, *baraga;* Ptolemy, *Beragua*, as a province; Laet and Jefferys, *Veragua*. Porras calls the province Cobraba.

world, the universe clear enough to him as mapped in his own mind, but unhappily not fitting the substantial facts. Instinctively he seems to hover about this the narrowest part of the continent, his ship's prow now pointed directly toward Spain, with India so far away, and the vast water intervening, and the small but mighty strip of land that makes his mental map of no avail. Thus since the world began millions have mapped eternity, and still do map it, the heavenly powers meanwhile laughing at the miserable work men make of it.

Thus vainly searching, on the 2d of November Columbus finds his ships at anchor in a beautiful and commodious harbor entered between two islands. On every side are fields of maize, and orchards of fruit, and groves of palm; for the people dwell in houses and cultivate the ground. There he remains seven days, waiting the cessation of a storm; and he calls the place Puerto Bello, also written Portobello, which name it has ever since retained. Venturing forth on the 9th, he makes eastward eight leagues, but is driven back, and takes refuge behind some islands in a small harbor, which he calls Puerto de Bastimentos,[16] from the abundance of provisions brought them there. After repairing the ships, now badly worm-eaten, he again on the 23d attempts an advance eastward, but is speedily driven into a cove, which he names El Retrete, some calling it Puerto de Escribanos, and which is so small as barely to admit the ships, and so deep that bottom cannot be touched.[17]

[16] Off Nombre de Dios on Vaz Dourado's map, is a group called *I:. de bastimẽtos;* in the *Novvs Orbis* of Laet they are *Yas de Bastimentos;* Jefferys calls them *los Bastimentos;* Navarrete, *Col. de Viages*, i. 285, gives *Puerto del Retrete* in the text, and *Puerto Escribanos* in a note.

[17] The locality of this little harbor was soon lost. Herrera affirms that in his time its situation was uncertain, some believing Nombre de Dios to be the place mentioned. Peschel locates it near the town of Colon; Humboldt at Puerto de Escribanos. Ribero places fifteen leagues west of Nombre de Dios, *p° retre.* Kohl says, *Beiden ältesten Karten*, 116: 'Er findet sich nicht auf N. Vallard (1547), nicht auf Dourado (1580) und nicht auf den Karten vom Isthmus von Darien in Herrera.' But it would seem from the description of Fernando Colon, *Hist. Almirante*, 110, in *Barcia*, i., that the place should be

And now the mariners show signs of discontent; with gold so near they are not Spaniards else. And the great discoverer, the admiral of the ocean sea, must he bury in this little crevice of a barbarous shore his mighty hopes? Bastidas was here,[18] although it is not certain how well informed the admiral is of the fact, whether he had notice from Bastidas at Santo Domingo as to the termination of his voyage, or whether the natives here had told him; in any event, there cannot be now in the admiral's mind much doubt that the coast is practically discovered from Trinidad to Guanaja, and that between these two islands is a shore-line of continent unbroken by any strait. Yes, as well unbrace here as elsewhere; and gold-hunting is not a bad occupation for an old man after his life's work is done.

Turning then toward Veragua for solace, the Spaniards sailed from El Retrete the 5th of December.

easily enough found. He says:—'entramos en vn Puertecillo, que se llamò el *Retrete*, porque no cabian en èl mas de 5 ò 6 Navios; su entrada era por vna boca de quince, ò veinte pasos de ancho, i ambos lados eran Rocas, que salian Agua, como punta de Diamante, i era tan profundo de Canal, por enmedio, que acercandose à la orilla, vn poco, se podia saltar desde el Navio en Tierra.'

[18] Although the authorities are somewhat vague and conflicting as to the terminal point of the main-land coastings of Bastidas, there is no doubt that the two discoveries here united. Oviedo, ii. 334–36, and those copying his errors, take Bastidas direct from Urabá to Jamaica; but Las Casas, *Hist. Ind.*, iii. 11, states:—'Salieron del golfo de Urabá, y fueron la costa del Poniente abajo, y llegaron al puerto que llamaron del Retrete, donde agora está la ciudad y puerto que nombramos del Nombre de Dios.' Later, in chapter xxiii. 123, he corrects himself in regard to El Retrete and Nombre de Dios being the same place:—'Por esto parece que el puerto del Retrete no es el que agora llamamos del Nombre de Dios, como arriba dijimos por relacion de otros, sino más adelante, hácia el Oriente.' Speaking of El Retrete, Diego de Porras, *Navarrete, Col. de Viages*, i. 285, remarks:—'En algunas cartas de navegar de algunos de los marineros juntaba esta tierra con la que habia descubierto Hojeda y Bastidas.' Navarrete himself, *Col. de Viages*, iii. 26, says of Bastidas, 'terminó su descubrimiento por los diez grados de altura en el puerto del Retrete ó de Escribanos y del nombre de Dios;' and again in a note concerning Nombre de Dios:—'En este puerto entró posteriormente el Almirante Colon el dia 26 de Noviembre de 1502 con noticia que ya tenia de los descubrimientos de Bastidas.' Gomara, *Hist. Ind.*, 67, accredits Bastidas with the new discovery of 170 leagues of coast, 'que ay del cabo de la Vela al golfo de Vraua, y Farallones del Darien,' resting with Oviedo at that point. From the evidence Humboldt, *Exam. Crit.*, i. 360, infers that Bastidas continued 'vers l'ouest jusqu'au Puerto de Retrete.' Loose statements are quite the habit now as of old; instance that of Lerdo de Tejada, who says, *Apuntes Hist.*, 89, referring to Bastidas, 'Y siguió hasta el puerto llamado despues el *Retiro*, donde se fundó posteriormente el del *Nombre de Dios*.'

But with this change the fickle wind had likewise changed its course; wherever they went were storms and buffetings, until Columbus pronounced upon that shore the name La Costa de los Contrastes. Where now was the balmy breath of perfumed isles, the sparkling sun dancing beneath the wanton waters? Demonized. Gale followed gale in quick succession; winds contending, veering; now the mariners were hurried on toward their destination, only to be driven back to their starting-point. The stubborn waves struck the crazy barks with such menacing force as to send the terror-stricken sailors to their knees in confession, and prayer for deliverance. For nine days the sea was white with angry foam; the sky blazed with electric fires; the men fell sick; provisions spoiled. Long, lank, muscular sharks, weatherwise monsters, followed the ships expectantly, until the hunger-smitten crews eyed them ominously in return, until these creatures that had come to eat were caught and eaten by these other creatures. All this time down poured the rain in torrents and nearly submerged the ships. In the midst of these cataclysmal horrors a water-spout was seen approaching, "which," Fernando Colon is sure, "if they had not dissolved by reciting the gospel of St John, would certainly have sunk whatever it had fallen upon." Twenty-nine days were occupied in making as many leagues to the westward. Once the ships parted company for three days; twice they ran into Portobello, and twice they took refuge at other places on the coast.

At length, with thanksgiving, January 6, 1503, they came to anchor at the mouth of a river, the native name of which was Yebra; but Columbus, in honor of the day, Epiphany, called it Santa María de Belen.[19] One league to the westward was the river Veragua. The admiral ordered both streams

[19] That is to say, Bethlehem. Porras enters it *Y. n. ebra;* Herrera, *Yebra;* and Fernando Colon, *Kiebra.* On Ribero's map the name *bele* is given to a lagoon; Vaz Dourado writes *belen;* and Jacob Colom, *Belem.*

to be sounded. The Veragua was found too shallow for the ships. At the mouth of the Belen was a bar, which however could be crossed at high water; above the bar the depth was four fathoms. On the bank of the Belen stood a village, whose inhabitants at first opposed the landing of the Spaniards; but being persuaded by the interpreter, they at length yielded. They were a well-developed, muscular people, rather above medium stature, intelligent, and exceptionally shrewd; in fact, in point of native ability they were in no wise inferior to the Spaniards. When questioned concerning their country, they answered guardedly; when asked about their gold mines, they replied evasively. First, it was from some far-off mysterious mountain the metal came; then the river Veragua was made to yield it all; there was none at all about Belen, nor within their territory, in fact. Finally they took a few trinkets, and gave the intruders twenty plates of gold, thinking to be rid of them. Within a day or two the vessels were taken over the bar, and on the 9th two of them ascended the river a short distance. The natives made the best of it, and brought fish and gold.

With an armed force the adelantado sets out in boats to explore the Veragua. He has not proceeded far when he is met by a fleet of canoes, in one of which sits the *quibian*,[20] the king of all that country, having under him many subordinate chiefs. He is tall, well-modelled, and compactly built, with restless, searching eyes, but otherwise expressionless features, taciturn and dignified, and, for a savage, of exceptionally bland demeanor. We shall find him as politic as

[20] Although used by most Spanish and English writers as a proper name, the word *quibian* is an appellative, and signifies the chief of a nation, or the ruler of a dynasty, as the *cacique* of the Cubans, the *inca* of the Peruvians, the *ahau* of the Quichés, etc. Columbus, writing from Jamaica, employs the term *el Quibian de Veragua;* and again, *Carta de Colon*, in *Navarrete, Col. de Viages*, i. 302, 'Asenté pueblo, y dí muchas dádivas al *Quibian*, que así llaman al Señor de la tierra.' Napione and De Conti write *il Quibio o cacico di Beragua*. See their *Biog. di Colombo*, 388:—'Il Prefetto andò colle barche al mare per entrare nel fiume e portarsi alla popolazione del Quibio, così chiamato da quei popoli il loro Re.'

he is powerful; and as for his wealth, unfortunately for him, his domain includes the richest gold mines of that rich coast. On the whole, the quibian is as fine a specimen of his race as the adelantado is of his. And thus they are fairly met, the men of Europe and the men of North America; and as in the gladiatorial combat, which opens with a smiling salutation, this four-century life-struggle begins with friendly greetings. Pity it is, they are outwardly not more evenly matched; pity it is that the European with his superior civilization, his saltpetre, and blood-hounds, his steel weapons, and strange diseases, should be allowed to do his robbery so easily! But ravenous beasts and bloody bipeds are so made that they do not hesitate to take advantage of the helpless; it is only civilized man, however, that calls his butcherings by pleasant names, such as progress, piety, and makes his religion and his law conform to his heart's unjust desires.

As the champions approach each other, we see about them both an air of determination and command; and while extremely cordial, we see on either side that courtesy common to those who fear while they suspect. With princely grace the red man takes from his naked body some massive golden ornaments and presents them to the white man; the adelantado, not to be outdone in generosity by a savage, with equal dignity and solemnity presents the red man a handful of valueless baubles. The ceremony over, with mutual assurances of friendship the chieftains retire. Next day the quibian visits the admiral in his ship. Neither has much to say; presents are exchanged, and the savage returns to his people.

While the ships of the Spaniards lay by the bank in fancied security, on the 24th of January the storm-demon, as if enraged at the escape of its victims from the fury of the sea, rushed to the mountains, and opening the windows of heaven, let down a deluge on the land. The rushing torrents swept everything be-

fore them. The vessels were torn from their moorings and carried down the river, only to be met at the mouth by the incoming breakers from the sea. And thus to their imminent peril they were tossed for several days by the contending waters.

The storm abating, and the ships made secure, the adelantado again started in search of the gold-fields. With sixty-eight men he ascended the Veragua to the village of the quibian, whose house was situated on a hill round which were scattered the dwellings of his people. The chieftain with a large retinue, unarmed in token of peace, welcomed the visitors at the landing. Guides were readily furnished at the adelantado's request; so leaving part of his company to guard the boats, with the remainder he set out on foot for the base of the mountain, distant six leagues, which he reached the following day. For many miles he found the soil richly impregnated with gold, and returned elated, as visions of populous cities and unbounded wealth floated through his brain. Which seeing, the quibian grimly smiled that they should deem their work already done, himself subdued, the land their own; and he smiled to think how he had sent them round and away from his own rich mines to the poorer and more distant fields of Urirá, his ancient enemy. Then the adelantado explored westward, and came to the town and river[21] of this Urirá, and to the towns of Dururi, Cobrabá, and Catibá, where he obtained gold and provisions.

There were here fifty leagues of coast, from Cerebaro to Veragua, called by the Spaniards the *tierra de rescate*, or land of trade, meaning trade in gold, that being the only thing worth trading for in an expedition of this kind. This seaboard was heavily wooded, and uninhabited except along the rivers, for three leagues inland. And all things seeming so favorable, Columbus thought he would plant a colony

[21] Rio de la Concepcion.

here, leave eighty men and one of the vessels in charge of the adelantado, and with the remainder return to Spain, report the results of his discovery, and obtain reinforcements. In a word, if not restrained by some Ferdinand, or Fonseca, or other hateful friend, he would repeat with fresh enthusiasm his former errors which had so nearly wrought his ruin. But his usual ill-luck came to the rescue. The quibian did not view with favor the preparations which he saw the Spaniards making for a permanent residence on his lands, and he determined it should not be. But how could he prevent it? For he was well aware of the advantages these strangers possessed in open warfare. Yet there were several ways open to him; if he did not wish to attack them with an overwhelming force he could devastate the country around, withdraw his people, and leave the Spaniards to die, meanwhile cutting off such stragglers and foraging parties as he could easily handle. And this he did, beginning operations by summoning the neighboring tribes, ostensibly for the purpose of organizing an expedition against Urirá and Cobrabá.

The suspicions of the Spaniards were aroused. Diego Mendez, *escudero*, esquire, or shield-bearer of the ship *Santiago*,[22] a sharp, bold, and somewhat boastful man, but courageous beyond the comprehension of fear, asked and obtained permission to investigate the matter. Entering the Veragua in an armed boat he found encamped below the quibian's village about a thousand painted warriors. Assuming an air of unconcern Mendez landed and strolled leisurely among the savages. Remarking on their proposed expedition he offered to join them; but his services were rejected, and his presence was manifestly distasteful to them. He returned and reported that the savages were preparing to attack the Span-

[22] Irving, *Columbus*, ii. 402, carelessly calls him 'the chief notary,' confounding him with Diego de Porras, who was notary of the expedition. The notary was not a fighting man, but rather must withhold himself from action that he might write down what was done by others.

iards. Yet to satisfy some who doubted, Mendez went again, this time taking with him one companion, Rodrigo de Escobar, intending plainly to demand of the quibian his purpose. A host of frowning savages greeted the visitors, who asked to see the quibian. They were informed that he was lying ill from the effects of a wound received in battle. "For that very purpose," replied the ready Mendez, "I a surgeon am come to heal him." But the Spaniards could not gain audience of the chief, and they returned more than ever convinced of his bloody intention toward them.

What was to be done? The admiral could not depart while hostilities were pending, nor could the Spaniards delay their operations until it should please the savages to attack them. The adelantado determined to force an issue. With seventy-five men, on the morning of the 30th of March, he ascended the Veragua, and landed unobserved near the quibian's village. Hiding his men, he advanced, first with four attendants, then alone, until after some difficulty he gained admission to the quibian's presence. What Bartolomé was now attempting was the regular game, afterward played for higher stakes, but now being pretty generally practised in the New World; namely, to capture the chief and hold him hostage for the good behavior of his people. It was at the door in front of the quibian's dwelling that this interview took place. The savage suspected nothing. The very boldness of the scheme, so foreign to aboriginal warfare, tended to allay apprehension. Within were fifty of his household, and at easy call five hundred warriors; what had the quibian to fear? The two chiefs sat and talked, first on general subjects; then the adelantado enquired concernedly about his host's illness, examined the wound tenderly, passed his hands over the disabled limb while proposing remedies. Suddenly the savage felt the grasp of the Spaniard tighten upon him, and

before his suspicions were fairly aroused his arms were pinioned behind him. Mendez, who had been watching, fired his arquebuse, and the concealed Spaniards rushed forward and surrounded the house. The quibian struggled, but weakened by sickness he was easily held in the iron grasp of the adelantado, until by the aid of the other Spaniards he was made powerless. So adroitly was the feat performed, that before the presence of the Spaniards was generally known among the natives, their chief and all his family were captive, and on the way to the boats. The savages lifted up the usual lamentations, and offered enormous ransom; but it had been determined beforehand that the chief personages of the nation should be sent to Spain; for in such procedure, the admiral thought, lay the greater security of his plans.

At this juncture in the narrative historians, even modern writers of fair intelligence, gravely discuss the probabilities of guilt in the quibian's supposed treachery, some holding with Diego de Porras that the natives did not meditate attack; as if they had not the right to defend their country, their wives and little ones, from the ravages of the invader by any means within their power.

Passing conventional twaddle—for if the quibian was not guilty he ought in honor to have been—it is very certain that this action on the part of the Spaniards was the cause of many woes, and of their final overthrow in these parts.[23] In any event it was now of the highest importance to secure the quibian. The whole adventure on this coast depended upon it; therefore the adelantado hastened to send his captives on board the ships. Desirous of instituting other proceedings for the pacification of that section before

[23] 'Y como luego mandó prender al Cacique do se le fizo mucho daño que le quemaron su poblacion, que era la mejor que habia en la costa é de mejores casas, de muy buena madera, todas cubiertas de fojas de palmas, é prendieron á sus fijos, é aquí traen algunos dellos de que quedó toda aquella tierra escandalizada, desto no sé dar cuenta sino que lo mandó facer é aun apregonar escala franca.' *Diego de Porras*, in *Navarrete, Col. de Viages*, i. 286–7.

returning, the adelantado looked about him for a reliable person to whom he might entrust his weighty charge. Present was Juan Sanchez, chief pilot, an honest sailor, not wholly indifferent to military honors, who earnestly offered service and was accepted. The quibian, tied hand and foot, was firmly bound to his seat in the boat; and superfluous as might appear any admonition, the adelantado charged Juan Sanchez to look well to his prisoner. "Pluck out my beard hair by hair if he escape me," was the vaunting reply of the pilot as he shoved his boat from the bank and started down the river.

But alas for the overweening confidence of a Peter or a Juan Sanchez! Fighting the elements at sea is a different thing from fighting Indians on land. Quite a different order of tactics is required; and the sailor's life is not the school in which to study the wiles of Indian strategy. In the one place the sailor is not more superior than is the savage in the other. The quibian, outwardly calm, inwardly is fiercely excited; and like the wild beast when hotly pursued, his instincts quicken with the occasion. He and his loved ones are prisoners, treacherously entrapped by a strange species of the human kind in return for fair words and generous hospitality. Their probable fate possesses all the horrors of uncertainty. Swiftly with the swift boat runs the time away; something must be done or all is lost. Narrowly, but cautiously, the chief surveys his keeper. It is pleasant to look upon the homely face of honest Juan Sanchez; not a lineament there but shines with God's best message to man, and in language which even dumb intelligence may read. Stern duty is largely diluted with humanity, integrity with charming simplicity; from which the wily quibian takes his cue, and thenceforth is master of the situation. With quiet dignity and cheerful resignation he sits among his people, hushing their lamentations and chiding their complaints. By words and little acts of consideration he lightens the

labors of the boatmen, and studies for himself and people to give no unnecessary trouble. These conciliatory measures are not lost on the warm-hearted sailor, whose regard for his royal captive rises every moment. He is pronounced by all a well-mannered savage, a most courteous savage. And now the quibian modestly complains of the cords so tightly drawn by the too zealous Mendez. They do indeed cut into the flesh, and constrain him to a most uncomfortable position. And he such a gentleman-savage! Juan Sanchez is not the man to sit there and see a fellow-creature unnecessarily suffer; he cannot do it. The thongs which lacerate the prisoner's wrists are loosened, the cord which binds him to the seat is untied; but for security—for above all this great chief must be kept secure—one end of it the ever-watchful pilot twists round his hand. Night comes on. It is very dark, but the captives are quiet, and the boat glides noiselessly down the stream. Suddenly the light craft sways; a plunge is heard; the pilot feels his hand violently wrenched; he must loosen his hold or be drawn into the water. It is all as the flash of a pistol in point of time; the quibian's seat is empty; and honest Juan Sanchez is obliged to present his hanging front before his comrades, a Spaniard outwitted by a savage!

After scouring the country in several directions, the adelantado returned to the ships, bringing gold-plates, wristlets, and anklets to the value of three hundred ducats, which were divided, after deducting the king's fifth. Among the spoils taken from the quibian were two golden coronets, one of which was presented to Bartolomé by the admiral. Notwithstanding the escape of the chief, who, after all, was probably drowned, Columbus proceeded to execute his plans. There were the king's household and his chief men safely on board, and these should be sufficient to guarantee the tranquillity of the nations.

So the arrangements for the comfort and security of the colony during the contemplated absence of the admiral were hastened to completion. The three vessels, after discharging part of their cargoes, were carried by the newly swollen stream over the bar, and reloaded. There they lay at anchor waiting a favorable wind.

All this time, however, the Spaniards were reckoning without their host. The quibian was not dead. In spite of his bonds, he had made good his escape. After his bold plunge, finding himself free from the boat, he had extricated his wrists from the loosened cords, swam beneath the water to the bank, and had set out for his village, revolving vengeance. And now, hastily arming a thousand warriors, he attacked the Spaniards under cover of the dense vegetation, killing one and wounding eight, but was soon repulsed with heavy loss. Shortly afterward Diego Tristan, coming ashore from one of the vessels with eleven men, recklessly ascended the river a league for wood and water. All but one were killed.[24]

The aspect of affairs was serious. It was now evident that no fear of what might befall his imprisoned household would deter the quibian from his bloody purpose. Alive or dead might be his brothers, wives, and children, he would rid his country of these per-

[24] There are two accounts of this affair; one by Fernando Colon, and one by Diego Mendez. Both are biased; the former in favor of Bartolomé, the latter in favor of the writer. Fernando tells how, when the settlement was taken by surprise, his uncle seized a lance, and supported by seven men fought with desperate valor until the main body of the Spaniards came to his relief, when the enemy was routed. The other states, *Relacion hecha por Diego Mendez*, in *Navarrete*, *Col. de Viages*, i. 317, that the admiral had just left the harbor, accompanied by the larger part of the Spaniards, who had gone to say farewell. Mendez, newly appointed contador, held the town of Belen with twenty men. Suddenly four hundred Indians appeared on the hill above, and sent upon the Spaniards a shower of darts and arrows. Fortunately the yells were in advance of the weapons, and thus time was given Mendez to arm. The fight was desperate, and lasted three hours. Ten natives who ventured to close with their war clubs were slain by the sword. Seven of the twenty Christians were killed; but a miracle at last gave victory to the remainder. During the next four days, by the ingenuity of Mendez, and under his direction, the effects of the colony were placed on shipboard, and in return for his invaluable services he was made captain of Tristan's ship.

fidious strangers. To this end he secured the coöperation of the neighboring chieftains, and filled the forest with his warriors. Stealthily they lurked in the vicinity of the settlement, and watched every pathway, ready to cut off any who should venture abroad. Nowhere on the Islands had the Spaniards met such stubborn opposition, and serious misgivings filled their minds. Their own probable doom they saw foreshadowed in the mutilated bodies of Tristan and his men, which came floating past them down the stream, attended by ravenous fishes; and the requiems sung by quarrelling vultures over the remains when afterward they were thrown back by the waves upon the beach, tended in no wise to lessen their dismal forebodings. To heighten their misfortunes, a furious storm arose, which cut off all communication between the settlement and the ships. The adelantado endeavored in vain to quiet the fears of his people, who emboldened by despair would have seized the remaining caravel and put to sea had the weather permitted. Yet closer pressed upon them the enraged quibian, until dislodged they retreated to the river bank, before their caravel, and threw up earthworks, which they capped with the ship's boat, and behind which they planted their guns, and so kept the savages at bay.

On shipboard matters were no better. The continued absence of Tristan and his crew caused the admiral great anxiety. In such a heavy sea it was unsafe to remain near the shore; the parting of a cable would doom the clumsy craft to swift destruction. And as if this were not enough, the spirit of the quibian broke out among his encaged family. Preferring death to captivity they plotted escape. During the night the prisoners were confined in the forecastle, and on the covering slept a guard of soldiers. Collecting one night such articles as were within reach, stones used as ballast, boxes, and provision casks, they piled them up under the hatchway

cover. Toward morning, when the guards were sleeping soundly, as many of the captives as were able mounted the heap, and placing their shoulders to the covering, by quick concerted action burst it open, throwing the sleeping sentinels in every direction, and springing out leaped into the sea. Those whose escape was prevented were found next morning dead, some hanging to the roof and sides of their prison, some strangled by means of strings round the neck drawn tight with the foot.

It was now of the utmost importance to communicate with the shore, as the admiral was convinced that the situation of the colonists was becoming perilous in the extreme. At least, all hope of settlement in that quarter must for the present be abandoned. The fate of the captives, when once it was known, would move the very rocks to revenge. But no boat could live in the surf intervening. Then stepped forward Pedro Ledesma, a Sevillian pilot, and offered if rowed to the breakers to attempt to gain the shore by swimming. The thing was done. Scarcely had Ledesma picked himself up from the spot where the waves threw him when he was surrounded by his forlorn countrymen, who informed him of the fate of Tristan, and of their determination to quit that accursed coast at any hazard. Ledesma returned and told the admiral, upon whose mind thereupon gloom settled in yet denser shades. Unrighteously deprived of his command at Santo Domingo, he had nourished the hope that this last and most important of his discoveries might prove the base of better fortune than was possible on the Spanish Isle. For had it not been revealed to him that this Veragua was the source whence Solomon drew the gold to build the temple? These lamentations continued during the remainder of the storm, which lasted nine days longer; after which preparations were made for the embarkation of the colonists, the admiral consoling himself with the promise of return under more favorable auspices.

Finally the caravel stationed in the river was dismantled, and out of the spars and some Indian canoes was made a raft, by means of which the colonists and their effects were in two days taken on board. The admiral then bore away eastward for Española. And it may have been the lingering hope of blind infatuation—so his followers thought it—that made him cling to the shore until the Darien country was passed, before striking out across the Caribbean Sea; others say it was to avoid contrary winds, while he affirms it was to deceive his pilots that they might not be able to find Veragua again without his charts. One worm-eaten caravel he was obliged to drop at Portobello. The other two held together until they reached Jamaica, where they were beached.

A new series of misfortunes here awaited the Great Unlucky One. From June 1503 to June 1504 he was doomed to remain on his wrecks, which now lay side by side, partially filled with water. Food became scarce, and the foraging expeditions met with constantly increasing difficulties in seeking the necessary supply. By desperate efforts Diego Mendez succeeded in reaching Española in a canoe; but when he had notified Ovando of the perilous situation of Columbus, the governor was in no haste to relieve his rival. Sickness next followed, and then mutiny. Francisco de Porras with forty-eight men threw off allegiance to the admiral, and taking ten canoes set out for Española. Twice thrown back upon Jamaica by adverse winds they abandoned the attempt, and gave themselves up to licentious roving about the island. A second mutiny was near its culmination when a small vessel appeared in the distance. Presently Diego de Escobar approached in a boat, and without leaving it, thrust in upon the admiral a letter, a side of bacon, and a barrel of wine, all from Ovando; then he disappeared as mysteriously as he had come. Following an attempted reconciliation with Porras

was a fight between his gang and the Spaniards under Bartolomé, in which six were killed, among them our honest friend Juan Sanchez, who had cast his lot with Porras. The doughty Ledesma, also a rebel, though badly wounded, lived to be assassinated in Spain. Porras and several others were taken prisoners and confined on board the wreck. The remainder of the deserters then returned, penitent. Finally the admiral's agent at Santo Domingo, Diego de Salcedo, came to his relief with two ships.

It was infamous in Ovando to leave Columbus so long in such a strait. The excuses he pleaded were absence at Jaraguá, and lack of suitable ships; but had he been in earnest to deliver the admiral, means could have been found before the lapse of a year. Although on arriving at Santo Domingo Columbus received lodging in Ovando's house, and the governor was outwardly exceedingly attentive to his guest, in reality there was little in common between the two men but jealousy and distrust. Porras was allowed to roam at large, though finally sent to Spain for trial. Columbus sailed for Spain September 12, 1504. For a time he kept his bed at Seville, writing heart-rending letters to the sovereigns, who paid little attention to them. By the help of the adelantado, ever his most faithful friend and brother, Columbus managed the following year to creep up to court and beg redress from the king, for the queen was now dead. But Ferdinand was deeply disgusted; not so much however as to prevent his granting the illustrious discoverer a magnificent burial shortly after. It was the 20th of May, 1506, that Columbus died at Valladolid, at the age of about seventy years.[25]

Thus terminated the first attempt of Spaniards to plant a colony on the main-land of North America.

[25] The fine burial-place, not only of Columbus, but of his son Diego, and of his grandson Luis, was the cathedral of Santo Domingo. For seven years after his death the remains of Columbus lay in the convent of San Francisco at Valladolid. Then they were removed to Seville and placed in the mon-

Columbus himself, the leader, advanced with proffers of friendship in one hand and a sword in the other, retaliated upon a fancied savage treachery by a still more insidious treachery, and was driven from the country by a brave ruler, whose deeds deserve to be enrolled beside those of patriots everywhere. One kind act of a tender-hearted Spanish sailor—would I had more of them to record in this history—brings the direst misfortune on his countrymen, delays for a dozen years the occupation of Veragua, and turns the tide of conquest in other directions.

Most remarkable in the character of Columbus was the combination of the theoretical and the practical; and most remarkable in his theories was the anomaly that though nearly all of them were false, they led to as grand results as if they had been true. The aperture through which failure creeps into carefully laid schemes is usually some glaring defect of character; and such defect often appears where little suspected, in natures warped by genius, or where one quality is unduly developed at the expense of another quality. We often see men of rare ability wrecked by what would be regarded an act of folly unaccountable in the stupidest person; but we do not often see success resulting from these same defects. The greatest defect in the faculties of Columbus, extravagance of belief, was the primary cause of his success. Simple to us as is the reality of the earth's rotundity, and of the practicability of a western route to Asia, no one could then have entertained those doctrines without extraordinary credulity; even though Pythagoras and others had so long ago expressed such ideas,

astery of Las Cuevas; and in 1536 were transferred to Santo Domingo. When Española was ceded to France in 1795, the Spanish naval commander asked permission to remove the remains to Cuba, which was granted; and what were supposed to be the remains were so removed midst pomp and ceremony in December–January following. But later investigations, the result of long-standing suspicions, satisfied many that a blunder had been committed; and that the bones of Columbus still rest at Santo Domingo. This has been proved beyond a doubt by the recent researches of the distinguished French savant and Americaniste A. Pinart.

no one could then have acted on them short of infatuation bordering on insanity. To say the world is round was not enough; Thales of Miletus proved it not a plane two thousand years before. If it were round, the water would run off; if it were flat, why then one safely might sail on it; if it be flat, and the water runs not off, then at the other end there must be land that keeps the water on, and one might sail over the flat sea to that land—all such logic was less puerile than the feelings by which the Genoese ordinarily reached conclusions. His efforts were the embodiment of the ideas of many thoughtful men, timorous persons, perhaps, or merely meditative and passive, but in none of whom united his ability, courage, and enthusiasm; above all, none so scientific were at the same time so determined. Often the knowledge of a prophecy is the cause of its fulfilment. Some say Alonso Sanchez told him of Española, and he himself affirms that once he visited Iceland. It may have been that on this voyage he learned from the Norsemen of their Vinland and Helluland. What then? Were this true, such stories would have had with him scarcely greater weight than the sayings of the ancients, or than current interpretations of holy writ.

Nothing more plainly proves the power that sent him forth than the fact that in scarcely one of his original conceptions was he correct. He thought to reach Asia over an unobstructed ocean sea by sailing west; he did not. To the day of his death he thought America was Asia, and that Cuba was mainland; that the earth was much smaller than it is, and that six sevenths of it was land. He dwelt much on a society of Amazons who never had existence, and at every step among the Islands he ingenuously allowed his inflamed imagination to deceive him. He claimed to have been divinely appointed for this mission; he affirmed his voyage a miracle, and himself inspired with the conception of it by the most holy Trinity; he vowed to rescue the holy sepulchre,

which he never did; he proclaimed visions which he never saw, such as St Elmo at the top-mast with seven lighted tapers, and told of voices which he never heard; he pictured himself a missionary to benighted heathen, when in truth he was scattering among them legions of fiery devils. But what he knew and did, assuredly, was enough, opening the ocean to highways, and finding new continents; enough to fully entitle him to all the glory man can give to man; and as for his errors of judgment, had he been able to map America as accurately as can we to-day, had he been divine instead of, as he claimed, only divinely appointed, with myriads of attendant ministers, his achievement would have been none the greater. From the infirmities of his nature sprang the nobility of Brutus; from the weaknesses of Columbus was compounded his strength.

Assuredly it was no part of the experience and ingenuity which springs from life-long application that made Columbus so essentially a visionary; nor was it his scientific attainments, nor the splendid successes which despite the so frequent frowns of fortune we must accredit him. In his avocation of mariner he was a plain, thoughtful man of sound judgment and wise discretion; but fired by enthusaism he became more than an ordinary navigator; he became more as he fancied himself, superhuman, the very arm of omnipotence. Once born in him the infatuation that he was the divinely appointed instrument for the accomplishment of this work, and frowning monarchs or perilous seas were as straws in his way. We see clearly enough what moved him, these four hundred years after the event, though he who was moved in reality knew little about it. By the pressure of rapidly accumulating ideas we see brought to the front in discovery Christopher Columbus, just as in the reformation of the church Martin Luther is crowded to the front. The German monk was not the Reformation; like the Genoese

sailor, he was but an instrument in the hands of a power palpable to all, but called by different persons different names.

While yet mingling in the excitements of progressive manhood, he became lost in a maze of mysticism, and to the end of his life he never recovered possession of himself. Not that self-mastery, the first necessity of correct conduct, was wholly gone; there was method in his madness; and he could deny the demons within him, but it was only to leave open the door and give himself up to yet other demons.

In the centuries of battle now lately renewed between science and religion, Columbus fought on both sides. Never was a man more filled at once with the material and the spiritual, with the emotional and the intellectual. Mingling with beatified spirits in the garden of his moral paradise were naked wild men equally as glorious in their immoralities. His creed, which was his very life, was not in his eyes a bundle of supernatural abstractions, but concrete reality as much as were any of his temporal affairs. Himself an honest devotee of science, and believing science the offspring of religion, science and himself must therefore finally be forever laid upon the same altar. He had no thought of work apart from religion, or of religion apart from work. He had ready a doctrine for every heavenly display, a theory for every earthly phenomenon. When pictures of other lands rose in his imagination, he knew them to be real, just as Juan Diego of Mexico knew to be real the apparition of our Lady of Guadalupe at Tepeyacac. By the gnawing hunger of temporal and spiritual ambition he was enabled to see the new lands suggested by science, just as the imprisoned monk, starved and scourged into the beholdings of insanity, sees angels of every incarnation.

While thus obliged to view all his achievements through the atmosphere of creative mysticism, in weighing his manifold qualities, it is well always to

remember that there were achievements, and those of the very highest order. His mysticism was the mysticism of practical life rather than of inactive ideality. His faith was of value to him in giving definiteness to energy otherwise vague and fitful. His all-potential enthusiasm subordinated to one idea every erratic and incoherent aspiration. It gave his life a fixedness of purpose which lust, avarice, and every appetite combined could not have given without it; so that while he brooded with misanthropic wistfulness he did not shirk any fancied duty, even when attended by pain and misfortune. His was not a cloistered inspiration, but an overwhelmingly active enthusiasm. There was in him no longing after a perfect life; in his own eyes his life was perfect. No restless questionings over the unknowable; there was no unknowable. His oblique imagination encompassed all worlds and penetrated all space. His positivism bound the metaphysical no less firmly than the material. Abstract conceptions were more tangible than concrete facts. Realities were but accidents; ideas were the only true realities. The highway of the heavens which to profoundest investigation is dusty with the débris of an evolving universe, to this self-sufficient sailor was as plain as the king's road from Seville to Cádiz.

And as genius grows with experience, so grew his determination with the errors he so frequently fell into. He was not a happy man, nor was he always a pleasant companion. In his delusions he was self-satisfied; in the loss of himself self-possessed. He endeavored to be prudent and thought himself worldly wise; but like many self-flatterers wrapped in their own fancies he was easily imposed upon, even by the sovereigns, with whom he aimed to be exceedingly shrewd. His contact with man did not deepen his humanity, but seemed rather to harden his heart, and drive his affections all the more from earth to heaven. His mind was of that gloomy cast which made even his suc-

cesses sorrowful. We have seen among his practical virtues integrity of a high conventional order, single-mindedness, courage, and indomitable perseverance; and in other characteristics which were not so pleasing—pride displaying itself, as it often does, in religious humility; a melancholy temper; a selfish ambition, which with one grasp would secure to himself and his family the uttermost that man and God could give; with all his devout piety and heavenly zeal a painful and often ludicrous tenacity in clutching at high-sounding titles and hollow honors—there were even in the most unlovable parts of him something to respect, and in his selfishness a self-sacrificing nobleness, a lofty abandonment of self to the idea, which we can but admire. It was not for himself, although it was always most zealously and jealously for himself; the ships, the new lands, the new peoples, his fortunes and his life, all were consecrate; should the adventure prove successful, the gain would be heaven's; if a failure, the loss would fall on him. Surely the Almighty must smile on terms so favorable to himself. And that he did not finally make good his promises with regard to rescuing the holy sepulchre, and building temples, and converting nations, was for the same reason that he did not finally satisfy his worldly pretensions, and secure himself in his rulership. He had not the time. In all his worldly and heavenly ambitions, the glory of God and the glory of himself were blended with the happy consummation of his grand idea. And never did morbid broodings over the unsubstantial and shadowless produce grander results than these incubations of alternate exaltation and despondency that hatched a continent. And in all that was then transpiring, there are few intelligent readers of history who cannot see an overshadowing, all-controlling destiny shaping events throughout the world, so that this then unknown continent should be prepared to fill the grand purpose which even then appeared to be marked out for it.

While, therefore, in the study of this remarkable character, whose description is but a succession of paradoxes, we see everywhere falsehood leading up to truth and truth to falsehood; while we see spring out of the ideal the real, results the most substantial and success the most signal come from conceptions the most fantastical, we can but observe, not only that penetrative vision which in the mind of genius sees through the symbol the divine significance, but that they have not been always or altogether fruitless of good, those spectral fancies which riot in absurdities, building celestial cities, and peopling pandemoniums, even in the absence of genius, symbol, or significance.[26]

[26] I have remarked at some length on Fernando Colon's life of his father, and on the letters of the admiral, and other documents in Navarrete, Salvá and Baranda, Pacheco and Cárdenas, and Mendoza, and elsewhere. The standard historians, Las Casas, Oviedo, Peter Martyr, Gomara, and Herrera, I will pass for the present, only remarking that each in his own way tells the story of the admiral, and all must be carefully considered in a study of his life and achievements. Other early or important authorities are *Zorzi, Paesi Nouamente retrouati*, Vicentia, 1507; *Ruchamer, Newe unbekanthe landte*, Nuremberg, 1508; *Stamler, Dyalogvs*, Augsburg, 1508; *Marineo, Obra Compuesta de las Cosas Memorables e Claros Varones de España*, Alcala, 1530; *Geraldini, Itinerarivm ad Regiones svb Æqvinoctiali*, Rome, 1631; *Grynæus, Novvs Orbis Regionvm ac Insvlarvm veteribvs incognitarvm*, Basle, 1532; *Maffei, Historiarum indicarum*, Florence, 1588; *Gambaræ, De navigatione Christophori Columbi*, Rome, 1585; *Charlevoix, Histoire de l'Isle-Espagnole*, Paris, 1730; *Cladera, Investigaciones historicas*, Madrid, 1794; *Bossi, Vita di Colombo*, Milan, 1818. *Die vierdte Reise so vollenbracht hat Christoffel Columb*, at page 6 cf *Löw, Meer oder Seehanen Buch*, Cologne, 1598, should be read in reference with the maps, to be appreciated. See also *Ramusio, Viaggi*, iii. 16–18 and 98–9; *Benzoni, Hist. Mondo Nvovo*, 27–30; *Galvano's Discov.*, 100–1; *Humboldt, Exam. Crit.*, passim; *Major's Select Letters of Columbus, Hakluyt Soc.*, London, 1847; *Castellanos, Elegías de Varones ilustres de Indias*, 42–3; *Acosta, Compend. Hist. Nueva Granada*, 1–17; *Repertorio Americano*, iii. 186–225; *Vetancvrt, Teatro Mex.*, 3–6 and 101–6; *Lerdo de Tejada, Apuntes Hist.*, 77–80; *Remesal, Hist. Chyapa*, 162–3; *Gordon's Hist. Am.*, i. 247–64; *Lardner's Hist. Discov.*, ii. 16; *Payno, Cronología Mex.*, in *Soc. Mex. Geog.*; *Robertson's Hist. Am.*, i. 59–175; *Corradi, Descub. de la Am.*, i. 6–312; *Simon, Conq. tierra firme*, 44–50; *Mexa y Leompart, Hist. Am.*, i. 1–64; *Torquemada*, i. 20–1, and iii. 283–94; *Vega, Commentarios Reales*, ii. 7; *Acosta, Hist. Ind.*, passim; *Villagvtierre, Hist. Conq. Itza*, 5–19; *Mendieta, Hist. Eccles.*, 13–39; *Cavanilles, Hist. España*, v. 27–55 and 104–9; *Nueva España, Breve Resumen*, MS., i. 1–14; *Maglianos, St Francis and Franciscans*, 521–32; *Aa, Naaukeurige Versameling*, ii. and iii. passim; *Holmes' Annals Am.*, i. 1–16; *Puga, Cedulario*, 4–5; *Gonzalez Davila, Teatro Eccles.*, i. 255–6; *Burke's Europ. Set.*, i. 1–45; *Major's Prince Henry*, 347–67; *Help's Span. Conq.*, passim; *Heylyn's Cosmog.*, 1083; *Ogilby's Am.*, 55–6; *Ens, Westonnd Ost Indischer Lustgart*, 178–84 and 408–9; *Campe, Hist. Descub. Am.*, 1–133; *Poussin, De la Puissance Américaine*, passim; *Hist. Mag.*, Aug. and Sept. 1864, and Feb. 1868; *Mariana, Hist. España*, vi. 307 etc. and vii. 80;

Muñoz, Hist. Nuevo Mundo, i. 27–342; *Morelli, Fasti Novi Orbis*, 11–12; *Purchas, His Pilgrimes*, v. 801–4; *Pizarro y Orellana, Varones Ilvstres del Nvevo Mvndo*, 1–53; *Montanus, De Nieuwe en Onbekende Weereld*, 1–43; and *Lart, Nov. Orb.*, 345–6. The first work to throw a clear light on the question of birthplace was the *Della patria di Cristoforo Colombo*, by Conte Napione di Coconato, Florence, 1808, a dissertation published by the Academy of Sciences, of Turin. In this and supplementary works the ability and zeal of the author are manifest. In 1853, at Rome, was issued a new edition of Napione and de Conti, entitled *Patria e Biografia Del Grande Ammiraglio D. Cristoforo Colombo .... rischiarita e comprovata dai celebri scrittori Gio. Francesco Conte Napione di Coconato e Vincenzo de-Conti*, the latter author of *Storia del Monferrato*, in which appears a wealth of new information second only to the original narratives and documents themselves. The *Dissertazioni epistolari bibliografiche*, Rome, 1809, of Francesco Cancellieri, which Leclerc calls 'savante et fort curieuse,' should not be overlooked. John S. C. Abbott throws together a *Life of Christopher Columbus*, New York, 1875, in popular form, in which extracts are conspicuous, the author having made quite free with the writings of his predecessors.

Probably not one of the many accounts of Columbus which have been published is presented with such fulness of detail, commanding vivid interest from first to last, as that of Mr Washington Irving, *The Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus; to which are added those of His Companions*, 3 vols., New York, 1869. The first editions, one in London, in 4 vols., and one in New York, appeared in 1828; since which time there have been many issues, in English and other languages. The author was born in New York, in 1783, and died at Sunnyside, near Tarrytown, on the Hudson River, in 1859. A strong literary taste was early displayed, specially manifested in 1802 in a series of articles contributed to the *Morning Chronicle*. In 1804 he visited Europe for his health, returning in 1807. Then appeared the serial *Salmagundi*, and in 1809 *A History of New York*. Again in 1815 he went to Europe, and after engaging for a time in mercantile pursuits, abandoned them and gave himself up to letters. The publication of the *Sketch Book* was begun in numbers in 1818, and was followed by *Bracebridge Hall* in 1822, and *Tales of a Traveller* in 1824. Then came *Columbus*, the material for which he obtained from Navarrete in Spain. See chapter iii. note 9, this volume. After serving as secretary of the American Legation in London from 1829 to 1832, he returned to New York and published *The Alhambra;* then *Crayon Miscellany* in 1835; *Astoria* in 1836; *Captain Bonneville* in 1837; and *Wolfert's Roost* in 1855. From 1842 to 1846 he was American Minister to Spain. His later works were *Goldsmith*, 1849; *Mahomet*, 1850; and *Washington*, 1855–9. Mr Irving has been most praised for his genial manner, his gentleness of thought, and his charming style, which carries the reader almost unconsciously along over details in other hands dry and profitless. Among these is found his highest merit; and yet one would sometimes wish the author not quite so meritorious. Elegance and grace eternal tire by their very faultlessness. In handling the rough realities of life one relishes now and then a rough thought roughly expressed. Neither is Irving remarkable for historical accuracy, or exact thinking. An early criticism on *Columbus* complains of that without which the works of Irving never would have attained great popularity. He was pronounced too wordy, his details too long drawn. If this was the case fifty years ago, it is much more so now. And yet how

fascinating is every page! And who but Irving could make thrilling such trivial events? Permit him the use of words, and howsoever isolated the ideas, or commonplace the events, the result was brilliant; but force him within narrow compass, not only would the charm be lost, but the work would be almost worthless.

The highest delight of a healthy mind, of a mind not diseased either by education or affection, is in receiving the truth. The greatest charm in expression, to a writer who may properly be placed in the category of healthful, is in telling the truth. It is only when truth is dearer to us than tradition, or pride of opinion, that we are ready to learn; it is only when truth is dearer to us than praise or profit that we are fit to teach. If the mind be intelligent as well as healthy, it knows itself to be composed of truth and prejudice, the latter engendered of ignorance and environment, holding it in iron fetters, and with which it knows it must forever struggle in vain wholly to be free. Thus keenly alive as well to the difficulties as to the importance of right thinking and exact forms of expression, it nevertheless has its keenest pleasure in striving toward concrete truth. It is truthfulness to nature in all her beauties and deformities, rather than the construction of some more beautiful than natural ideal, that alone satisfies art, whether in the domain of painting, oratory, or literature. We of to-day, while holding in high esteem works of the imagination, are becoming somewhat captious in regard to our facts. The age is essentially informal and real; even our ideal literature must be rigidly true to nature, while whatever pretends to be real must be presented in all simplicity, without circumlocution or disguisement.

Half a century ago it was deemed necessary, particularly by writers of selected epochs of history, in order to clothe their narrative with dramatic effect equal to fiction, to intensify characters and events. The good qualities of good men were made to stand out in bold relief, not against their own bad qualities, but against the bad qualities of bad men, whose wickedness was portrayed in such black colors as to overshadow whatever of good they might possess. Thus historical episodes were endowed, so far as possible without too great discoloration of truth, like a theatrical performance, each with a perfected hero and a finished villain. Of this class of writers were Macaulay and Motley, Froude, Freeman, Prescott, and Irving, whose works are wonderful in their way, not only as art-creations, but as the truest as well as most vivid pictures of their several periods yet presented, and which for generations will be read with that deep and wholesome interest with which they deserve to be regarded. For, although their facts are sometimes highly varnished, their most brilliant creations are always built upon a substantial skeleton of truth. I say that these, the foremost writers of their day, are none of them free from the habit of exaggeration, deception. Indeed, with a wasteful extravagance in the use of superlatives it is almost impossible to draw character strongly without in some parts of it exaggerating. But in these days of rational reflection wherein romance and reality are fairly separated, celestial fiction and mundane fact being made to pass under the same *experimentum crucis;* mind becoming so mechanical that it introverts and analyzes not only its own mechanism but the mechanism of its maker; iconoclasm becoming spiritualized, and the doctrine revived of the old Adamic serpent, that the

knowledge of good and evil is not death but life and immortality, this knowledge being king of kings, vying with nature's forces and oftentimes defying them—I say, in days like these mature manhood becomes impatient of the Santa Claus, or other fictitious imagery, from which the infant mind derives much comfort, and prefers, if necessary, the torments of truth to the elysium of fable. It is no longer valid logic that if the hero stoops to trickery, his biographer should stoop to trickery to cover it. For once undertake to shape the stiff clay of material facts into the artistic forms of fiction, and the result is neither history nor romance.

Proud as I am of the names of Prescott and Irving, at whose shrines none worship with profounder admiration than myself; thankless as may be the task of criticising their classic pages, whose very defects shine with a steadier lustre than I dare hope for my brightest consummations; still, forced by my subject, in some instances, into fields partially traversed by them, I can neither pass them by nor wholly praise them. In justice to my theme, in justice to myself, in justice to the age in which I live, I must speak, and that according to the light and the perceptions given me.

Mr Irving's estimate of the value of honesty and integrity in a historian may be gathered from his own pages. "There is a certain meddlesome spirit," he writes, "which, in the garb of learned research, goes prying about the traces of history, casting down its monuments, and marring and mutilating its fairest trophies. Care should be taken to vindicate great names from such pernicious erudition. It defeats one of the most salutary purposes of history, that of furnishing examples of what human genius and laudable enterprise may accomplish." Now, if conscientious inquiry into facts signifies a meddlesome spirit; if the plain presentment of facts may rightly be called pernicious erudition; if the overthrow of fascinating falsehood is mutilating the trophies of history; if fashioning golden calves for the worship of the simple be the most salutary purpose of history; then I, for one, prefer the meddlesome spirit and the pernicious erudition which mutilates such monuments to the fairest trophies of historical deception. Again —"Herrera has been accused also of flattering his nation; exalting the deeds of his countrymen, and softening and concealing their excesses. There is nothing very serious in this accusation. To illustrate the glory of his nation is one of the noblest offices of the historian; and it is difficult to speak too highly of the extraordinary enterprises and splendid actions of the Spaniards in those days. In softening their excesses he fell into an amiable and pardonable error, if it were indeed an error for a Spanish writer to endeavor to sink them in oblivion." When a writer openly avows his allegiance to falsehood, to amiable falsehood, to falsehood perpetrated to deceive in regard to one's own country, about which one professes to know more than a stranger, nothing remains to be said. Nothing remains to be said as to the veracity of that author, but much remains to be said concerning the erroneous impressions left by him of the persons and events coming in the way of this work.

With what exquisite grace, with what tender solicitude and motherly blindness to faults Mr Irving defends the reputation of Columbus! Is the Genoese a pirate, then is piracy "almost legalized;" is he a slave-maker, "the customs of the times" are pleaded; without censure he lives at Córdova in open adul-

tery with Beatriz Enriquez, and there becomes the father of the illegitimate Fernando; a bungling attempt is made to excuse the hero for depriving the poor sailor of the prize offered him who should first see land; Oviedo is charged with falsehood because he sometimes decides against the discoverer in issues of policy and character; Father Buil was "as turbulent as he was crafty" because he disagreed with the admiral in some of his measures; the most extravagant vituperation is hurled at Aguado because he is chosen to examine and report on the affairs of the Indies; Fonseca is denounced as inexpressibly vile because he thwarts some of the discoverer's hare-brained projects; and so with regard to those who in any wise opposed him, while all who smiled on him were angels of light. All through his later life when extravagant requests were met by more than the usual liberality of royalty, Irving is petulantly complaining because more is not done for his hero, and because his petulant hero complains. And this puerile pride from which springs such petulance the eloquent biographer coins into the noble ambition of conscious merit. Though according to his own statement the madness of the man increased until toward the latter end he was little better than imbecile, yet we are at the same time gravely assured that "his temper was naturally irritable, but he subdued it by the magnanimity of his spirit." The son Fernando denies that his father once carded wool; Irving does not attempt to excuse this blemish because his readers do not regard work ignoble.

Now it is not the toning-down of defects in a good man's character that I object to so much as the predetermined exaltation of one historical personage at the expense of others utterly debased under like premeditation. Did Mr Irving, and the several scores of biographers preceding and following him, parade the good qualities of Bobadilla, Roldan, and Ovando as heartily as those of their hero, the world would be puzzled what to make of it. We are not accustomed to such statements. Unseasoned biography is tasteless, and we are taught not to expect truth, but a model. We should not know what these writers were trying to do if they catalogued the misdemeanors of Columbus and his brothers with the same embellishments applied to Aguado, Buil, and Fonseca; telling with pathetic exaggeration how the benign admiral of the ocean sea was the first to employ bloodhounds against the naked natives; how he practised varied cruelties in Española beyond expression barbarous; and how he stooped upon occasion not only to vulgar trickery, but to base treachery.

On the other hand, with those who seek notoriety by attempting to degrade the fair fame of noble and successful genius because more credit may have been given by some than is justly due, or by affecting to disbelieve whole narratives and whole histories because portions of them are untrue or too highly colored, I have no sympathy. Books have been written to prove, what no one denies, that centuries before Columbus other Europeans had found this continent, and that thereby the honor of his achievement is lessened—of which sentiment I fail to see the force. So far as the Genoese, his works, and merits are concerned, it makes no whit difference were America twenty times before discovered, as elsewhere in this volume has been fully shown.

Prescott was a more exact writer than Irving, though Prescott was not wholly above the amiable weakness of his time. In the main he stated the

truth, and stated it fairly, though he did not always tell the whole truth. The faults of his heroes he would speak, though never so softly; he seldom attempted entirely to conceal them. He might exaggerate, but he neither habitually practised nor openly defended mendacity. Prescott would fain please the Catholics, if it did not cost too much. Irving would please everybody, particularly Americans; but most of all he would make a pleasing tale; if truthful, well; if not, it must on no account run counter to popular prejudice. The inimitable charm about them both amply atones in the minds of many for any imperfections. Since their day much new light has been thrown upon the subjects treated by them, but not enough seriously to impair the value of their works. In their estimates of the characters of Ferdinand and Isabella, relatively and respectively, these brilliant writers are not alone. They copied those who wrote before them; and those who came after copied them. It has been the fashion these many years, both by native and foreign historians, to curse Ferdinand and to bless Isabella, to heap all the odium of the nation and the times upon the man and exalt the woman among the stars. This, surely, is the more pleasant and chivalrous method of disposing of the matter; but in that case I must confess myself at a loss what to do with the facts.

None but the simple are deceived by the gentle Irving when he insinuates "she is even somewhat bigoted;" by which expression he would have us understand that the fascinating queen of Castile was but little of a bigot. Again: "Ferdinand was a religious bigot; and the devotion of Isabella went as near to bigotry as her liberal mind and magnanimous spirit would permit"—that is to say, as the plan of Mr Irving's story would permit. Quite as well as any of us Irving knew that Isabella was one of the most bigoted women of her bigoted age, far more bigoted than Ferdinand, who dared even dispute the pope when his Holiness interfered too far in attempting to thwart his ambitious plans. She was, indeed, so deeply dyed a bigot as to allow her ghostly confessor to overawe her finest womanly instincts, her commonly strict sense of honor, justice, and humanity, and cause her to permit in Spain the horrible Inquisition, the most monstrous mechanism of torture ever invented in aid of the most monstrous crime ever perpetrated by man upon his fellows, the coercion and suppression of opinion. Fair as she was in all her ways, and charming—fair of heart and mind and complexion, with regular features, light chestnut hair, mild blue eyes, a modest and gracious demeanor—she did not scruple, for the extermination of heresy, to apply to such of her loving subjects as dared think for themselves the thumb-screw, the ring-bolt and pulley, the rack, the rolling-bench, the punch, the skewer, the pincers, the knotted whip, the sharp-toothed iron collar, chains, balls, and manacles, confiscation of property and burning at the stake; and all under false accusations and distorted evidence. She did not hesitate to seize and put to death hundreds of wealthy men like Pecho, and appropriate to her own use their money, though her exquisite womanly sensibilities might sometimes prompt her to fling to the widows and children whom she had turned beggars into the street a few crumbs of their former riches. This mother, who nursed children of her own and who should not have been wholly ignorant of a mother's love, turned a deaf ear to the cries of Moorish mothers as they and their children were torn asunder and sold at

the slave mart in Seville. Thousands of innocent men, women, and children she cruelly imprisoned, thousands she cast into the fiery furnace, tens of thousands she robbed and then drove into exile; but it was chastely done, and by a most sweet and beautiful lady. We can hardly believe it true, we do not like to believe it true, that when old Rabbi Abarbanel pleaded before the king for his people, "I will pay for their ransom six hundred thousand crowns of gold," Isabella's soft, musical voice was heard to say, "Do not take it," her confessor meanwhile exclaiming "What! Judas-like, sell Jesus!" Besides, thrice six hundred thousand crowns might be secured by not accepting the ransom. And yet this was the bright being, and such her acts by Prescott's own statements, cover them as he will never so artfully, whose practical wisdom, he assures us, was "founded on the purest and most exalted principle," and whose "honest soul abhorred anything like artifice." Isabella was unquestionably a woman of good intentions; but with such substance the soul-burner's pit is paved.

Prescott throws all the odium of the Inquisition on Torquemada, and I concur. The monk's mind was the ashy, unmelting mould in which the woman's more plastic affections were cast. But then he should be accredited with some portion of the virtues that adorned the character of Isabella, for he was the author of many of them. To be just, if Isabella is accredited with her virtues, she must be charged with her crimes. And if the queen may throw from her shoulders upon those of her advisers the responsibility of iniquity permitted under her rule, why not King Ferdinand, who likewise had men about him urging him to this policy and to that? True, we excuse much in woman as the weaker, and very justly so, which we condemn in the man of powerful cunning. But Isabella was not exactly clay in the hands of those about her; or if so, then praise her for her imbecility, and not for any virtue. But she could muster will and spirit enough of her own upon occasion—witness her threat to kill Pedro Giron with her own hand rather than marry him, and the policy which speaks plainly her sagacity and state-craft in the selection of Ferdinand, and in the strict terms of her marriage contract which excluded her husband from any sovereign rights in Castile or Leon. Most inconsistently, indeed, in reviewing the administration of Isabella, at the end of three volumes of unadulterated adulation Prescott gives his heroine firmness enough in all her ways; independence of thought and action sufficient to circumscribe the pretensions of her nobles; and she "was equally vigilant in resisting ecclesiastical encroachment;" "she enforced the execution of her own plans, oftentimes even at great personal hazard, with a resolution surpassing that of her husband." When, however, she signed the edict for the expulsion of the Jews, the excuse was that "she had been early schooled to distrust her own reason." But why multiply quotations? The *Ferdinand and Isabella* of Prescott is full of these flat contradictions.

We all know that when carried away by feeling women are more cruel than men; so Isabella under the frenzy of her fanaticism was, if possible, more cruel than Ferdinand, whose passions were ballasted by his ambitions. Her feelings were with her faith; and her faith was with such foul iniquity, such inhuman wrong as should cause her euphemistic apologists to blush for resorting to the same species of subterfuge that makes heroes of Jack Sheppard and Dick Turpin.

Again, murder and robbery for Christ's sake suits the devil quite as well as when done for one's own sake. And here on earth, to plead in a court of justice good intentions in mitigation of evil acts nothing extenuates in the eyes of any righteous judge. Therefore there is little to choose between those of whom it may be said—Here is a man who perfidiously robs, tortures, and murders his fellow-beings by the hundred thousand in order to glorify himself, and extend and establish his dominions; and, Here is a woman who perfidiously robs, tortures, and murders her fellow-beings by the hundred thousand in order to glorify herself, her priest, her religion, and extend and establish the dominions of her deity. At the farthest, and in the minds of the eloquent biographers themselves, the relative refinement and nobility of the two characters must turn wholly upon one's conception of the relative refinement and nobility of earthly selfishness and heavenly selfishness.

What can we say then, if we make any pretensions to fairness in portraying historical personages, in excuse for Isabella that cannot as rightfully be said in excuse for Ferdinand? For even he, whom sensational biographers array in such sooty blackness in order that the satin robes of Isabella may shine with whiter lustre, has been called in Spain the wise and prudent, and in Italy the pious. Of course there were differences in their dispositions and their ambitions, but not such wide ones as we have been told. He was a man, with a man's nature, cold, coarse, stern, and artful; she a woman, with a woman's nature, warm, refined, gentle, and artful. He was foxlike, she feline. Opposing craft with craft, she jealously guarded what she deemed the interests of her subjects, and earnestly sought by encouraging literature and art, and reforming the laws, to refine and elevate her realm. He did precisely the same. In all the iniquities of his lovely consort Ferdinand lent a helping hand; man could do nothing worse; and all the world agree that Ferdinand was bad. And yet, in what was he worse than she? Both were tools of the times, incisive and remorseless. To the ecclesiastical tyranny of which they were victims they added civil tyranny which they imposed upon their subjects. Ferdinand was the greatest of Spain's sovereigns, far greater than Charles, whose fortune it was to reap where his grandfather had planted. It was Ferdinand who consolidated all the several sovereignties of the Peninsula, save Portugal, into one political body, weighty in the affairs of Europe. He was ambitious; and to accomplish his ends scrupled at nothing. There was no sin he dared not commit, no wrong he dared not inflict, provided the proximate result should accord with his desires. He was less bound by superstition than the average of the age; he was thoughtful, powerful, princely. Both were personages magnificent, glorious, who achieved much good and much evil, the evil being as fully chargeable to the times, which placed princes above promises and religion, above integrity and humanity, as to any special depravity innate in either of them. And what was the immediate result of it; and what the more distant conclusion; and how much after all were Spaniards indebted to these rulers? First Spain enwrapped in surpassing glories! Spain the mistress of the world, on whose dominions the sun refuses to go down. Fortunate Ferdinand! Thrice amiable and virtuous Isabella! And next? Do we not see that these brilliant successes, these gratified covetings are themselves the seeds of Spain's abasement? Infinitely

better off were Spain to-day, I will not say had she not driven out her Moors and Jews, but had she never known the New World. How much soever of honor Isabella may have brought upon herself by her speculations in partnership with the Genoese, for the self-same reason, resulting in the great blight of gold and general effeminacy that followed, Spain's posterity might reasonably anathematize her memory could they derive any comfort therefrom.

In regard to that much-lauded act of Isabella's in lending her assistance to Columbus when Ferdinand would not, there is this to be said. First, no special praise is due her for assisting the Genoese; and secondly, she never assisted him in the manner or to the extent represented. Santángel and the Pinzons were the real supporters of that first voyage. Isabella did not pawn her jewels; she did not sell her wardrobe, or empty her purse. But if she had, for what would it have been? It makes a pleasing story for children to call her patronage by pretty names, to say that it was out of pity for the poor sailor, that it was an act of personal sacrifice for the public good, that it was for charity's sake, or from benevolence, for the extension of knowledge or the vindication of some great principle—only it is a very stupid child that does not know better. Clearly enough the object was great returns from a small expenditure; great returns in gold, lands, honors, and proselytings—a species of commercial and political gambling more in accordance with the character as commonly sketched of the "cold and crafty Ferdinand," whose measureless avarice and insatiable greed not less than his subtle state-craft and kingly cunning would have prompted him to secure so great a prize at so small a cost, than with the character of an unselfish, heavenly-minded woman. And were it not for the danger of being regarded by the tender-minded as ungallant, I might allude to the haggling which attended the bargain, and tell how the queen at first refused to pay the sailor his price, and let him go, then called him back and gave him what he first had asked, more like a Jew than like even the grasping Ferdinand.

In conclusion, I feel it almost unnecessary to say that Columbus, Isabella, and all those bright examples of history whose conduct and influence in the main were on the side of humanity, justice, the useful, and the good, have my most profound admiration, my most intelligent respect. All their faults I freely forgive, and praise them for what they were, as among the noblest, the best, the most beneficial to their race—though not always so, nor always intending it—of any who have come and gone before us. And I can hate Bobadilla, Roldan, and others of their sort, all historical embodiments of injustice, egotism, treachery, and beastly cruelty, with a godly hatred; but I hope never to be so blinded by the brightness of my subject as to be unable to see the truth, and seeing it, fairly to report it.

CHAPTER V.

ADMINISTRATION OF THE INDIES.

1492–1526.

COLUMBUS THE RIGHTFUL RULER—JUAN AGUADO—FRANCISCO DE BOBADILLA—NICOLÁS DE OVANDO—SANTO DOMINGO THE CAPITAL OF THE INDIES—EXTENSION OF ORGANIZED GOVERNMENT TO ADJACENT ISLANDS AND MAIN-LAND—RESIDENCIAS—GOLD MINING AT ESPAÑOLA—RACE AND CASTE IN GOVERNMENT—INDIAN AND NEGRO SLAVERY—CRUELTY TO THE NATIVES—SPANISH SENTIMENTALISM—PACIFICATION, NOT CONQUEST—THE SPANISH MONARCHS ALWAYS THE INDIAN'S FRIENDS—BAD TREATMENT DUE TO DISTANCE AND EVIL-MINDED AGENTS—INFAMOUS DOINGS OF OVANDO—REPARTIMIENTOS AND ENCOMIENDAS—THE SOVEREIGNS INTEND THEM AS PROTECTION TO THE NATIVES—SETTLERS MAKE THEM THE MEANS OF INDIAN ENSLAVEMENT—LAS CASAS APPEARS AND PROTESTS AGAINST INHUMANITIES—THE DEFAULTING TREASURER—DIEGO COLON SUPERSEDES OVANDO AS GOVERNOR—AND MAKES MATTERS WORSE—THE JERONIMITE FATHERS SENT OUT—AUDIENCIAS—A SOVEREIGN TRIBUNAL IS ESTABLISHED AT SANTO DOMINGO WHICH GRADUALLY ASSUMES ALL THE FUNCTIONS OF AN AUDIENCIA, AND AS SUCH FINALLY GOVERNS THE INDIES—LAS CASAS IN SPAIN—THE CONSEJO DE INDIAS, AND CASA DE CONTRATACION—LEGISLATION FOR THE INDIES.

WE have seen how it had been first of all agreed that Columbus should be sole ruler, under the crown, of such lands and seas as he might discover for Spain. We have seen how, under that rule, disruption and rebellion followed at the heels of mismanagement, until the restless colonists made Española an *angustiarum insula* to the worthy admiral, and until their majesties thought they saw in it decent excuse for taking the reins from the Genoese, and supplanting him by agents of their own choosing. The first of these agents was Juan Aguado, who was merely a

commissioner of inquiry. With him, it will be remembered, Columbus returned to Spain after his second voyage, leaving his brother Bartolomé in command. The admiral was permitted to try again; but on reaching the seat of his government he was unable to quiet the disturbances which had increased during his absence. Rebellion had almost reached the dignity of revolution, and stronger than the government were factions whose leaders openly defied the governor-general, viceroy, and admiral of the ocean sea. That their Majesties were greatly grieved at this, I do not say; or that they were displeased that the rebels, or revolutionists, of Española should refer their troubles to them. But this is certain, that after another fair trial Columbus was obliged to give it up, and to see himself displaced by a person far worse than himself. Perhaps it is true that a knave was better for the office than an honest man.

Not that Francisco de Bobadilla may be lawfully accused of dishonesty; the sovereigns seemed competent to take care of themselves where their revenue was concerned. And yet he was certainly influenced in his conduct by no sense of right or of humanity. He was a man of narrow mind, of ignoble instincts and mean prejudices. He was popular for a time with the colonists because he was like them, and because he reduced the royal share of the product of the mines from a third to an eleventh, and permitted the dissolute to idle their time and illtreat the natives; and because he released those whom the admiral had imprisoned, and enabled Columbus to pay his debts—for which last mentioned measure I have no fault to find with him.

It was the 21st of March, 1499, that Bobadilla was authorized to proceed against offenders at Española, but he did not leave Spain until July, 1500, reaching Santo Domingo the 23d of August. The enchaining of the illustrious discoverer by an infamous agent, and for no crime, excited universal disgust throughout

Christendom; and yet their Majesties seemed in no haste to depose him; for it was not until the 3d of September, 1501, in answer to the persistent remonstrances of Columbus, that a change was made, and the government given to Nicolás de Ovando, who sailed from Spain the 13th of February following, and arrived at Santo Domingo the 15th of April, 1502; so that Bobadilla was in office on the island over a year and a half, long enough to sow the seeds of much iniquity.

Ovando was a knight of the order of Alcántara, of neither massive mind nor commanding mien. But his firm and fluent speech lent strength to his slight figure and fair complexion, and a courteous manner made amends for a vanity which in him assumed the form of deep humility. He was well known to their Majesties, having been one of the companions of Prince Juan, and it was thought would make a model governor. Ample instructions, both written and verbal, were given him before sailing. The natives should be converted, but their bodies should not be enslaved or inhumanly treated. They must pay tribute, and gather gold, but for the latter they should be paid wages. There was to be a complete change of soldiers and officials at Española, that the new government might begin untainted by the late disorders. Neither Jews nor Moors might go to the Indies, but negro slaves, born into the possession of Christians, were to be permitted passage. For any loss resulting from Bobadilla's acts, full restitution must be made the admiral, and henceforth his rights of property must be respected. Columbus might always keep there an agent to collect his dues, and he was to be treated with consideration. The idle and profligate were to be returned to Spain. Except the provinces given to Ojeda and Pinzon, Ovando's jurisdiction was made to extend over all the Indies, that is to say, over all the New World dominions of Spain, islands and firm land, with the capital at Santo Domingo, and subor-

dinate or municipal governments in the more important localities. All mining licenses issued by Bobadilla were to be revoked; of the gold thus far collected one third should be taken for the crown, and of all thereafter gathered one half. Supplementing these instructions with much paternal advice consisting of minor moralities and Machiavelisms, their Majesties bade their viceroy God speed and sent him forth in a truly royal fashion.

There were no less than thirty ships and twenty-five hundred persons comprising the expedition. Of the company were Alonso Maldonado, newly appointed *alcalde mayor*,[1] and twelve Franciscans, with a prelate, Antonio de Espinal. Las Casas was present; and Hernan Cortés would have been there but for an illness which prevented him. There were seventy-three respectable married women, who had come with their husbands and children, and who were to salt society at their several points of distribution. It was evident as the new governor entered his capital, elegantly attired, with a body-guard of sixty-two foot-soldiers and ten horsemen, and a large and brilliant retinue, that the colonization of the New World had now been assumed in earnest by the sovereigns of Spain. Nor was Ovando disposed to be dilatory in his duty. He at once announced the *residencia*[2] of Bobadilla, and put Roldan, *ci-devant*

[1] Chief judge, or highest judicial officer in the colony, to take the place of Roldan, who was to be returned to Spain. Irving, *Columbus*, ii. 331, writes erroneously *alguazil mayor*, evidently confounding the two offices. For Las Casas, *Hist. Ind.*, iii. 18, says plainly enough:—'Trujo consigo por Alcalde mayor un caballero de Salamanca y licenciado, llamado Alonso Maldonado.' An alguacil mayor was a chief constable, or high sheriff, a very different person from a chief judge. These terms, and the offices represented by them, will be fully explained in another place.

[2] As this word will often occur in these pages, and as neither the term nor the institution it symbolizes has any equivalent in English, I will enter here a full explanation. *Residencia* was the examination or account taken of the official acts of an executive or judicial officer during the term of his *residence* within the province of his jurisdiction, and while in the exercise of the functions of his office. This was done at the expiration of the term of office, or at stated periods, or in case of malefeasance at any time. The person making the examination was appointed by the king, or in New World affairs by the *Consejo de Indias*, or by a viceroy, and was called a *juez de residencia*. Before this judge, within a given time, any one might appear

rebel, and later chief judge, under arrest. He built in Española several towns to which arms and other privileges were given, founded a hospital, removed

and make complaint, and offer evidence against the retiring or suspended official, who might refute and rebut as in an ordinary tribunal. The residencia of any officer appointed by the crown must be taken by a judge appointed by the crown; the residencia of officers appointed in the Indies by viceroys, audiencias, or president-governors, was taken by a judge appointed by the same authority. Following are some of the changes rung upon the subject by royal decrees, the better to make it fit the government of the Indies. The 10th of June, 1523, and again the 17th of November, 1526, Charles V. decreed that appeal might be made from the judge of residencia to the Council of the Indies, except in private demands not exceeding 600 pesos de oro, when appeal was to the audiencia. In 1530 viceroys and president-governors were directed to take the residencia of *visitadores de Indios* that wrong-doing to the natives might not escape punishment; and by a later law proclamations of residencias must be made in such manner that the Indians might know thereof. The *Ordenanzas de Audiencias* of Philip II. of 1563 and 1567, state that in some cities of the Indies it was customary to appoint at certain seasons two regidores, who, with an alcalde, acted as *fieles ejecutores*. At the beginning of every year the viceroy, or the president, in a city which was the residence of an audiencia, had to appoint an *oidor* to take the residencia of the fieles ejecutores of the previous year. The same was to be done if those offices had been sold to the city, *villa*, or *lugar;* but in such cases it was left to the discretion of the viceroy or president to cause them to be taken when necessary, not allowing them to become too commonplace. Philip II. in 1573, and his successors as late as 1680, directed that in residencias of governors and their subordinates, when the fine did not exceed 20,000 maravedís, execution should issue immediately; in damages granted from private demands to the amount of 200 ducats, the condemned was to give bonds to respond. While an official was undergoing his residencia it was equivalent to his being under arrest, as he could neither exercise office nor, except in certain cases specified, leave the place. Thus the law of 1530, reiterated in 1581, stated that from the time of the proclamation of a residencia till its conclusion *alguaciles mayores* and their *tenientes* should be suspended from carrying the *varas*, or from exercising any of the functions of office. In 1583, in 1620, and in 1680, it was ordered that such judges of residencia as were appointed in the Indies should be selected by a viceroy and audiencia, or by a president and audiencia, acting in accord. Salaries of jueces de residencia were ordered by Felipe III. in 1618 to be paid by the official tried if found guilty, if not by the audiencia appointing. Before this, in 1610, the same sovereign had ordered notaries employed in residencias taken by *corregidores* to be paid in like manner. The next monarch directed that ships' officers should be subject to residencia in the form of a *vistia;* and in visitas to *galeones* and *flotas* none but common sailors, artillerymen, and soldiers should be exempt. Cárlos II. in 1667 decreed that the residencia of a viceroy must be terminated within six months from the publication of the notice of the judge taking it. Felipe III. in 1619, and Cárlos II. in 1680, ordered that viceroys and presidents should send annually to the crown lists of persons suitable for conducting residencias, so that no one might be chosen to act upon the official under whose jurisdiction he resided. See *Recop. de Indias*, ii. 176–89. Of the report of the residencia the original was sent to the Council of the Indies, and a copy deposited in the archives of the audiencia. So burdensome were these trials, so corrupt became the judges, that later, in America, the residencia seemed rather to defeat than to promote justice, and in 1799 it was abolished so far as the subordinate officers were concerned.

Santo Domingo to a more healthful site on the other side of the river, and established a colony at Puerto de Plata, on the north side of Española, near Isabela.

Distant eight leagues from Santo Domingo were the mines where the twenty-five hundred thought immediately to enrich themselves. For several days after landing the road was alive with eager gold hunters drawn from all classes of the community; cavalier, *hidalgo*,[3] and laborer, priest and artisan, honest men and villains, whose cupidity had been fired by the display of precious metal lately gathered, and who were now hurrying forward with hard breath and anxious eyes under their bundle of necessities. But there was no happy fortune in store for these new-comers. The story then new has been oft repeated since: expecting to fill their sacks quickly and with ease, and finding that a very little gold was to be obtained only by very great labor, they were soon on their way back to the city, where many of them fell into poverty, half of them dying of fever.

Poor fools! they did not know; their countrymen, those that were left from former attempts, did not tell them, though Roldan's men, Bobadilla's men knew well enough, and in truth the remnant of Ovando's men were not slow to learn, that the wise man, the wise and villainous man from Spain, did not work or die for gold, or for anything else, when there were savages that might be pricked to it by the sword.

[3] Originally written *fijodalgo*, son of something. Later applied to gentlemen, country gentlemen perhaps more particularly. Oviedo, ii. 466, calls Diego de Nicuesa 'hombre de limpia sangre de hijosdalgo,' a man of pure gentle blood. Concerning the origin of the word *hidalgo*, Juan de la Puente states that during the Moorish wars, whenever a large town was captured the king kept it; the villages he gave to captains who had distinguished themselves, and who were called at first *ricos homes*, and afterward *grandes*. To minor meritorious persons something less was given, a portion of the spoils or a grant of land, but always something; hence their descendants were called *fijosdalgos*, *hijosdaljos*, or *hidalgos*, sons of something. In the *Dic. Univ.* authorities are quoted showing that the word *hidalgo* originated with the Roman colonists of Spain, called *Itálicos*, who were exempt from imposts. Hence those enjoying similar benefits were called *Itálicos*, which word in lapse of time became *hidalgo*.

During this earliest period of Spanish domination in America, under successive viceroys and subordinate rulers, by far the most important matter which arose for consideration or action was the treatment of the aborigines. Most momentous to them it was, certainly, and of no small consequence to Spain. Unfortunately, much damage was done before the subject was fairly understood; and afterward, evils continued because bad men were always at hand ready to risk future punishment for present benefits. Spain was so far away, and justice moved so slowly, if it moved at all, that this risk was seldom of the greatest.

The sovereigns of Spain now found themselves called upon to rule two races in the New World, the white and the red. And it was not always easy to determine what should be done, what should be the relative attitude of one toward the other. As to the superiority of the white race there was no question. And among white men, Spaniards were the natural masters; and among Spaniards, Castilians possessed the first rights in the new lands the Genoese had found for them.

All was plain enough so far. It was natural and right that Spaniards should be masters in America. Their claim was twofold; as discoverers, and as propagandists. But in just what category to place the red man was a question almost as puzzling as to tell who he was, and whence he came. Several times the question arose as to whether he had a soul, or a semi-soul, and whether the liquid so freely let by the conquerors was brute blood, or of as high proof as that which ran in Castilian veins. The savages were to be governed, of course; but how, as subjects or as slaves? Columbus was strongly in favor of Indian slavery. He had participated in the Portuguese slave-trade, and had found it profitable. Spaniards enslaved infidels, and why not heathens? Mahometans enslaved Christians, and Christians Mahometans. Likewise Christians enslaved Chris-

tians, white as well as black, though it began to be questioned in Spain whether it was quite proper to enslave white Christians.

The negro slave-trade was at this time comparatively a new thing. It was one of the proximate results of fifteenth-century maritime discovery. The Portuguese were foremost in it, organizing for the purpose a company at Lagos, and a factory at Arguin, about the middle of the century, Prince Henry receiving his fifth. Europe, however, offered no profitable field for African slave labor, and but for the discovery of America the traffic probably never would have assumed large proportions. Public sentiment was not in those days averse to slavery, particularly to the enslavement of the children of Ham. And yet neither Isabella nor Ferdinand was at all disposed, in regard to their New World possessions, to follow the example of Portugal on the coast of Africa. Though they had scarcely made personal the application that the practice was one of the chief causes of Rome's ruin, yet they seemed instinctively opposed to it in this instance. They did not want these creatures in Spain, they had no use for them. In regard to the ancient custom of enslaving prisoners of war, particularly the detested and chronically hostile Moors, it was different. This New World had been given them for a higher purpose. Its natives were not the enemies of Spain; they were innocent of any offence against Spain. It was better, it was more glorious, there was higher and surer reward in it, to Christianize than to enslave. This the clergy constantly urged; so that in Spain the passion for propagandism was greater than the passion for enslaving.

Columbus must have been aware of this when in 1495 he sent by Torres, with the four ship-loads of Indian slaves, the apology to their Majesties that these were man-eating Caribs, monsters, the legitimate prey of slave-makers wherever found. Peradventure

some of them might be made Christians, who when they had learned Castilian could be sent back to serve as missionaries and interpreters to aid in delivering their countrymen from the powers of darkness. This was plausible, and their Majesties seemed content; but when Columbus pressed the matter further, and requested that arrangements should be made for entering extensively into the traffic, they hesitated. Meanwhile the Genoese launched boldly forth in the old way, not only making slaves of cannibals but of prisoners of war; and whenever slaves were needed, a pretence for war was not long wanting. Thereupon, with another shipment, the admiral grows jubilant, and swears by the holy Trinity that he can send to Spain as many slaves as can be sold, four thousand if necessary, and enters upon the details of capture, carriage, sale, and return cargoes of goods, with all the enthusiasm of a sometime profitable experience in the business. Further than this he permits enforced labor where there had been failure to pay tribute, and finally gives to every one who comes an Indian for a slave.

Then the monarchs were angry. "What authority from me has the admiral to give to any one my vassals!" exclaimed the queen. All who had thus been stolen from home and country, among whom were pregnant women and babes newly born, were ordered returned. And from that moment the sovereigns of Spain were the friends of the Indians. Not Isabella alone but Ferdinand, Charles, and Philip, and their successors for two hundred years with scarcely an exceptional instance, stood manfully for the rights of the savages — always subordinate however to their own fancied rights—constantly and determinately interposing their royal authority between the persistent wrong-doing of their Spanish subjects, and their defenceless subjects of the New World. Likewise the Catholic Church is entitled to the highest praise for her influence in the direction of humanity, and

for the unwearied efforts of her ministers in guarding from cruelty and injustice these poor creatures. Here and there in the course of this narrative we find a priest carried away by the spirit of proselytism commit acts of folly and unrighteousness; and men announcing as church measures proceedings which when known in the mother country received the prompt condemnation of the church. These men and measures I shall not be backward to condemn. But it is with no small degree of pleasure that I record thus early in this history the noble attributes of the self-sacrificing Christian heroes who while preaching their faith to the savage endeavored to bridle as best they could the cupidity and cruelty of the Spanish adventurers who accompanied them.

After the first invasions, in various quarters, aggressive warfare on the natives, even on obdurate heathen nations, was prohibited. In the extension of dominion that followed, the very word 'conquest' was forbidden to be employed, even though it were a conquest gained by fighting, and the milder term 'pacification' was substituted.[4] Likewise, after the first great land robberies had been committed, side by side with the minor seizures was in practice the regulation that enough of the ancient territory should be left each native community to support it comfortably in a fixed residence. The most that was required of the Indians was to abolish their ancient inhuman practices, put on the outward apparel of civilization, and as fast as possible adapt themselves to Christian customs, paying a light tax, in kind, nominally for protection and instruction. This doing, they were to be left free and happy. Such were the wishes of crown and clergy; for which both strove steadily

[4] 'Por justas causas, y consideraciones conviene, que en todas las capitulaciones que se hicieren para nuevos descubrimientos, se excuse esta palabra conquista, y en su lugar se use de las de pacificacion y poblacion, pues habiéndose de hacer con toda paz y caridad, es nuestra voluntad, que aun este nombre interpretado contra nuestra intencion, no ocasione, ni dé color á lo capitulado, para que se puedo hacer fuerza ni agravio á los Indios.' *Recop. de Indias*, ii. 2.

though unsuccessfully until the object of their solicitude crumbled into earth.[5]

[5] The best proof of the policy of Spain in regard to the natives of the New World is found in her laws upon the subject. Writers may possibly color their assertions, but by following the royal decrees through successive reigns we have what cannot be controverted. The subject of the treatment of the Indians occupies no inconsiderable space in the *Recopilacion de Leyes de los Indias*. At the beginning of tit. x. lib. vi. is placed a clause of Isabella's will, solemnly enjoining her successors to see that the Indians were always equitably and kindly treated; and this was the text for future legislation. And now let us glance at the laws; I cannot give them all; but I can assure the reader they are of one tenor. First of all the natives were to be protected by the ecclesiastical and civil authorities. They might marry freely, but always in accordance with Christian usage; must not be taken to Spain; must be civilized, Christianized, taught to speak Spanish, and to love labor, if possible; they might sow seed, breed stock, keep their ancient market-days, buy and sell at pleasure, and even dispose of their lands, only the Spaniards were not allowed to sell them arms or alcoholic liquors. The Inquisition could not touch them, for in religious matters they were subject to the bishop's jurisdiction, and in cases of witchcraft to the civil power. They might have their municipal organizations in imitation of the Spanish town government, with their alcaldes, fiscales, and regidores, elected from among themselves to serve for one year, elections to be held in the presence of the priest. It was made the duty of priests, prelates, all officers of the government, and in fact every Spanish subject, to watch over and protect the Indians. Governors and judges were charged under the severest penalties to see justice done them. Two officers were created at an early day for this purpose, those of *protector* and *defensor*, the former having general oversight of the natives and their interests, and the latter appearing in their behalf in court. After a time, when it was thought the aborigines could stand alone, the offices were abolished. But the action was premature, and in 1589 Philip II. ordered them revived. These officers were appointed by the viceroys and president-governors. Indians might appear in courts of law and have counsel assigned them free of any cost; and even in suits between the natives themselves there was to be no expense, the fiscal appearing on one side, and the protector on the other. Philip also gave notice in 1593 that Spaniards who maltreated Indians were to be punished with greater rigor than for badly treating a Spaniard. This was a remarkable law; it is a pity the Puritans and their descendants lacked such a one. Indians might be hired, but they must be paid promptly. They might work in the mines, or carry burdens if they chose, but it must be done voluntarily. Enforced personal service, or any approach to it, was jealously and repeatedly prohibited. Indians under eighteen must not be employed to carry burdens. Let those who sneer at Philip and Spain remember that two centuries after this England could calmly look on and see her own little children, six years of age, working with their mothers in coal-pits. There were many ways the Spaniards had of evading the just and humane laws of their monarchs—instance the trick of employers of getting miners or other laborers in debt to them, and keeping them so, and if they attempted to run away interpose the law for their restraint. It was equivalent to slavery. A native might even sell his labor for an indefinite time, until Felipe III. in 1618 decreed that no Indian could bind himself to work for more than one year. The law endeavored to throw all severe labor upon the negro, who was supposed to be better able to endure it. The black man was likewise placed far below the red in the social scale. It was criminal for a negro or mixed-breed to have an Indian work for him, although voluntarily and for pay; nor might an African even go to the house of an American. The law endeavored to guard the Indian in his privacy, as well as in his rights. It studied to make the

For the soldier, the sailor, the cavalier, the vagabond, the governor, and all their subordinates and associates, all the New World rabble from viceroy to menial willed it otherwise, the New World clergy too

lot of the aboriginal as peaceful and comfortable under Christian civilization as under heathen barbarism. More it could not do; it could not do this much; after the pacifying raid through the primeval garden, all Europe could not restore it. But Spain's monarchs did their best to mitigate the sufferings caused by Spain's unruly sons. The cacique might hold his place among his people, and follow ancient usage in regard to his succession, but he must not enslave them, or inflict upon them the ancient cruel customs, such as giving Indian girls in lieu of tribute, or burying servants with their dead masters. And these petty rulers must stay at home and attend to their affairs; Indians could not leave one pueblo to take up their residence in another, and caciques could not go to Spain without special license from the king. The natives were ordered to live in communities, and have a fixed residence, and their lands were not in consequence to be taken from them. They must not ride on horseback, for that would make them too nearly equal to the cavalier in battle; they must not hold dances without permission, for then they might plot conspiracies, or give themselves up to serve heathen gods as of old; they must not work in gold or silver, an illiberal restriction which lost to the world the finest of America's arts. Spaniards could not place a cattle rancho within 1½ leagues of a native pueblo; or swine, sheep, or goats within half a league; the Indians might lawfully kill cattle trespassing on their lands. In a pueblo of Indians neither Spaniard, nor mulatto, nor negro should live. No traveller might spend the night at the house of a native if an inn was at hand. No Spanish or mestizo merchant might remain in an Indian pueblo more than three days, nor another white man more than two days. Beside the property of individuals each Indian pueblo had some common property, and a strong-box in which the community money and title-deeds were kept. Caciques must not call themselves lords of pueblos, as that detracted from royal preëminence; they must be called caciques simply. The cacique must not attempt feudal fashions; he must not oppress his people, or take more than the stipulated tribute; and he who worked for the cacique must be paid by the cacique. In criminal matters the jurisdiction of caciques over their people could not extend to death or mutilation. On the other hand a cacique could not be tried by the ordinary Spanish justice of the peace, but only by the judge of a district. The last four laws were made by Charles V. in 1538. And beside these were many other edicts promulgated by the Spanish monarchs during two and a half centuries, notable for their wisdom, energy, and humanity. By the continued outrages and excesses of their subjects in the New World the temper of the crown was often severely tried. Thus was found written by Felipe IV. with his own hand, on a decree of the council ordering the immediate suppression of all those infamous evils practised in spite of laws against them, a sentiment which was fully reiterated by his son Cárlos II. in 1680: —'I will that you give satisfaction to me and to the world concerning the manner of treating those my vassals,' so reads the writing; 'and if this be not done, so that as in response to this letter I may see exemplary punishment meted offenders, I shall hold myself disobeyed; and be assured that if you do not remedy it, I will. The least omissions I shall consider grave crimes against God and against me; the evil conduct tending as it does to the total ruin and destruction of those realms whose natives I hold in estimation; and I will that they be treated as is merited by vassals who serve the monarchy so well, and have so contributed to its grandeur and enlightenment.' See further, *Tapia, Hist. Civ. Española*, passim; *Cogolludo, Hist. Yucathan*, 71–3; *Ramirez, Vida Motolinia*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. lxvi.; *Las Casas, Carta*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, vii. 290–338.

often winking assent. However omnipotent in Spain, there were some things in America that the sovereigns and their confessors could not do. They could not control the bad passions of their subjects when beyond the reach of rope and dungeon. That these evil proclivities were of home engendering, having for their sanction innumerable examples from church and state, statesmen and prelates would hardly admit, but it is in truth a plausible excuse for the excesses committed. The fact is that for every outrage by a subject in the far away Indies, there were ten, each of magnitude tenfold for evil, committed by the sovereigns in Spain; so that it is by no means wonderful that the Spaniards determined here to practise a little sinfulness for their own gratification, even though their preceptors did oppose wickedness which by reason of their absence they themselves could not enjoy.

Though the monarchs protested earnestly, honestly, and at the length of centuries, their subjects went their way and executed their will with the natives. Were I to tell a tenth of the atrocities perpetrated by Christian civilization on the natives of America, I could tell nothing else. The catalogue of European crime, Spanish, English, French, is as long as it is revolting. Therefore, whenever I am forced to touch upon this most distasteful subject, I shall be as brief as possible.

Passing the crimes of Columbus and Bobadilla, the sins of the two being, for biographical effect, usually placed upon the latter, let us look at the conduct of Ovando, who, as Spanish provincial rulers went in those days, was an average man. He ruled with vigor; and as if to offset his strict dealings with offending Spaniards, unoffending Indians were treated with treachery and merciless brutality.

Rumor reaching him that Anacaona, queen of Jaraguá, meditated revolt, he marched thither at the head of two hundred foot-soldiers and seventy horsemen. The queen came out to meet him, and escorted

him with music and dancing to the great banqueting-hall, and entertained him there for several days. Still assured by evil tongues that his hostess intended treachery, he determined to forestall her. On a Sunday afternoon, while a tilting-match was in progress, Ovando gave the signal. He raised his hand and touched his Alcántara cross—a badge of honor it was called, which, had it been real, should have shrivelled the hand that for such a purpose touched it. On the instant Anacaona and her caciques were seized and a mock trial given them; after which the queen was hanged, the caciques tortured and burned, and the people of the province, men, women, and children, ruthlessly and indiscriminately butchered. Those who escaped the massacre were afterward enslaved. For intelligence, grace, and beauty Anacaona was the Isabella of the Indies, and there was no valid proof that she meditated the slightest injury to the Spaniards.

The natives of Saona and Higuey, in revenge for the death of a chief torn in pieces by a Spanish blood-hound, rose to arms, and slew a boat's crew of eight Spaniards. Juan de Esquivel with four hundred men was sent against them, and the usual indiscriminate hanging and burning followed. It is stated that over six hundred were slaughtered at one time in one house. A peace was conquered, a fort built; fresh outrages provoked a fresh outbreak; and the horrors of the extermination that followed Las Casas confessed himself unable to describe. A passion arose for mutilation, and for prolonging agony by new inventions for refining cruelty. And the irony of Christianity was reached when thirteen men were hanged side by side in honor of Christ and his apostles. Cotubano, the last of the five native kings of Española, was taken to Santo Domingo, and hanged by order of Ovando. In Higuey were then formed two settlements, Salvaleon and Santa Cruz. To take the places in the Spanish service of the Indians thus slain in Española, forty thousand natives of the Lucayas Islands were

enticed thither upon the pretext of the captors that they were the Indians' dead ancestors come from heaven to take their loved ones back with them. Española was indeed their shortest way to heaven, though not the way they had been led to suppose. When tidings of Ovando's doings reached Spain, notably of his treatment of Anacaona, Queen Isabella was on her death-bed; but raising herself as best she was able, she exclaimed to the president of the council, "I will have you take of him such a residencia as was never taken."

Both the Spaniards and the Indians, as we have seen, were averse to labor. To both it was degrading; to the latter, killing. And yet it was necessary that mines should be worked, lands cultivated, and cattle raised. Else of what avail was the New World?

The colonists clamored, and the crown was at a loss what to do. In her dilemma there is no wonder the queen appeared to equivocate; but when in December, 1503, she permitted Ovando to use force in bringing the natives to a sense of their duty, though they must be paid fair wages and made to work "as free persons, for so they are," she committed a fatal error. The least latitude was sure to be abused. Under royal permission of 1501 a few negro slaves from time to time were taken to the Indies. Las Casas urged the extension of this traffic in order to save the Indians. Ovando complained that the negroes fled and hid themselves among the natives, over whom they exercised an unwholesome influence; nevertheless in September, 1505, we find the king sending over more African slaves to work in the mines, this time about one hundred. From 1517, when importations from the Portuguese establishments on the Guinea coast were authorized by Charles V., the traffic increased, and under the English, particularly, assumed enormous proportions. This unhappy confusion of races led to a negro insurrection at Española in 1522.

We come now to some of the results of the temporizing policy of Spain—always a bad one when the subject is beyond the reach of the ruling arm—in regard to the Indians. For out of a desire to avoid the odium of Indian slavery, and yet secure the benefits thereof, grew a system of servitude embodying all the worst features of absolute bondage, with none of its mitigations.

It will be remembered that during his second voyage Columbus made war on the natives of Española, and after sending some as slaves to Spain, imposed a tribute on the rest; on some a bell-measure of gold, and on others an *arroba*[6] of cotton, every three months. So severe was this tax that many could not meet it, and in 1496 service was accepted in place of tribute. This was the beginning in the New World of the *repartimiento*,[7] or as it shortly afterward became the

[6] Twenty-five pounds. The Spanish pound is a little more than the English pound. There are four arrobas in a quintal.

[7] *Repartimiento*, a distribution; *repartir*, to divide; *encomienda*, a charge, a commandery; *encomendar*, to give in charge; *encomendero*, he who holds an encomienda. In Spain an encomienda, as here understood, was a dignity in the four military orders, endowed with a rental, and held by certain members of the order. It was acquired through the liberality of the crown as a reward for services in the wars against the Moors. The lands taken from the Infidels were divided among Christian commanders; the inhabitants of those lands were crown tenants, and life-rights to their services were given these commanders. In the legislation of the Indies, encomienda was the patronage conferred by royal favor over a portion of the natives, coupled with the obligation to teach them the doctrines of the Church, and to defend their persons and property. It was originally intended that the recipients of these favors were to be the discoverers, conquerors, meritorious settlers, and their descendants; but in this as in many other respects the wishes of the monarchs and their advisers did not always reach the mark. The system begun in the New World by Columbus, Bobadilla, and Ovando was continued by Vasco Nuñez, Pedrarias, Cortés, and Pizarro, and finally became general. Royal decrees upon the subject, which seemed to grow more and more intricate as new possessions were pacified, began with a law by Ferdinand the Catholic in 1509, reiterated by Philip II. in 1580, to the effect that immediately upon the pacification of a province the governor should divide the natives among the settlers. The natives thus distributed were held for a term of years, or during the life of the holder, or for two or more lives—that is, during the life of the first holder, and that of his heir, and perhaps that of his heir's heir, or until the king should otherwise decree. *Solorzano, De Indiarum Jure*, ii. lib. ii. cap. i.; *Acosta, De Procur. Ind.*, iii. cap. x. When by this course three fourths of certain populations had been 'recommended' to their death, at the representation of Las Casas, the king in 1523 decreed that 'as God our lord had made the Indians free,' they must not be enslaved on this or any other pretext; 'and therefore we command that it be done no more, and that those

encomienda, system, under which the natives of a conquered country were divided among the conquerors, recommended to their care, and made tributary to them.

already distributed be set at liberty.' *Remesal, Hist. Chyapa*, 10. But by this abolition the destruction of the colonies was threatened. Petition followed petition for the restoration of the system, until the king finally yielded. *Solorzano, Política Indiana*, i. 225. In 1542 encomiendas were again abolished, and again the king was obliged to restore them. Meanwhile every effort possible was made by the crown to prevent abuses. The encomendero must fulfil in person the intention of the law. He must not leave without permission from the governor, and then his duties must be delegated to a responsible agent. If away for four months without permission, his encomienda was to be declared vacant. The encomendero must not hire out any natives, or pledge them to creditors, under penalty of loss of Indians and a fine of 50,000 maravedís. No one could appropriate any natives except those legally assigned. When it was seen how those in office misused their power, in 1530, in 1532, in 1542, in 1551, and in 1563 all civil and ecclesiastical functionaries were forbidden to hold encomiendas; but in 1544 Philip II. excepted from this prohibition *tenientes de gobernadores, corregidores*, and *alcaldes mayores de pueblos*. Indians should not be given in encomienda to the daughters of royal officials, or to sons unless married. It was just and reasonable that the savages should pay the Spaniards tribute, for so God had appointed, so the pope had ordained, and the king had commanded; but it was the collection of this tribute only, and not the deprivation of liberty, or of any personal rights, that the encomienda was intended to cover. And for this tax, which whosoever enjoys the boon of civilization must surely pay, the vassal was to receive protection, and the still more blessed boon of Christianity. Nor must this impost under any consideration be made burdensome.

The manner of making assessments was minutely defined by edicts of Charles V. at divers dates from 1528 to 1555, and of Philip II. from the beginning to the end of his reign. In substance they were as follows. The king made responsible to him the viceroys, and the presidents and audiencias, who, by the aid of a commissioner and assessors, fixed the rates in their respective districts. The assessors having first heard a solemn mass of the Holy Ghost, in order to enlighten their understanding that they might justly regard the value of the rental and equitably determine the rate, they were to swear with all solemnity before the priest this to do without bias. They were personally to inspect all the pueblos of the province, noting the number of settlers and natives in each pueblo, and the quality of the land. They were to ascertain what the natives had originally paid to their caciques as tribute, and never make the new rate higher, but always lower, than the old one. For surely they should not be worse off in serving Spain than in serving their heathen lords. After thus carefully examining the resources and capabilities of the tributaries, and never infringing on the comfort of the women and children, the assessors should fix the rate according to God and their conscience. The natives might pay in money if they preferred, but payment should be required only in kind, in whatever produce grew on their lands. They must not be required to raise anything specially for this purpose; and from not over two or three kinds of produce should tribute be taken; a few chickens, or a pig or two, need not be counted at all. It was the intention of the monarchs that from a tenth to a fifth might in this way be taken, though the encomendero too often managed to get twice or thrice as much, or all the natives had. The Indians must be made to understand how the appraisement was made, and that it was not done in the interests of the Spaniards alone. Then the assessor must put in writing what each had to pay, and leave the original with the cacique, giving one copy to the encomendero,

The theory was that the Indians were the vassals of Spain, no more to be imposed upon than other Spanish subjects. The sovereigns wishing to stimulate discovery, pacification, and settlement, were willing to waive their right to the tribute due the crown in favor of enterprising and meritorious persons, who had taken upon themselves the hardships incident to life in

and sending one to the Council of the Indies, or to the viceroy, or to the audiencia. For the encomendero to practise extortion, or demand more than the schedule called for, there were pronounced the severest penalties, even to the loss of the encomienda and half his goods. Natives voluntarily coming forward and entering in encomienda were excused from paying tribute for ten years; and, in any event, for the first two years after congregating in pueblos but one half the usual tribute could be legally exacted. Males were taxed after the eighteenth year; caciques, elder sons, women, and alcaldes in office were exempt. After the gift, the encomienda was the property of the encomendero, not to be taken from him before the expiration of his term without cause. In every encomienda there must be a church, and where there was none, the natives must be stimulated to build one, the priest to be paid out of the rental. In every pueblo of 100 or more natives, two or three must be taught to sing, so that they might act as choristers; also a native sacristan—these to be exempt from tribute. In 1568 Philip II. ordered that no encomendero should receive a rental of over 2000 pesos; any excess was to be returned to the crown and employed as pensions. The same monarch directed in 1573 that when an encomienda fell vacant, a viceroy or governor might, if he deemed best, appropriate the rental to benevolent objects, and defer granting it again till the king's pleasure should be known. And again, in 1583, that the encomendero must have a house of his own, built of stone for purposes of defence, in the city of his residence; and he must keep his family there. He should maintain no house in the town of the Indians, nor should he have any building there except a granary. In 1592 it was decreed that Indians in encomienda could be given to none but residents in the Indies. When an encomienda became vacant, so it was decreed in 1594 and subsequently, the fact was advertised for from twenty to thirty days, during which time applicants might prefer their respective claims, and recite services rendered the crown by themselves or their ancestors. Preference was always to be given to the descendants of discoverers and settlers. Two or three small encomiendas might sometimes be joined in one. And never might religious training be forgotten; when the rental was not sufficient for the support of the encomendero and the instructor, the latter must have the revenue. Felipe III. in 1602, 1611, 1616, 1618, and 1620, decreed that as a rule but one encomienda could be held by one person; still more seldom could one be given up and another taken. There was to be no such thing as commerce in them. They were a trust. Much evil had arisen from dividing encomiendas, and it should be done no more. Felipe IV. in 1655 ordered that governors under royal commission and those named by the viceroy *ad interim* might give Indians in encomienda, but *alcaldes ordinarios* holding temporarily the office of governor were not allowed this privilege. *Recop. de Indias*, ii. 249–284 and passim. Finally, toward the close of the seventeenth century, the monarchs, becoming more and more straitened in their need of money, ordered that encomenderos should pay a portion of their revenue to the crown; then a larger portion was demanded; and then the whole of it. In 1721 the system came to an end. But after endeavoring for two hundred years to get back what they had given away, the monarchs found there was nothing left of it, the natives having by this time merged with sometimes slightly whitened skins into the civilized pueblos.

a new country. At first in certain instances, but later to an extent which became general, they settled this tribute upon worthy individuals among the conquerors and colonists and their descendants, on condition that those who thus directly received a portion of the royal revenue should act the part of royalty to the people placed temporarily in their care. They were to be as a sovereign lord and father, and not as a merciless or unjust taskmaster. They were to teach their wards the arts of civilization, instruct them in the Christian doctrine, watch over and guide and guard them, and never to restrict them in the use of their liberties, nor impose burdens on them, nor in any way to injure or permit injury to befall them. And for this protection they were neither to demand nor receive more than the legal tribute fixed by the royal officers, and always such as the natives could without distress or discomfort pay. What the system was in practice we shall have ample opportunity of judging as we proceed in this history. Suffice it to say here that to the fatherly-protection part of their compact the colonists paid little heed, but evaded the law in many ways, and ground the poor savages under their iron heel, while the crown by ordering, and threatening, earnestly but vainly sought to carry out in good faith and humanity what they deemed a sacred trust.

First, repartimientos of lands were authorized by the sovereigns. This was in 1497, and nothing was then said about the natives. But after dividing the land it was but a step to the dividing of the inhabitants. With the shipment of six hundred slaves in 1498, and an offer to their Majesties of as many more as they could find sale for, Columbus wrote asking permission to enforce the services of the natives until settlement should be fairly begun, say for a year or two; but without waiting for a reply he at once began the practice, which introduced a new feature into repartimientos. Then to all who chose to take

them, to Roldan and his followers, to the worst characters on the island, among whom were the late occupants of Spanish prisons, the vilest of humankind, was given absolute dominion over these helpless and innocent creatures. Having paid nothing for them, having no pecuniary interest in them, they had no object in caring whether they were fed or starved, whether they lived or died, for if they died there were more at hand upon the original terms.

Under Bobadilla the infamy assumed bolder proportions. Columbus had apportioned to certain lands certain natives to labor for the benefit of Spaniards, but they worked under their cacique. Natives were forced by Spaniards to work mines, but only under special monthly license. Bobadilla not only permitted the exaction from the natives of mining and farming labor, but all restrictions were laid aside, and from working their own soil they became mere labor-gangs to be driven anywhere. Before sailing for the New World Ovando had been charged by the sovereigns with the exercise of extreme moderation in levying tributes and making repartimientos. Those who came with him not only failed in mining, but neglected to plant, as did likewise the natives, thinking thereby the quicker to rid themselves of the invaders. Hence famine, engendering new diseases, was at hand for both white men and red. Then the Indians were systematically parcelled among the Spaniards, to one fifty, to another one hundred, and the repartimiento unfolded into the encomienda. Columbus and Bobadilla had each endeavored to fasten Indian slavery upon the New World, but this legalizing by Ovando what had been illegally done by them, was the heaviest blow in that direction. "To you is given an encomienda of Indians with their chief; and you are to teach them the things of our holy Catholic faith," was the thin subterfuge by which this foul act was accomplished.

In 1508 was sent to Santo Domingo as treasurer-

general Miguel de Pasamonte to supersede Bernardino de Santa Clara, who had received the office of treasurer from Ovando. Santa Clara loved display and lacked honesty. Using freely the king's money he bought estates, and gave feasts, in one of which the salt-cellars were filled with gold-dust. This folly reaching the king's ears, Gil Gonzalez Dávila, of whom we shall know more presently, was sent to investigate the matter, and found Santa Clara a defaulter to the extent of eighty thousand pesos de oro. His property was seized and offered at auction. Ovando, with whom Santa Clara was a favorite, stood by at the sale, and holding up a pineapple offered it to the most liberal bidder, which pleasantry was so stimulating that the estate brought ninety-six thousand pesos de oro, more than twice its value. Afterward the plan was adopted of having three locks upon the government's strong-box, the keys to which were carried by the three chief treasury officials.[8] Pasamonte was an Aragonese, in the immediate service of Ferdinand, with whom he corresponded in cipher during his residence in the Indies. A very good repartimiento of Indians was ordered by the king to be given the faithful Pasamonte. In 1511 Gil Gonzalez Dávila was made contador of Española, and Juan de Ampues factor; to each were given two hundred Indians, and they were ordered to examine the accounts of the treasurer, Pasamonte. For the faithful must be kept faithful by the strictest watching; such was Spanish

[8] It was decreed by the emperor in 1555 that the *Casa de Contratacion* should have an *arca de tres llaves*, a chest of three keys; after which the government strong-box became common in Spanish America. It was usually in the form of a sailor's chest, of heavy wood bound with brass or iron, and having three locks fastening the lid by hasps. The strong-box of the India House, the law goes on to say, must remain in the custody of the treasurer, who was responsible for its safe keeping. One of the keys was held by the *tesorero*, one by the *contador*, and one by the *factor*. Out of the hand of any one of these three royal officers his key could not lawfully go; and no one but they might put into the chest or take out of it any thing, under penalty, on the official permitting it, of four times the value of the things so handled. In this box were kept, temporarily, all gold, silver, pearls, and precious stones that came from the Indies on the king's account, or were recovered for him by suits at law brought before the India House in Spain. *Recop. de Indias*, iii. 17.

discretion, whether in the management of men or women.

The removal of Ovando was delayed by the death of Isabella in 1504, and of Columbus in 1506. After persistent importunities Diego Colon, son of the admiral, was permitted in 1508 to plead in the courts of Spain his claim, as his father's successor, to the viceroyalty of the Indies. His marriage, meanwhile, with María de Toledo, a lady of high birth and connection, assisted in opening the eyes of the law to the justness of his demands, fully as much as did any argument of counsel. Ovando was recalled and Diego authorized to take his place.

The new governor, accompanied by his wife, his brother Fernando, his uncles Bartolomé and Diego, and a retinue brilliant with rank and beauty, landed at Santo Domingo in July, 1509. Although Ferdinand had withheld the title of viceroy, Diego evidently regarded his appointment nothing less than a viceroyalty, although the two mainland governors, Alonso de Ojeda and Diego de Nicuesa, for the provinces east and west of Urabá, remained independent of him.

Diego's administration was but little if any improvement on those of his predecessors. He possessed neither the ability nor the prudence of Ovando. He had intended equity and honesty in his rulings, and exceptional kindness to the natives; notwithstanding which he began by granting repartimientos to himself, his wife, and kindred, and giving the best of the remainder to his favorites. So that the now standard evils of favoritism and cruelty were in no wise mitigated. Not only were the Indians no better used than formerly, but falling into the errors of his father in the management of men Diego's weak government soon found opposed to it a faction at whose head was the powerful Pasamonte. Charges of a serious nature against the son of the Genoese so frequently reached

Spain that in 1511 the king found it necessary to establish at Santo Domingo a sovereign tribunal to which appeals might be made from the decisions of the governor. This tribunal which at first was only a royal court of law, superior to any other colonial power, was the germ of the Real Audiencia of Santo Domingo by which the greater part of the Indies, islands and firm land, were governed for a period subsequent to 1521. It was at first composed of three *jueces de apelacion*, or judges of appeal, Marcelo de Villalobos, Juan Ortiz de Matienzo, and Lúcas Vazquez de Aillon. These *licenciados*, having brought with them instructions from Spain, and also orders on Diego Colon for partitions of land and two hundred Indians each, in 1511 were ready to rule. They were empowered to hear and determine appeals from the governor, his *tenientes* and *alcaldes mayores*, and from any other judges that had been or should be appointed either by the colonial governor or by the crown, appeal from their decision being only to the Council of the Indies in Spain. Although from its creation clothed with many of the powers of an audiencia, it did not all at once possess that title, but gradually assumed it.[9] By decree of September 14, 1526, we find the emperor ordering that in the city of Santo Domingo there should reside the *Audiencia y Chancillería Real*, "como está fundada," as at present constituted. It was to consist of a president; four *oidores*, who were also *alcaldes del crímen*, or criminal

[9] Oviedo, i. 103, says that when the Jeronimite friars arrived a few days before Christmas, 1516, the *jueces de apelacion* 'ya se llamaban oydores, é su auditorio ya se deçia audiençia Real.' Herrera, ii. ii. iv., treating of the instructions given the Jeronimites remarks, that it was ordered also that the jueces de apelacion should be submitted to residencia. After that he writes jueces de apelacion, and audiencia indifferently. Las Casas, *Hist. Ind.*, v. 45, treating of events in 1518–20, says 'jueces de apelacion;' relating the occurrences of 1521, 165, 177, he writes 'audiencia,' and 'cuatro oidores.' Writing the king August 30, 1520, *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas*, *Col. Doc.*, xiii. 332–48, the court styles itself *Real Audiencia*, the members signing the communication. In *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas*, *Col. Doc.*, xiv. 568, the presidents of this audiencia are given as Luis de Figueroa, 1523; Sebastian Ramirez in 1527; Fuente Mayor in 1533; Maldonado in 1552; Alonso Arias de Herrera in 1560; and in 1566 Diego de Vera, who was sent to Panamá as president when he was succeeded by Doctor Mejía.

judges; a *fiscal*, a prosecuting officer in this case; an *alguacil mayor*, or high sheriff; a *teniente de gran canciller*, or deputy grand chancellor, and other necessary officers. Indeed, beside some of the other officers, a president had already been provided in 1521, in the person of Luis de Figueroa, bishop of Concepcion. Francisco de Prado was appointed fiscal in 1523, at which time the salaries of the oidores were raised, as they had been deprived of the right of holding Indians. All appeals from the *jueces de residencia*, where the amount involved was less than six hundred pesos de oro, were thereafter referred to this tribunal. Alonso de Zuazo took his seat among the oidores in 1526. To the audiencia of Santo Domingo was given for its district the West India Islands; and on the mainland the governments of Venezuela, Nueva Andalucía, Rio de Hacha, and Guayana, or el Dorado, this district being bounded by those of the audiencias of the Nuevo Reino de Granada, Tierra Firme, Guatemala, Nueva España, and the provinces of Florida. The president was empowered to make such ordinances as he should deem essential to the good government and defence of the island, just as was done, within their jurisdiction, by other governors of Indian provinces. He might fill vacancies in the various subordinate offices until the pleasure of the king should be known, and he might do generally all things pertaining to the executive power. In these matters the oidores were forbidden to interfere; nor could the president exercise judicial functions, but must nevertheless sign with the judges all sentences. In other respects this tribunal was on an equal footing with others of its class.[10]

[10] The word *audiencia*, from *audire*, to hear, has a variety of significations in Spanish; meaning, namely, the act of hearing, the tribunal, the court-room and building, and finally, jurisdiction. *Oidor*, he who hears, comes from the same root, but is now applied only to the magistrate of an audiencia. The more important general laws governing audiencias in the New World were the following. In 1528 the emperor ordered, and the decree was reiterated in 1548, 1569, 1575, and 1589, that each audiencia should make a tariff of fees of notaries and other officers, which must not exceed five times those in Spain. In 1530 the mandates of this tribunal were made of equal

Meanwhile the most disturbing question in the colony was that of labor. To govern the few Spaniards at Española, under the arbitrary system of Spain, was

force with those of the king himself. Should any one demand it, decisions in civil suits were to be rendered in one case before another was begun; suits of poor persons always to have preference in time of hearing. Even dissenting judges must sign the decision, making it unanimous. On the first business day of each year, all the members and officers being present, the laws governing audiencias should be read. In 1541 the emperor ordered that in 'first instance' alcaldes, regidores, alguaciles mayores, and escribanos should not be brought before the audiencia; in each pueblo one alcalde should have cognizance of what affected the other, and both of matters concerning its other officers. In 1540, and many times thereafter, the audiencia was charged to look to the welfare of the natives, to watch narrowly the conduct of governors and other officials, and to punish excesses. While in October, 1545, the emperor was at Malines, hence known as the law of Malinas, directions were given for procedure in cases of claims of Indians. *Menor cuantía* in suits was fixed at 300,000 maravedís; not exceeding this amount two oidores might decide; also in suits of *mayor cuantía*, except at Lima and Mexico where three votes were necessary as in Spanish law. It was ordered in 1548 that audiencias must not meddle with questions of rank and precedence. In 1551, Saturdays and two other days in the week were set aside, there being no suits of poor persons, for hearing disputes between Indians, and between Indians and Spaniards. More *casos de corte*, that is important suits taken from lower courts, were not to be admitted by an audiencia of the Indies than was customary in Spain. This was in 1552, and repeated in 1572. In 1553 it was ordered that any person having a grievance against a president or viceroy might appeal to the audiencia, the accused officer being forbidden to preside at such times. If the president was a bishop he was not permitted to adjudicate in matters ecclesiastic. Six years later all petitions presented were to be admitted. Philip II. in 1561 ordered that suits of the royal treasury should have precedence over all others. The year 1563 was prolific in regulations for the audiencia. Where the president of an audiencia was governor and captain-general, the tribunal should not meddle in matters of war, unless the president was absent, or unless specially directed by the crown. In the city where the audiencia is held there must be an Audiencia House, and the president must live there, and keep there the royal seal, the registry, the jail, and the mint; in this house must be a striking clock; and if there be no such building provided, the residence of the president shall in the mean time be so used. On every day not a feast-day the audiencia must sit at least three hours, beginning at 7 A. M. in summer, and 8 A. M. in winter, and at least three oidores must be present. Audiencias must not annul sentences of exile; or, unless bonds for payment are given, grant letters of delay to condemned treasury debtors. The majority decide. The governor, alcalde mayor, or other person refusing obedience to any mandate of the tribunal must be visited by a judge and punished. In exceptional cases only the audiencia might touch the royal treasury. Each audiencia must keep a book in which was to be recorded—where the amount in question was over 100,000 maravedís, or, in other important cases—the verdict of each oidor; and the president must swear to keep secret the contents of this book unless ordered by the king to divulge the same. A book should also be kept in which was to be entered anything affecting the treasury; and another the fines imposed. Audiencias could appoint only to certain offices. Philip II. further ordered during the subsequent years of his reign, that audiencias must keep secret the instructions from the crown; that they must not interfere with the lower courts, or with the courts of ecclesiastics, except in cases provided by law, but rather aid them; that they should register the

a small matter; but to divide among them lands, agricultural and mineral, and laborers in such a way as to satisfy at once the colonists and the many tender and

names of persons coming from Spain, with their New World address; that with such matters as residencias, compelling married men to live with their wives, and the estates of deceased persons, presidents and viceroys should not intermeddle, but leave them to the other members; that they should use no funds resulting from their judgments, but draw on the treasury for expenses; that when an audiencia was to be closed, a governor should be appointed with power to continue and determine pending suits, but he should institute no new suits, and appeals lie to the nearest audiencia; that they should not make public the frailties of ecclesiastics, but examine charges against them in secret; that royal despatches for the audiencia must not be opened by the president alone, but at an *acuerdo*, and in presence of the oidores and fiscal, and if thought necessary the *escribano de cámara* must be present; and that they must not remit to the Council of the Indies trivial matters for decision. In subsequent reigns during the seventeenth century it was at various times decreed that a president might impeach an oidor before the Council of the Indies, though he could not send him to Spain, but no oidor might impeach his president except by royal command; that audiencias should exercise their functions in love and temperance, especially during a vacancy in the office of president or viceroy; that in their visits to the jail the oidores should not entertain petitions of those condemned to death by the ordinary justices in consultation with the criminal section of the audiencia, nor should they on such visits take cognizance of anything not specially confided to them; that they should not legitimize natural children, but refer such cases to the Council of the Indies; that each year the president should designate an oidor to oversee the officers and attachés and punish their faults; that no favoritism should be shown appointees of viceroys or presidents; one oidor might transact business, if the audiencia were reduced to that extremity; in arriving at a decision the junior member should vote first, then the next youngest, and so on up to the senior member. This from the *Recopilacion de las Indias*, i. 323–70. In the *Politica Indiana* of Solorzano, ii. 271–82, may be found how the audiencias of America differed from those of Spain. Larger powers were given the former by reason of their distance from the throne. They were given jurisdiction in the residencias of the inferior judiciary; they could commission *pesquisidores*, or special judges, and order execution to issue where an inferior judge had neglected to do so. They had cognizance in matters of tithes, of royal patronage, patrimony, treasury matters, and jurisdiction; they could even fix the fee-bill of the ecclesiastical tribunals, settle the estates of bishops, retain apostolic bulls which they deemed prejudicial to the royal patronage, and they could watch and regulate the conduct of all ecclesiastical officials. In making appointments the viceroy was obliged to take the opinion of the audiencia. Persons aggrieved might appeal from the viceroy to the audiencia. On the death, absence, or inability of the viceroy the senior oidor stood in his place. None of these powers were given audiencias in Spain. This and kindred subjects are treated at great length by Solórzano y Pereira, who was a noted Spanish jurist, born at Madrid in 1575. He studied at Salamanca, and in 1609 was appointed by Felipe III. oidor of the audiencia of Lima. Later he became fiscal and councillor in the *Consejo de Hacienda*, the *Consejo de Indias*, and the *Consejo de Castilla*. He published several works on jurisprudence, the most conspicuous being *Disquisitiones de Indiarum jure*, 2 vols. folio, Madrid, 1629–39. It was reprinted in 1777, an edition meanwhile appearing in Lyons in 1672. A Spanish translation by Valenzuela was published at Madrid in 1648, and reprinted in 1776. I have used both the Latin edition and the Spanish, but the latter is preferable.

enlightened consciences in Spain, in such a way as to prevent the utter ruin either of colonial enterprise or of the natives themselves, was indeed a difficult task.

In 1509 possession had been taken of Jamaica by Juan de Esquivel, and toward the end of 1511[11] the governor of Española had sent Diego Velazquez to occupy Cuba, which was done without the loss of a Spaniard. Ojeda and Nicuesa having failed in colonizing Darien, the mainland in that vicinity was offered by the king in 1514 to the adelantado, Bartolomé Colon, but he was then too ill to accept the charge, and died not long after. In April, 1515, Diego Colon embarked for Spain; and we find him attempting his vindication at court, when Ferdinand died, the 23d of January, 1516. Cardinal Jimenez, who held the reins of Spanish government for a time, refused to decide between the governor and treasurer; but in 1520 the emperor directed Pasamonte to molest Diego no more. Then affairs at Española became more intolerable than ever, and in 1523 Diego was divested of authority by the Council of the Indies, the sovereign tribunal at Santo Domingo furnishing

The work is a commentary on the laws of the Indies, wonderfully concise for a Spanish lawyer of that period, and was of great utility at a time when those laws were in chaotic condition.

To conclude my remarks on audiencias in America I will only say that ultimately their number was eleven; and one at Manila, which, like that of Santo Domingo, had a president, oidores, and a fiscal, and exercised executive as well as judicial functions. The eleven, including that of Santo Domingo, were those of Mexico and Lima, each being presided over by a viceroy, and having 8 oidores, 4 alcaldes del crímen, and 2 fiscales; and those of Guatemala, Guadalajara, Panamá, Chile, La Plata, Quito, Santa Fé, and Buenos Ayres. These several audiencias were formed at different times soon after the establishing of government in the respective places. See further, *Montemayor, Sumarios*, 110–11; *Revue Américaine*, i. 3–32; *Zamora y Coronado, Biblioteca de Legislacion Ultramarina*, passim.

[11] Irving says 1510. I cannot undertake to correct all the minor errors of popular writers, having neither the space nor the inclination. It would seem that in the present, and like instances, of which there are many, the mistake springs from an easy carelessness which regards the difference of a year or two in the date of the settlement of an island as of no consequence; for Las Casas, and other authorities who agree better than usual in this case, were before Mr Irving at the time he entered in his manuscript the wrong date. Important and sometimes even unimportant discrepancies of original or standard authorities will always be carefully noted in these pages. What I shall endeavor to avoid is captious criticism, and the pointing out of insignificant errors merely for the satisfaction of proving others in the wrong.

ample information of a condemnatory character. Diego succeeded, however, in having a commission appointed to examine the matter more carefully, but this tended only to further complications; and the last days of the son, which ended in 1526, were not more happy than those of the father had been.[12]

A steadily growing character, impressing itself more and more upon the affairs of the Indies as time went by, was that of Bartolomé de las Casas. Born at Seville in 1474, he conned his humanities at Salamanca, making little stir among the Gamaliels there, but taking the bachelor's degree in his eighteenth year. After a residence of about eight years in the Indies, having come with Ovando in 1502, he was admitted to priestly orders, from which time he takes his place in history. He was a man of very pronounced temperament and faculties, as much man of business as ecclesiastic, but more philanthropist than either; possessed of a burning enthusiasm, when once the fire of his conviction was fairly kindled, he gave rest neither to himself nor to his enemies. For every evil-minded man who came hither was his enemy, between whom and himself was a death-struggle. The Apostle of the Indies he was sometimes called, and the mission he took upon himself was to stand between the naked natives and their steel-clad tormentors. In this work

[12] María, widow of Diego, demanded of the audiencia of Santo Domingo for her son Luis, then six years of age, the viceroyalty of Veragua, which was refused. She then carried her claim to Spain, where the title of admiral was conferred on Luis, and many other benefits were extended by the emperor to the family, but the title of viceroy was withheld. Subsequently Luis, having instituted court proceedings which were referred to an arbitration, succeeded in having himself declared captain-general of Española. Shortly before his death he relinquished the claim to the viceroyalty of the New World for the titles of duke of Veraguas and marquis of Jamaica, and gave his right to a tenth of the produce of the Indies for a pension of a thousand doubloons. Luis was succeeded by a nephew, Diego, by whose death the legitimate male line was extinguished. Then followed more litigation, female claimants now being conspicuous, until in the beginning of the seventeenth century we find in the Portuguese house of Braganza the titles the discoverer once so coveted, they being then conferred on Nuño Gelves, grandson of the third daughter of Diego, son of Christopher Columbus, and who then might write his name De Portugallo Colon, duque de Veraguas, marqués de la Jamaica, y almirante de las Indias.

he was ardent, ofttimes imprudent, always eloquent and truthful, and as impudently bold and brazen as any cavalier among them all. Nor was he by any means a discontented man. He sought nothing for himself; he had nothing that man could take from him except life, upon which he set no value, or except some of its comforts, which were too poor at best to trouble himself about. His cause, which was the right, gave breadth and volume to his boldness, beside which the courage of the hare-brained babbler was sounding brass.

When the attention of the church was first seriously drawn toward the amelioration of the condition of the Indians, which was in 1511, there were at Española some thirteen Dominicans, living with their vicar, Pedro de Córdoba, according to the strictest rules of the order, and likewise several Franciscans, among whom was Antonio de Espinal. The Dominicans began their protest by a sermon denouncing the course of the colonists, and when ordered to retract, they repeated their charges with still greater emphasis. The colonists sent agents to Spain to have the contumacious monks displaced, and among them Espinal; for the Franciscans, as much in a spirit of opposition to the Dominicans as to find favor with the laity, showed a leaning toward the repartimiento system, though they could not decently defend it. The Dominicans sent Antonio Montesino, he who had preached the distasteful sermon, all the Dominicans present having signed approval of it. To consider the matter, a junta was summoned in Spain, which pronounced the Indians a free people, a people to be Christianized, and not enslaved; they were innocent heathen, not infidel enemies like the Moors, or natural-born slaves like the negroes. Ferdinand and Fonseca were both earnest in obtaining this verdict, for so had said the king's preachers. Meanwhile Montesino encountering Espinal in Spain, won him over to the side of humanity. But all the same the

repartimientos were continued, for they were fatherly protection only in theory, and the colonists went on scourging the poor red men.

In the occupation of Cuba, Pánfilo de Narvaez was named by Velazquez his lieutenant, and sent forth to subjugate other parts of the island. With Narvaez went Las Casas, who put forth almost superhuman exertions in vain to stay the merciless slaughter of the helpless and innocent. A warm friend of Las Casas was Velazquez' alcalde, Pedro de Rentería, who in the division of the spoils joined Las Casas in accepting a large tract of land, and a proportionate repartimiento of Indians. This was before Las Casas had seriously considered the matter, and he was at first quite delighted with his acquisition. But the enormity of the wrong coming upon him, his conversion was as decisive as that of St Paul. Like the Dominicans of Española, Las Casas began by preaching against repartimientos. In 1515 he sailed for Spain in company with Montesino, leaving his charge with certain monks sent over from Española by the prelate Córdoba. These Dominican brothers did what they could, but to such straits were the savages driven after the departure of Las Casas that to escape the bloodhounds and other evils set upon them by the Spaniards thousands of them took refuge in suicide. When Diego Colon arrived in 1509 there were left in Española forty thousand natives. A *repartidor* was appointed in the person of Rodrigo de Alburquerque to repartition the Indians, but when he arrived in 1514 there were but thirteen thousand left to divide. After proclaiming himself with great pomp, Alburquerque plainly intimated that bribery was in order, that he who paid the most money should have the best repartimiento. Afterward the Licentiate Ibarra, sent to Española to take the residencia of the alcalde Aguilar, was authorized to make a new partition. Large numbers of natives were given to the king's favorites in Spain, and the evil grew apace.

Nor were affairs at Española mended by sending out so frequently new officials with new and conflicting powers.

Whatever hopes the monks may have derived from Ferdinand's benign reception, death cut short the proposed relief. Fonseca, now bishop of Búrgos, with coarse ribaldry dismissed the subject; but when Las Casas applied to the regent, Cardinal Jimenez, an earnest and active interest was manifest. Las Casas, Montesino, and Palacios Rubios were directed to present a plan for the government of the Indies, which resulted in sending thither three Jeronimite Fathers, Luis de Figueroa, Alonso de Santo Domingo, and Bernardino Manzanedo, monks of the order of St Jerome, being selected because they were free from the complications in which those of St Francis and St Dominic already found themselves involved in the New World. The Jeronimites were ordered to visit the several islands and inform themselves regarding the condition of the Indians, and adopt measures for the formation of native settlements. These settlements or communities were to be governed each by a cacique, together with an ecclesiastic; and for every two or three settlements a civil officer, called an administrator, having supreme power in the settlements, was to be appointed. The cacique, after obtaining the consent of the ecclesiastic, should inflict no higher punishment on his subjects than stripes; none should be capitally punished except under regular process of law. The matters of education, labor, tribute, mining, and farming were then treated, in all which the welfare of the natives was carefully considered, although the repartimiento system remained. Las Casas was named Protector of the Indians with a salary of one hundred pesos de oro. Zuazo, a lawyer of repute, was sent with the most ample powers to take a residencia of all the judges in the New World, and against his decisions there was to be no appeal.

The Jeronimites set out wrapped in mighty determinations. They would not even sail in the same ship with Las Casas, wishing to be wholly free. In this they were right; but unfortunately, on arriving among the wrangling colonists, and having the actual issues thrust upon them, they found themselves by no means infallible. Their measures were tame, and they soon found the Protector arrayed against them. The result was their open defence of the repartimiento system, as the only one by which Spain could colonize the Indies. The burden should be laid as lightly as possible on the shoulders of the natives, but they must be made to work. Las Casas set out in 1517 to enter his complaints at court, closely followed by an emissary of the Jeronimites to represent their side of the question; but they arrived in Spain only to find the regent dying. Had Charles V. remained in Flanders, and had the life of Cardinal Jimenez been spared to Spain and the New World a few years longer, it is certain that the cruelties to the Indians would many of them have been prevented, and it is doubtful if negro slavery would ever have been introduced into America.

Though the change of rulers which now occurred seriously clogged the wheels of government in Spain, the affairs of the Indies seemed directly to suffer little inconvenience therefrom. It was indeed a great change, Isabella and Ferdinand gone, Columbus and Jimenez also; and the presence of this young Charles, undemonstrative, thoughtful, cautious, even when a boy, and enveloped in a Flemish atmosphere that shut out all that was most beautiful in Spain, even Castile's liquid language, made it seem strange there even to Spaniards, made it seem a long, long time since the Moors were beaten and America discovered. The Indies, however, were far away, and so little understood by the Flemings that they did not trouble themselves much about them.

Las Casas was fortunate in winning the favor of the Flemish chancellor, Selvagius, but as in the two previous cases, scarcely was the friendly footing established when the great man died, and the bishop of Búrgos, whose influence in the government of the Indies had fallen low of late, was again elevated. All the measures that Las Casas had proposed to Selvagius fell to the ground—all save one, the only bad one, and one concerning which Las Casas afterward asserted that he would give all he possessed on earth to recall it; it was the introduction of negro slaves to relieve the Indians.

If the Jeronimite Fathers accomplished no great things in the Indies, they at least did little harm. Small-pox attended the herding of the natives in settlements, but it never prevailed to the extent represented. The fact that Fonseca held an encomienda of eight hundred Indians, the Comendador Conchillos one of eleven hundred, Vega one of two hundred, and other influential men at court other numbers, may have had something to do with the hostility manifested in that quarter toward Las Casas, who was unflinching to the end in denouncing the system as unjust, unchristian, and inhuman.

The office of Indian distributor was most important, and one in which the vital interests of the colonists were involved. It should have been filled by one of high integrity who would hold aloof from contaminating influences. Such was not Ibarra, who became offensively meddlesome in the affairs of the common council, and died under suspicious circumstances not long after, Lebron being sent out to take his place. When the Jeronimites countenanced negro slavery to relieve the Indians, the colonists were benignant; when they undertook civil service reform, some of them became furious, especially Pasamonte, who had been enriching himself as fast as possible while his patron lived, but who had now sunk into

insignificance. The favorites of the Flemish ministers, such as Rodrigo de Figueroa, to whom was given charge of the Indian settlements, were now the recipients of the fat offices; and the fact of their being Flemish favorites was sufficient to array the colonists against them. It was not long before they succeeded in having the residencia of Figueroa ordered, and Lebron installed as overseer of Indians in his place. In 1518, Jimenez who sent the Jeronimites being dead and Fonseca once more manager, the monks were recalled to Spain, and the affairs of Española and of the Indies were left with the audiencia of Santo Domingo, acting in conjunction with the *Consejo de Indias*[13] in Spain, the *Casa de Con-*

[13] The *Consejo Supremo de Indias*, Supreme Council of the Indies, sometimes termed the *Consejo de Indias*, or India Council, was a body possessing executive as well as judicial powers, in permanent session at Madrid, and having the same jurisdiction over Spanish colonies in America that was held in Spain by the other supreme councils, especially the *Consejo de Castilla*. Immediately after its discovery the American portion of the Spanish realm was superintended by the Council of Castile, or by councillors selected therefrom. But with the constantly increasing burden of business the creation of a separate supreme tribunal became necessary. Thus the machinery set in motion by Ferdinand was augmented by Charles, and further improved by Philip, until these vast western interests were watched over with undeviating care. Thence all measures for the government and commerce of Spanish America issued; it was the tribunal likewise of ultimate resort where all questions relating thereto were adjudicated. For many years, however, the India Council had no formal existence. Fonseca; Hernando de Vega, *comendador mayor* of Leon; Mercurino Gatinara, afterward superintendent of all the councils; a gentleman of the emperor's bedchamber called De Lassao; Francisco de Vargas, treasurer-general of Castile, and others, acted specially at the request of their sovereign. This fact gave rise to errors of date into which several historians fell. Thus Prescott, *Ferd. and Isabella*, iii. 452, says, copying Robertson, *Hist. Am.*, ii. 358, that the Council of the Indies was first established by Ferdinand in 1511. Helps, *Span. Conq.*, ii. 28—drawing a false inference from a false inference drawn by Herrera, ii. ii. xx., who makes the date 1517—goes on to describe a council for Indian affairs, dating its organization 1518, and of which Fonseca was president, and Vega, Zapata, Peter Martyr, and Padilla were members.

It was the first of August, 1524, that the office proper of the Council of the Indies was created. See *Solorzano, Política Indiana*, ii. 394. The decree of final organization may be found in the *Recop. de Indias*, i. 228. It sets forth that in view of the great benefits, under divine favor, the crown daily receives by the enlargement of the realm, the monarch by the grace of God feeling his obligation to govern these kingdoms well, for the better service of God and the well-being of those lands, it was ordered that there should always reside at court this tribunal. It should have a president; the grand chancellor of the Indies should also be a councillor; its members, whose number must be eight, should be *letrados*, men learned in the law. There were to be a fiscal, two secretaries, and a deputy grand chancellor, all of noble birth, upright in morals, prudent, and God-

tratacion having more especial charge of commercial matters.

fearing men. There must be, also, three *relatores*, or readers, and a notary, all of experience, diligence, and fidelity; four expert *contadores de cuentas*, accountants and auditors; a treasurer-general; two *solicitadores fiscales*, crown attorneys; a chief chronicler and cosmographer; a professor of mathematics; a *tasador* to tax costs of suits; a lawyer and a *procurador* for poor suitors; a chaplain to say mass on council days; four door-keepers, and a bailiff, all taking oath on assuming duty to keep secret the acts of the council. The first president appointed was Fray García de Loaysa, at the time general of the Dominicans, confessor of the emperor, and bishop of Osma, and later cardinal and archbishop of Seville. The first councillors were Luis Vaca, bishop of the Canary Islands; Gonzalo Maldonado, later bishop of Ciudad Rodrigo; Diego Beltran; the prothonotary, Pedro Martyr de Anglería, abbot of Jamaica, and Lorenzo Galindez de Carbajal. Prado was the first fiscal. A list of the earlier presidents, councillors, and officials may be found at the end of *Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales*, in vol. i. Barcia's edition of Herrera.

The jurisdiction of the council extended to every department, civil, military, ecclesiastical, and commercial, and no other council in Spain might have cognizance of any affairs appertaining to the New World. Two thirds of the members must approve of any law or ordinance before it was presented to the king for his signature. In the *Recopilacion de las Indias*, i. 223–323, is given the legislation on the council to 1680. Philip II. ordered the council to be obeyed equally in Spain and in the Indies. Three members were to constitute a quorum, and sit from three to five hours every day except holidays. For purposes of temporal government the New World was to be divided into viceroyalties, provinces of audiencias, and *chancillerías reales*, or sovereign tribunals of lesser weight than audiencias, and provinces of the officials of the royal exchequer, *adelantamientos*, or the government of an adelantado, *gobernaciones*, or governmentships, *alcaldías mayores*, *corregimientos*, *alcaldías ordinarias*, and of the *hermandad*, *concejos de Españoles y de Indios;* and for spiritual government into archbishoprics and suffragan bishoprics, abbeys, parishes, and *diezmerías*, or tithing districts, and provinces of the religious orders. The division for temporal matters was to conform as nearly as possible to that for spiritual affairs. The council was commanded to have for its chief care the conversion and good treatment of the Indians. The laws made by the Council for the Indies should conform as nearly as possible to the existing laws of Spain. In selecting ecclesiastics and civil officers for the Indies, the greatest care should be exercised that none but good men were sent, and their final nomination must rest with the king. Nepotism was strictly prohibited, and offices were not to be sold. In 1600 Felipe III. ordered that twice a week should be held a council of war, composed of eight members, four of whom were councillors of the Indies, and four specially selected by the king. It was decreed in 1584 that the offices of governors, corregidores, and alcaldes mayores of the Indies, when bestowed on persons residing in Spain, should be for five years; when residents in the Indies were appointed, it should be for three years. Felipe IV. in 1636 ordered that in the archives of the council, beside records, should be kept manuscripts and printed books treating on matters moral, religious, historical, political, and scientific, touching the Indies, all that had been or should be issued; and publishers of books of this class were required by law to deposit one copy each in these archives. Two keys were ordered kept, one by the councillor appointed by the president, and the other by the senior secretary. And when the archives of the council became too full, a portion might be sent to Simancas. It was early ordered that the chronicler of the council should write a history, natural and political, of the Indies, every facility being afforded him; and before drawing his last quarter's salary each year, he must present what he had written. So it was with the cosmographer, who was to calculate eclipses, com-

Many schemes for the benefit of the Indians filled the mind of Las Casas, who continued to labor for

pile guide-books, prepare tables and descriptions, and give an annual lecture. The regulations governing this august body were most wise, and it was the constant aim of the Spanish monarchs to increase its power and sustain its authority. Its jurisdiction extended over half the world, being absolute on sea and land. By it viceroys were made and unmade, also presidents and governors; and, in ecclesiastical rule, patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, and lesser spiritual dignitaries. His Holiness himself was second here. All bulls or briefs of indulgences issued by the pope must be laid before the *Consejo de Cruzada*, and pass through the Council of the Indies. The Consejo de Indias continued in Spain till by a law of the Cortes, March 24, 1834, it was abolished, as indeed was the *Consejo de Castilla*. The judicial functions of the two were vested in the *Tribunal Supremo de España é Indias;* their executive powers in the *Consejo Real de España é Indias*, both being created by the same law.

The next most important agency in the management of New World affairs was the *Casa de Contratacion*, house or board of trade, supreme in commercial matters, save only in its subordination to the Consejo de Indias, in common with every other power below absolute royalty. As before stated, on the return of Columbus from his first voyage, Fonseca, with two or three assistants, was appointed to take charge of the business appertaining to the discovery, the nature or importance of which was then but faintly conceived. This Indian office or agency was established at Seville, with a branch office in the form of a custom-house at Cádiz. But before the expiration of the first decade the New World business had so increased, and the New World dimensions were so rapidly expanding, that it was found necessary to enlarge the capabilities and powers of the India Office; hence by decrees of January 20, and June 5, 1503, was ordered established at Seville the *Casa de Contratacion de las Indias*, or India house of trade, that commerce between the mother country and the Indian colonies might be promoted. The first cédula ordered the office placed in the arsenal, the second in a building known as the *alcázar viejo*, and in that part of it called the *cuarto de los almirantes*, or admirals' quarters. The board consisted of a president, three royal officers, or judges, to wit, treasurer, auditor, and factor; also three judges bred to the law; one fiscal, and other lesser officers and attendants. Among the first to serve, beside Fonseca, were Sancho de Matienzo, a canon of Seville, treasurer; Francisco Pinelo, factor, or general agent; and Jimeno de Berviesca, contador, or auditor. By law those three officers were to reside in the building; and were to despatch all ships going to the Indies, and receive all merchandise coming thence. In all which they were scrupulously to respect the agreement made with Columbus by the sovereigns. They were, moreover, to proclaim that licenses for discovery and trade would be given, under just conditions, to all seeking them and filing commensurate bonds. See *Nueva España, Brev. Res.* MS.; *Veitia Linage, Norte de la Contratacion; Recop. de Indias; Solorzano, Pol. Ind.; Zamora y Coronado, Bib. Leg. Ult.; Young's Hist. Mex.*, 40–6; *Democratic Review*, i. 264–9; *Walton's Exposé*, 24; *Niles' S. Am. and Mex.*, 65–8; *Revolution in Sp. Am.*, 5–6; *Purchas, His Pilgrimes*, iv. 916–17. An officer appointed by the king resided at Cádiz to despatch vessels under the supervision of the Casa de Contratacion. The India House was a court of judicature no less than a board of trade; it had cognizance in all civil, criminal, and commercial questions arising from the traffic of Spain with the Indies, appeal being to the Council of the Indies. I will mention a few only of the more important of the many minor orders regulating this board. The volume and variety of its business rapidly increased from year to year. In 1510 Diego Colon was instructed to inform its officers concerning all that he should write to the king. The board was obliged to possess itself of the minutest knowledge concerning New World affairs, and of persons asking permission to go thither, and in the execution of

them indefatigably. One, originating with Pedro de Córdoba, was to set apart on the mainland one hundred leagues as a place of refuge for the savages, into which no Spaniards but priests might enter. This

its duties it was not to be interfered with even by royal officers of high rank. The actual powers conferred on the three officials first named by Queen Juana are not given by any of the chronicles, or collections of laws, which I have examined. Indeed, the powers and jurisdiction of the board were never clearly defined until the issuing of the ordinances of the 23d of August, 1543, known as the *ordenanzas de la casa*, and which should not be confounded with the *ordenanzas* of other years. Every day but feast-days the board should meet for business, and remain in session for three hours in the forenoon, and on the afternoons of Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays for the despatch of ships. Absence involved primarily loss of pay, and finally loss of office. If this be not time sufficient for the business, they must take more time. The president and judges together should transact the business; a judge might not act singly except upon a matter referred to him by all. The notary should keep in his book an account of the hours of absence among the officers. Before the platform on which sat the judges, benches were ordered placed for the convenience of the *visitadores*, or inspectors of ships, and such other honorable persons having business there as should be invited by the tribunal to sit. The authorities of Seville should not interfere in the trial and punishment of crimes committed on board ships sailing to and from the Indies. If the penalty was death or mutilation, the offender was to be tried by the three judges, members of the board, learned in the law. In the civil suits of private persons, appertaining to the Indies, litigants were given the option of bringing their disputes before the judges of the India House, or before the ordinary justice of Seville. Disputes arising from shipwreck, loss of cargo, and frauds connected therewith, were all brought before the India House. Traders to the Indies residing in Seville were authorized to meet and elect a prior and consul, or consuls, which consulate should be called the *Universidad de los Cargadores á las Indias*, and hold their meetings in the Casa de Contratacion. No foreigner, his son or grandson could so hold office. This consulate had cognizance in disputes between these merchants and factors in matters relative to purchases, sales, freights, insurance, and bankruptcy, all being subordinate to the regular tribunal of the India House. Appeals were from the consulate to one of the regular judges selected annually to that duty. The consulate could address the king only through the Casa de Contratacion, and government despatches from the Indies must be forwarded by the board. As justice alone was the object of these merchants, and not chicanery, or the distortion of evidence, parties to suits before the consulate were not allowed lawyers. That harmony might be maintained, the Casa de Contratacion should carry out the orders of the *audiencia de grados* of Seville, if deemed conformable to law, and to existing regulations of the board. Communications from the board to the king must be signed by the president and judges conjointly, and no letter must treat of more than a single subject. All gold, silver, pearls, and precious stones coming from the Indies were first to be deposited in the India House, and thence distributed to the owners. The king's share was to be placed in a safe with three keys, or if this was too small, then in a room having three keys. Other safes were to be kept, one for each kind of property. Accounts of receipts at the India House were to be rendered the king every year. The board must render an annual statement of its expenditures on *religiosos* sent to the Indies. Felipe IV. ordered that the board should collect from all ships and merchandise, including a *pro rata* on the king's share, the cost for convoying them forth and back. Such was the famous India House at Seville, modest in its beginning, mighty in its accomplishments, through which passed into Spain the almost fabulous wealth of Spanish America.

measure was opposed by Fonseca, who said: "The king would do well, indeed, to give away a hundred leagues without any profit to himself." After this Las Casas spent some time travelling through Spain and inducing Spaniards to emigrate to the Indies, but little that was beneficial came of it. Succeeding finally in enlisting the sympathies of the king's preachers in behalf of the Indians, a plan for founding a colony on the Pearl Coast was carried, and notwithstanding Oviedo appeared in opposition to his brother chronicler by offering a larger royalty, a grant of two hundred and sixty leagues was signed in May, 1520. Failing as a colonist, Las Casas retired for a time to the Dominican convent at Santo Domingo. After many years spent as missionary and preacher in Nicaragua, Guatemala, Mexico, and Peru, he was appointed bishop of Chiapas, where in the progress of this history we shall again meet him.

Certain attention which the Indies were now receiving may be mentioned here. Some little attention was paid by the ever-watchful government to the welfare of society in these distant parts. The wearing of rich apparel in Española was forbidden by the king in 1523. The appellations of certain of the islands were undergoing change, so that in due time their aboriginal names were restored to Cuba and Jamaica, the authorities thereby evincing a good taste which rulers and explorers of other nations might well have profited by at a later period. In 1515 six loaves of sugar and twenty *cassia fistula* were taken by Oviedo to Spain. In 1517 the pope made bishops in the Indies inquisitors; and when in 1521–2 the bulls of Leo X. and Adrian VI. ordered the Franciscans to prepare for mission work in the New World, liberal concessions were made to friars going thence. After the death of Pedro de Córdoba, who had been appointed inquisitor of the Indies, authority became vested in the audiencia of Santo Domingo. Desirous of stimulating emigration, the emperor in 1522 granted

further privileges to settlers in the Indies. Colonists were ordered to take their families to the New World under severe penalties for neglect. Licenses were revised, and regulations concerning the going to the New World of the religious orders as well as of all others were made to the utmost extent favorable, but friars found in the New World without a license must be sent forthwith to Spain. Then laws were made attempting to regulate the method of making war on Indians; and in 1523 it was decreed that idols should be destroyed and cannibalism prevented. Provision was made for the annual payment of thirty thousand maravedís for the support of a preceptor of grammar. And because of the heavy expenses of living, the emperor permitted the salaries of New World officials to be increased. The tribunals were likewise reorganized to fit the emergency and facilitate business. Directions were issued how gold chains should be made and dye-woods cut. It seemed to the emperor necessary in 1526 to issue orders facilitating the arrest of dishonest mercantile agents in the Indies, and to send Padre de Bobadilla, a provincial of the order of La Merced, to look after the baptism of the Indians. And as to the question of negroes, vexatious from the beginning, the emperor in 1523 revoked for a time the permission given in 1511 to send negroes as slaves to the Indies; and it was again ordered in 1526 that Indian slaves then in Spain should be returned to their country and treated as vassals.[14]

[14] *Recopilacion de Leyes de los Reynos de las Indias*, of which I make general use in referring to the laws passed in Spain for the regulation of the affairs of the New World, is the result of several previous efforts in the direction of compilation. It was published at Madrid, the first edition in four volumes, by order of Cárlos II. in 1681, and the fourth edition in three volumes, under the direction of the Royal and Supreme Council of the Indies, in 1791. The work aimed to embody all laws in force at the date of the respective editions relative to the Spanish American colonies. The three volumes are divided into nine books, and each book into from eight to forty-six titles. The first title of the first book is *De la Santa Fe Católica*, a subject then second to none in grave importance. In fact the whole of the first book is devoted to ecclesiastical and kindred matters. The second book refers in the main to tribunals and officials; the third in a great measure to the army; the fourth to discoveries and settlements; the fifth to executive and judicial offices; the sixth to Indians, including treatment, repartimientos and enco-

miendas; the seventh to crimes and punishments; the eighth to the management of the royal treasury; and the ninth to the India House and the commerce of the Indies. By a decree of the emperor in 1550, which was embodied in the ordinances of audiencias in 1563, by Philip II., it was ordered that all *cédulas* and *provisiones* should be copied *in extenso* in a book set apart for that service, and of which great care should be taken, and that the said documents were to be filed chronologically in the archives of each audiencia. In 1571, by Philip II., it was decreed, and the decree embodied in the *Recopilacion* of 1680, that cédulas and provisiones concerning the royal treasury should be kept in a separate book.

The earliest printed collection of laws relating solely to the Indies is that of the *ordenanzas* for the government of the audiencia of Mexico. This was issued in 1548. In 1552 a similar collection was made by order of the viceroy of Peru, Antonio de Mendoza, for the government of the audiencia of Lima, but was not printed at that time. Later the fiscal of Mexico, Antonio Maldonado, began a compilation to which he gave the name *Repertorio de las Cedulas, Provisiones, i Ordenanzas Reales*, but it does not appear that he ever completed his task, although a royal cédula in 1556 authorized him to do so. Upon the representation in 1552 by Francisco Hernandez de Liébana, fiscal of the Council of the Indies, of the urgent necessity of such a work, a royal cédula was issued in 1560, directing the viceroy of New Spain, Luis de Velasco, to have prepared and printed such regulations as were in force within the jurisdiction of the audiencia of Mexico, which was done in 1563 under the direction of Vasco de Puga, oidor of the audiencia. Francisco de Toledo, sent from Spain in 1569 as viceroy of Peru, was ordered to make a similar compilation covering the limits of his viceroyalty, but it was afterward thought better the work should be done in Spain. Hence in 1570 Philip II. ordered made a general compilation of laws and provisions for the government of the Indies, which was intended as a code, obsolete laws being omitted, new ones provided where necessary, and those in conflict reconciled. Of this work, from some cause not satisfactorily explained, probably from the death of the author, only the title relating to the Consejo de Indias and its ordenanzas was printed, although the whole of the first book had been prepared.

In 1581 some ordinances relative to the Casa de Contratacion and its judges were printed at Madrid; and more of a similar nature in 1585, beside the *Leyes y Ordenanzas* for the government of the Indies, and the ordinances of 1582 concerning the despatch of fleets for New Spain and Tierra Firme, printed at Madrid; and in Guatemala the *ordenanzas* of July 14, 1556, relating to the *Universidad de los Mercaderes de Sevilla*. In 1594 the marqués de Cañete, viceroy of Peru, published at Lima a small volume of ordinances relative to the good treatment of the Indians. But the want of a general compilation becoming more and more apparent, Diego de Encinas, a clerk in the office of the king's secretary, was ordered to prepare a copy of all *provisiones, cédulas, cartas, ordenanzas*, and *instrucciones* despatched prior to 1596, which work was printed at Madrid, in four folio volumes, the same year. Harrisse is mistaken when he says these volumes were suppressed, not having been authorized; for not only is their authorization distinctly stated over the king's own hand in the enacting clause of the *Recopilacion de las Indias*, May 18, 1680, where it says that Philip II. ordered Encinas to do this work, but that owing to their faulty arrangement the volumes 'aun no han satisfecho el intento de recopilar en forma conveniente,' which clearly shows them to have been in use up to that time. Shortly after this, Alvar Gomez de Abaunza, oidor of the audiencia of Guatemala, and subsequently *alcalde del crimen* of the audiencia of Mexico, compiled two large volumes under the title of *Repertorio de Cedulas Reales*, which were not printed. And in Spain, Diego de Zorrilla made an attempt to revive the project of the *recopilacion de leyes*, by making extracts from Encinas and adding laws of later date; but having received an appointment as oidor of the audiencia of Quito, he left the work incomplete and in manuscript. Others made similar attempts; I shall not be

able to enumerate them all, or give a full list even of the printed collections. For example, in 1603 was published at Valladolid a folio entitled *Ordenanças Reales del Consejo de Indias*, and another thin folio called *Leyes y Ordenanças Nuevamente hechas por su Magestad, para la gouernaciõ de las Indias;* later appeared a folio entitled *Ordenanças de la Casa de la Contratacion de Sevilla*, and another, *Ordenanças Reales para el gobierno de los Tribunales de Contaduría Mayor en los Reynos de las Indias.* In 1606 Hernando de Villagomez began to arrange cédulas and other laws relating to the Indies; and two years after, the celebrated conde de Lémos being president of the Council, Villagomez, and Rodrigo de Aguiar y Acuña, member of the Council of the Indies, were appointed a committee to compile the laws; but nothing came of it, even Fernando Carrillo failing to complete their unfinished task. Juan de Solórzano y Pereira, oidor of the audiencia of Lima, also began a collection of cédulas, and sent to the Council of the Indies the first book of his contemplated work, with the titles of the other five books which he intended to compile. In a *carta real* he was thanked for what he had done, and charged to continue his labors, sending each book as prepared to the Council. I have no evidence that he did so.

All this time our book was a-building, and indeed for 170 years more. A complete history of this one work would fill a volume; obviously in a bibliographical note, even of undue length, only the more prominent agencies and incidents of its being can be touched upon.

We come now to the time when Antonio de Leon Pinelo, judge in the India House, presented to the Council of the Indies the first and second books, nearly complete, of his *Discurso sobre la importancia, forma, y disposicion de la Recopilacion de Leies de Indias*, which was printed in one volume, folio, in 1623. This was in reality Encinas' work with some cédulas added. Meanwhile it appears that some direct official work was done on a compilation, for in 1624 we find the Council instructing Pinelo to enter into relations with the custodian of the material for the compilation. Pinelo was likewise authorized to examine the archives of the Council; and for two years he employed himself continuously in examining some 500 MS. volumes of cédulas, containing over 300,000 documents. In the law authorizing the *Recopilacion de las Indias* of 1680, it is said that in 1622 the task had been entrusted to Rodrigo de Aguiar y Acuña, probably the custodian referred to. In 1628 it was thought best to print for the use of the Council an epitome of the part completed; hence appeared the *Sumarios de la Recopilacion General de las Leies de las Indias.* Aguiar y Acuña dying, Pinelo worked on alone until 1634, when the Council approved of what had been done; and in the year following this indefatigable and learned man had the satisfaction of presenting the completed *Recopilacion de las Indias.* To one of the members, Juan de Solórzano y Pereira, the work was referred, and received his approbation in 1636. More than half a million of cédulas had been examined and classified during the progress of this compilation. And yet it was not published; and during the delay it was becoming obsolete, and new material and partial compilations were being made both in Spain and in America, some of which were printed in separate pieces. In 1634 the *Ordenanzas de la Junta de Guerra de Indias* were published; in 1646 Juan Diez de la Calle compiled and published for the Council of the Indies in small quarto a memorial containing some of the cédulas of the *Recopilacion.* A useful aid for the study of statistic geography in America is to be found in the exceedingly rare *Memorial y Noticias Sacras y Reales del Imperio de las Indias Occidentales.* By Iuan Diez de la Calle, 1646, sm. 4to, 183 folios. A register for the Spanish colonies, chiefly of state and church officials, of towns, their wealth and notable objects. Folios 41–132 refer to the jurisdictions of the audiencias of Mexico, Guadalajara, and Guatemala. Calle had in the previous year, as assistant chief clerk to the secretary of the Royal Council of the Indies, presented the work to the king as *Memorial Informatorio al Rey*, and in accordance with his approval it had been reprinted with additions as above. Encouraged hereby he wrote at greater length the *Noticias Sacras i Reales* in twelve libros, the publication of which was begun,

but never finished. Puga's work was continued in the form of an *Inventario* of the cédulas relating to New Spain issued from 1567–1620, the manuscript being presented to the secretary of the New Spain department of the Council of the Indies by Francisco de Párraga, afterward forming part of the Barcia collection. In 1647 appeared at Seville the *Ordenanças Reales, para la Casa de Contratacion de Sevilla, y para otras cosas de las Indias;* in 1658 Pinelo published at Madrid the *Autos, acuerdos y decretos de gobierno del real y supremo consejo de las Indias.* In 1661 there was printed at Madrid a folio entitled *Ordenanças para remedio de los daños, é inconvenientes que se siguen de los descaminos i arribadas maliciosas de los Navios que navegan de las Indias Occidentales;* and in 1672 the *Norte de la Contratacion de las Indias Occidentales* of Ioseph de Veitia Linage was published at Seville. J. Stevens translated this last work into English and published it in London in 1702.

The many and long periods of suspended animation of the *Recopilacion de Indias*, between its inception and its birth, is no less remarkable a feature in the history of the work than its multiplicity of origins and collateral affluents. In 1660 the case was brought before the king, and then referred to successive committees, in each of which were several members of the Council, the whole being under the supervision of their successive presidents, until finally, on the 18th of May, 1680, a royal decree made the *Recopilacion de Indias* law, and all ordinances conflicting therewith null. Even now printing did not seem to be at first thought of. Two authenticated copies were ordered made, one to be kept in the archives of the Council, and the other at Simancas. It was soon seen, however, that this was not sufficient, and in 1681 the king ordered the book printed under the superintendence of the Council of the Indies, which was done. Although the *Recopilacion de Indias* was several times revised, and well fulfilled its mission for over a hundred years, in fact to the end of Spain's dominion in America, several partial collections appeared from time to time in Spain and in America. Among these were *Sumarios de las Cédulas....que se han despachado....desde el año 1628....hasta....1677*, printed in Mexico in 1678; *Ordenanzas del Perù*, Lima, 1685; also the *Ordenanhas de Cruçada, para los Subdelegados del Perù; Reglamento y Aranceles Reales para el Comercio Libre de España á Indias*, 1778; *Teatro de la legislacion universal de España e Indias*, by Antonio Javier Perez y Lopez, 28 vols. 4to, Madrid, 1791–8. In the various public and private archives of Spain and Spanish America are manuscript collections of cédulas and compilations on special subjects.

CHAPTER VI.

THE GOVERNMENTS OF NUEVA ANDALUCÍA AND CASTILLA DEL ORO.

1506–1510.

TIERRA FIRME THROWN OPEN TO COLONIZATION — RIVAL APPLICATIONS — ALONSO DE OJEDA APPOINTED GOVERNOR OF NUEVA ANDALUCÍA, AND DIEGO DE NICUESA OF CASTILLA DEL ORO — HOSTILE ATTITUDES OF THE RIVALS AT SANTO DOMINGO — OJEDA EMBARKS FOR CARTAGENA — BUILDS THE FORTRESS OF SAN SEBASTIAN — FAILURE AND DEATH — NICUESA SAILS FOR VERAGUA — PARTS COMPANY WITH HIS FLEET — HIS VESSEL IS WRECKED — PASSES VERAGUA — CONFINED WITH HIS STARVING CREW ON AN ISLAND — SUCCOR — FAILURE AT VERAGUA — ATTEMPTS SETTLEMENT AT NOMBRE DE DIOS — LOSS OF SHIP SENT TO ESPAÑOLA FOR RELIEF — HORRIBLE SUFFERINGS — BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES OF LAS CASAS, OVIEDO, PETER MARTYR, GOMARA, AND HERRERA — CHARACTER OF THE EARLY CHRONICLERS FOR VERACITY.

THE voyages of Bastidas and Columbus completed the discovery of a continuous coast line from the gulf of Paria to Cape Honduras. In 1506 Juan Diaz de Solis, a native of Lebrija, and Vicente Yañez Pinzon took up the line of discovery at the island of Guanaja, where the admiral had first touched, and proceeding in the opposite direction sailed along the coast of Honduras to the westward, surveyed the gulf of Honduras and discovered Amatique Bay, but passed by without perceiving the Golfo Dulce which lies hidden from the sea. The object still was to find the much-desired passage by water to the westward. Continuing northerly along Yucatan, and finding the coast trending east rather than west, they abandoned the undertaking and returned to Spain. Meanwhile Juan Ponce de Leon was enriching himself by the pacifi-

cation of Puerto Rico, preparatory to invading the mainland to the northward in search of the fountain of youth; in which sapient attempt he lost his money, and not long afterward his life, unfortunately never finding the liquid immortality that bubbled somewhere in the jungles of Florida.

And now ten years had elapsed since Cabot and Columbus first saw the western continent, the former in 1497, the latter in 1498, and although several attempts had been made, as yet there was no European settlement on any part of it. It was not that the thirst for western spoils was by any means assuaged; but Ferdinand was busy, and the experiences of Ojeda and Columbus on the mainland were not encouraging to the most chivalrous cupidity. Returned, however, from his Neapolitan wars in 1507, his disaffected nobles somewhat quieted, and the disputes attending Isabella's succession allayed, the king began to look about him. By the queen's testament he inherited one half the revenues of the Castilian colonies. And the king wanted money. It is a royal weakness. Then he remembered what Columbus had reported of the rich coast of Veragua; and although the licenses hitherto granted for private voyages had not proved very lucrative, and expenditures at Santo Domingo were too near receipts to be satisfactory, no better way seemed feasible than to throw open to colonization the mainland, or *tierra firme*, as the discovered portion of the continent now began to be called.[1]

[1] The world was at a loss at first what to call the newly found region to the westward. It was easy enough to name the islands, one after another, as they were discovered, but when the Spaniards reached the continent they were backward about giving it a general name. Everything was so dark and uncertain; islands were mistaken for continent, and continent for islands. The simple expression New World that fell with the first exclamations of wonder from the lips of Europeans on learning of the success of Columbus sufficed for a time as a general appellation. More general and more permanent was the name India, arising from the mistake that this was the farther side or eastern shore of India, applied at first to the continent as well as to the islands, and which fastened itself permanently on the people as well as on the country. 'Segun la opinion mas probable, que penetró hasta aquellos parages, y tambien mas comunmente se da à este nuevo mundo descubierto, el nombre de Indias Occidentales, para distinguirlas de

Further than this, Ferdinand was well aware that if he would retain his western possessions he must occupy them; for stimulated by the success of Portugal and

las verdaderas que están situadas en la Asia à nuestro Oriente entre el Indo, y el Ganges.' *Nueva España, Brev. Res.*, MS. i. 3. As the coast line of the continent extended itself and became known as such it was very naturally called by navigators *tierra firme*, firm land, in contradistinction to the islands which were supposed to be less firm. And, indeed, not the islands only, but the people of the islands are inconstant, the moon being mistress of the waters. As Las Casas, *Hist. Indias*, iii. 395, puts it, 'La naturaleza dellos no les consiente tener perseverancia en la virtud, quier por ser insulares, que naturalmente tienen ménos constancia, por ser la luna señora de las aguas.' The name Tierra Firme, thus general at first, in time became particular. As a designation for an unknown shore it at first implied only the Continent. As discovery unfolded, and the magnitude of this Firm Land became better known, new parts of it were designated by new names, and Tierra Firme became a local appellation in place of a general term. Paria being first discovered, it fastened itself there; also along the shore to Darien, Veragua, and on to Costa Rica, where at no well defined point it stopped, so far as the northern seaboard was concerned, and in due time struck across to the South Sea, where the name marked off an equivalent coast line. Lopez Vaz, in *Purchas, His Pilgrimes*, iv. 1433, says, 'From this Land of Veragua vnto the Iland of Margereta, the Coast along is called the *firme Land*, not for that the other places are not of the firme Land, but because it was the first firme Land that the Spaniards did conquer after they had past the Ilands.' In the *Recop. de Indias*, i. 324, is a law dated 1535, and repeated 1537, 1538, 1563, 1570, 1571, and 1588, which places within the limits of the kingdom of Tierra Firme the province of Castilla del Oro. As a political division Tierra Firme had existence for a long time. It comprised the provinces of Darien, Veragua, and Panamá, which last bore also the name of Tierra Firme as a province. The extent of the kingdom was 65 leagues in length by 18 at its greatest breadth, and nine leagues at its smallest width. It was bounded on the east by Cartagena, and the gulf of Urabá and its river; on the west by Costa Rica, including a portion of what is now Costa Rica; and on the north and south by the two seas. On the maps of *Novvs Orbis seu descriptionis Indiæ Occidentalis* by De Laet, 1633, and of *Ogilby's America*, 1671, the Isthmus is called Tierra Firme. Villagutierre writes in 1701, *Hist. Conq. Itza*, 12, 'Tierra-Firme de la Costa de Paria, ò Provincia, que llamò de Veragua; principio de los dilatados Reynos de aquel Nuevo, y Grande Emisferio.' Neither Guatemala, Mexico, nor any of the lands to the north were ever included in Tierra Firme. English authors often apply the Latin form, Terra Firma, to this division, which is misleading.

The early Spanish writers were filled with disgust by the misnomer America. Pizarro y Orellana, *Varones Ilvstres*, in his preface speaks of the 'Nueva, y riquissima Parte del Mundo, que se llama vulgarmẽte *America*, y nosotros llamamos *Fer-Isabelica*;' and throughout his book the author persists, where 'Nuevo Mundo' is not employed, in calling America Fer-Isabelica, that is to say Ferdinand and Isabella, an attempt at name-changing no less futile than bungling. This was in 1639. If with these seventeenth-century writers the name Columbia, the only appropriate one for the New World, smacked too strongly of Genoa, they might have called it Pinzonia, which would have been in better taste, at least, than in bestowing the honor on the cold and haggling sovereigns. Jules Marcou, like thousands of his class who seek fame through foolishness, writes in the *Atlantic Monthly*, March, 1875, to prove that the name America came from a mountain range in Nicaragua, called by the natives Americ, which became a synonym for the golden mainland, first at the islands and then in Europe, until it finally reached the foot of the Vosges, where Waldsee-Müller, or Hylacomylus of Saint Dié, confuses it with the

Spain, France, England, Holland, and Sweden had all awakened to oceanic enterprise. He had before this commissioned Ojeda to watch the inroads of the English at the north, and directed Pinzon to have an eye on the Portuguese and the pope's partition line at the south; now he was resolved to break the territory into kingdoms and provinces, and apportion them for government to such of his subjects as were able and willing to colonize at their own cost.

When the intention of the king was known, two dashing cavaliers appeared and asked for the government of the rich coast of the Tierra Firme. One was Diego de Nicuesa, a native of Baeza, well-born and an accomplished courtier, having been reared by Enrique Enriquez, chief steward and uncle of the king. He came to the Indies first with Ovando. The other was Alonso de Ojeda, then in Santo Domingo, and already famous in New World annals, making his first appearance there with Columbus in his second voyage, and having already achieved two notable voyages to Paria, or the Pearl Coast, one in 1499 with Juan de la Cosa and Amerigo Vespucci, and one in 1502, with García de Ocampo and Juan de Vergara. The last had been made in four ships, and for the purpose of colonizing; instead of which disputes arose, and the fiery commander was seized and carried in shackles to Española. There he was tried,

name of Vespucci, and is led to print in the prefnce of Vespucci's Voyages:—'And the fourth part of the world having been discovered by Americus may well be called Amerige, which is as much as to say, the land of Americus, or America.' Had the name been so early and so commonly applied to Tierra Firme, it is strange that some one of the many Spanish writers in the Indies or in Spain had not employed it or mentioned it. Villagutierre in 1701 endorses the effort made by Pizarro y Orellana in 1639, saying, *Hist. Conq. Itza*, 13, that the New World should have been called after the Catholic sovereigns, 'de cuya orden, y à cuyas expensas se descubrian.' He states further, on the authority of Simòn, that the Council of the Indies as late as 1620 talked of changing the name, but were deterred by the inconvenience involved. Likewise Vetancurt, *Teatro Mex.*, 13–15, in 1698 says that the name America should be erased from history, calling attention to the bull of partition issued by Pope Adrian VI., which alludes to the new lands as the Western Part—only it was not Adrian but Alexander VI. who perpetrated the bull, in which moreover there is no such term as Western Part used—arguing therefrom that Indias Occidentales was the most proper term. On the application and origin of the name America see cap. i. p. 123–5 of this volume.

and a decision rendered against him, which however was overruled on appeal to the Council of the Indies; but he came out of his difficulties stripped of all his possessions.

The candidates were much alike, each being a fair type of the Spanish cavalier. Both were small in stature, though none the less men of prowess. Symmetrical in form, muscular, active, and skilful in the use of weapons, they delighted in tilting matches, feats of horsemanship, and in all those pastimes which characterized Spanish chivalry at the close of the Mahometan wars. The school in which Ojeda had studied experience, as page to the duke of Medina Celi, who appeared in the Moorish wars at the head of a brilliant retinue, was in no wise inferior to that of his rival. Their accomplishments were varied, though not specially in the direction of colonizing new countries. Not only was Nicuesa a fine musician, playing well the guitar, and having some knowledge of ballad literature, but he could make his horse prance in perfect time to a musical instrument. As for Ojeda, there was little, in his own opinion, he could not do. The more of recklessness and folly in the exploit the better he could perform it. Once at Seville, while Isabella was in the cathedral tower, out from which ran a beam, at a height so great that from it men on the ground looked like pygmies, to show the queen of what metal he was made, he mounted this beam, balanced himself, then tripped lightly as a rope-dancer to the end of it, wheeled, and lifting one foot poised himself on the other at this fearfully dizzy height, where almost a breath would dash him to destruction; then, returning, he stopped at the wall and placing one foot against it threw an orange to the top of the tower.

With such distinguished ability on either side, it was difficult to determine between them. Who so suitable to baffle miasma, poisonous reptiles, and wild beasts while dressing the institutions of Spain

for the wilderness of America, as the graceful and witty Nicuesa! What a glorious missionary Ojeda would make! So moderate, so wise, so gentle, so just, both! Nicuesa had money, a necessary commodity to him who would colonize at his own cost. But then Ojeda had influence; for Fonseca was his friend, and an inquisitor his cousin. Yet Nicuesa was not without advocates at court; money alone was a powerful argument. When, finally, the veteran pilot, Juan de la Cosa, threw his experience and earnings upon the side of Ojeda, to whom he was devotedly attached, and offered himself to embark in the adventure, the king concluded to let them both go; and then it was that he divided Tierra Firme between them, making the gulf of Urabá[2] the dividing point. The eastern or South American portion was called Nueva Andalucía, and of this Alonso de Ojeda was appointed governor; the western division, extending from the gulf of Urabá, or Darien, to Cape Gracias á Dios, was named by the king Castilla del Oro,[3] or Golden Castile, and the command given to

[2] Now gulf of Darien. The name Urabá was first applied to the gulf by Bastidas, or by navigators immediately following him. Subsequently the territory on the eastern side of the gulf was called Urabá, and that on the western side Darien. On Peter Martyr's map, *India beyond the Ganges*, 1510, is the word *vraba;* on the globe of Orontius, 1531, *Sinus vraba* is applied to the gulf, and *vrabe* to the river Atrato. Pilestrina, *Munich Atlas*, no. iv., 1515, places *G: d epimeg* at the southern end of the gulf, which is represented as very wide. Maiollo, *Munich Atlas*, no. v., 1519, writes *Vraba* in small letters at the southern end; also the words *aldea*, *tera plana*, and *Rio basso*.

[3] Castilla del Oro was for the time but another name for this part of Tierra Firme. Then Castilla del Oro became a province of Tierra Firme; for in the *Recop. de Indias*, ii. 110, we find ordered by the emperor in 1550, 'que la Provincia de Tierrafirme, llamada Castilla del Oro, sea de las Provincias del Perú, y no de las de Nueva España.' The province of Veragua, and the territory 'back of the gulf of Urabá, where dwelt the cacique Cimaco,' were declared within the limits of the government of Tierra Firme. Helps, *Span. Conq.*, i. 400, calls a map of that portion of South America extending from the gulf of Maracaibo to the gulf of Urabá by the name Castilla del Oro. I have noticed in several of the early maps the same mistake. Colon and Ribero call only the Pearl Coast Castilla del Oro. In *West-Indische Spieghel*, 1624, 64, the country between the Atrato and a river flowing into the gulf of Venezuela is called Castilla del Oro. Humboldt, *Exam. Crit.*, i. 320, erroneously narrows the limits of Nicuesa's government to that 'partie de la Terre-Ferme placée entre le Veragua et le golfe d'Uraba, où commençait la governacion de Hojeda;' for Navarrete says distinctly in his *Noticias biográficas del capitan Alonso Hojeda*, *Col. de Viages*, iii. 170, 'Los límites de la

Diego de Nicuesa. The island of Jamaica, whence they expected to draw their supplies, was to be held in common by the two governors. Were it not so much more delightful to bargain with new suitors who have money, than to reward old servants who have none, a fine sense of decency might have prompted the monarch to give Castilla del Oro to the adelantado, Bartolomé Colon, who had assisted in discovering, and in an attempt to colonize the country, and who had little to show for his many and valuable services to Spain. But Diego Colon was determined they should not have Jamaica, and so sent thither Juan de Esquivel, as we have seen, to hold it for the governor of Santo Domingo.

The mainland governors were each appointed for four years, during which time supplies were free from duties. Their outfit, with four hundred settlers and two hundred miners each, might be obtained from Santo Domingo. They were given the exclusive right to work for ten years all mines discovered by them on paying into the royal treasury for the first year one tenth of the proceeds, the second year one

gobernacion de Hojeda eran desde el cabo de la Vela hasta la mitad del golfo de Urabá, que llamaron *nueva Andalucía;* y los de la gobernacion de Diego de Nicuesa, que se le concedió al mismo tiempo, desde la otra mitad del golfo hasta el cabo de *Gracias á Dios*, que se denominó *Castilla del Oro.*' He who some time after drew the commission of Pedrarias Dávila as 'Gobernador de la provincia de Castilla del Oro en el Darien,' is sadly confused in his New World geography when he writes, *Navarrete, Col. de Viages*, iii. 337, 'Una muy grand parte de tierra que fasta aquí se ha llamado Tierra-firme, é agora mandamos que se llame Castilla del Oro, y en ella ha hecho nuestra gente un asiento en el golfo de Urabá, que es en la provincia del Darien, que al presente se llama la provincia de Andalucía la Nueva, é el pueblo se dice Santa Maria del Antigua del Darien;' and again on the following page:—'Castilla del Oro, con tanto que no se entienda ni comprenda en ella la provincia de Veragua, cuya gobernacion pertenece al Almirante D. Diego Colon por le haber descubierto el Almirante su padre por su persona, ni la tierra que descubrieron Vicente Yañez Pinzon é Juan Diaz de Solis, ni la provincia de Pária.' Oviedo marks the limits plainly enough, iv. 116, 'Por la costa del Norte tiene hasta Veragua, que lo que con aquel corresponde en la costa del Sur puede ser la punta de Chame, que está quince leguas al Poniente de Panamá, é desde allí para arriba seria Castilla del Oro hasta lo que respondiesse ó responde de Norte á Sur.' The *Descripcion Panamá*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, ix. 82, says the official name was *Provincia de Castilla del Oro y reino de Tierra Firme*, and so remained till the beginning of the 17th century, and afterward *Bética áurea*, or *Castilla del oro*, is written in *Décadas, Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, viii. 14.

ninth, the third one eighth, the fourth one seventh, the fifth one sixth, and for the remaining five years one fifth. The king conditioned, moreover, that each governor should build two forts for the protection of the colonists, to whom the lands in the vicinity of which were to belong.

It so happened that the doughty little governors met at Santo Domingo, while making their final preparations. Swelling with new dignities, active and mettlesome, each desirous of obtaining as many recruits as possible, it was not long before they came into collision. First they quarrelled about Jamaica; as a supplement to which Ojeda stoutly swore that should he there encounter Juan de Esquivel, his head should pay the penalty. Then their partition line became a bone of contention, both claiming the Indian province of Darien.[4] The geography of the coast was at that time but little known; their dominions toward the south were limitless, and for aught they knew larger than Spain. Although both the commanders were small corporally, in feeling they were large, and required much room. The breach thus opened was in no wise lessened by the superior success of Nicuesa, who with a deeper purse, and a government famous for its wealth, drew off recruits from his less fortunate rival. Five large caravels and two brigantines, flying the flag of Castilla del Oro, rode in the harbor. All were well equipped and liberally provisioned; and already Nicuesa mustered nearly eight hundred men and six horses, while Ojeda at his best could muster but three hundred men in two small ships and two brigantines.[5]

[4] And no wonder misunderstandings should arise over a cédula dividing territory in such words as, 'á vos el dicho Diego de Nicuesa en el parte de Veragua y el dicho Alonso de Hojeda en el parte de Urabá.' *Navarrete, Col. de Viages*, iii. 116.

[5] Peter Martyr, dec. ii. cap. i., gives Nicuesa 795, and Ojeda 300 men. Herrera, dec. i. lib. vii. cap. xi., says that 700 sailed from Española with Nicuesa and 300 with Ojeda. 'No pudiendo Hojeda por su pobreza aprestar la expedicion, la Cosa y otros amigos le fletaron una nao, y uno ó dos bergantines, que con doscientos hombres.' *Noticias biográficas del capitan Alonso*

Nettled at every turn he made about the little town, Ojeda, who was a better swordsman than logician, at length proposed to settle all scores by single combat. "Agreed," replied Nicuesa, who was equally brave yet less passionate, "but for what shall we fight? Match me with five thousand castellanos, and I am your man." Finally old Juan de la Cosa interfered to prevent bloodshed; the river Darien, or Atrato, was made the dividing line, and measures were taken to hasten departure before the fire of hot Ojeda should blaze out again.

But Ojeda was not without his little triumphs. There dwelt at this time at the capital of the Indies a lawyer, known as the Bachiller[6] Martin Fernandez de Enciso, who during a successful practice of many years had accumulated some two thousand castellanos. Tempted by the offer of being made alcalde mayor[7]

Hojeda, Navarrete, Col. de Viages, iii. 170. Benzoni, who pays little heed to numbers or dates, says, *Hist. Mondo Nvovo*, 37, 'Hoieda comprò quattro naui e fece più di quattrocento soldati alle fue spese, e cosi partì san Domenico.'

[6] 'Bachiller,' says the English translator of Benzoni, 'has a wider meaning than our word bachelor, signifying also an inferior order of knighthood.' This is a mistake. The word has the same corresponding significance in both languages. It is true that the degree exempts the possessor from certain obligations, such as personal service, military and municipal, imprisonment for debt, etc., and grants him certain privileges enjoyed by noblemen. But this does not make him noble. The next degree, which is that of licentiate, carries with it still further privileges, but even this does not constitute knighthood. The degree of doctor, which follows that of licentiate and is the highest conferred by the university, gives the possessor the right to prefix Don to his name, and places him in nearly every respect on a par with noblemen.

[7] The word *alcalde* is from the Arabic *al cadi*, the judge or governor. *Alcalde ordinario* used formerly to designate the officer having the immediate superintendency of a town or city, with cognizance of judicial matters except those of persons enjoying some privilege (*fuero*). *Alcalde mayor* signifies a judge, learned in the law, who exercises ordinary jurisdiction, civil and criminal, in a town or district. The office is equivalent to that of district judge in the United States, the audiencia standing for the supreme court. There were, however, in the early years, alcaldes mayores who were not law judges, or men learned in the law; they governed for the king a town or city not the capital of a province.

Corregidor, a magistrate having civil and criminal jurisdiction in the first instance (*nisi prius*) and gubernatorial inspection in the political and economical government in all the towns of the district assigned to him. There were *corregidores letrados* (learned in the law), *políticos* (political), *de capa y espada* (cloak and sword), and *políticos y militares* (holding civil and military authority). All had equal jurisdiction. When the corregidor or mayor was not by profession a lawyer, unless he had an *asesor* of his own, the alcalde mayor, if possessed of legal knowledge, became his adviser, which greatly

of the new government, he was induced by the impetuous Ojeda to embark his entire fortune in the adventure. It was arranged that the bachiller should remain at Santo Domingo for some time after the departure of Ojeda, in order to obtain further recruits and fit out another ship, and then follow the governor to Nueva Andalucía.

Of Ojeda's party was Francisco Pizarro; and flitting restlessly from one heterogeneous group to another, enviously watching preparations in which circumstances prevented their participating, were other dominant spirits waiting opportunity, notably Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, tied by debt to distasteful agriculture, and Hernan Cortés, fortunately forbidden to embark by illness.

Ojeda was the first to sail, embarking November 10, 1509. Nicuesa would have weighed anchor at the same time, but was prevented by his creditors; for his success in securing followers was attended by so copious a drain of purse that not only his money but his credit was gone.

Favorable winds wafted Ojeda quickly to Cartagena, where he landed and proclaimed in loud and vaunting tones his manifesto.[8] A shower of poisoned darts was the reply; a mark of disrespect from his new subjects which set the governor's blood boiling. Breathing a short prayer to the virgin, Ojeda seized a lance, and charging the natives at the head of his followers scattered them in the forest, and rashly pur-

increased the importance of the latter. The alcalde mayor was appointed by the king. He must be by profession a lawyer, twenty-six years of age, and of good character. He could neither be a native of the district in which he was to exercise his functions, nor could he marry a wife in his district. *Recop. de Indias*, ii. 113–27 and note. So much for the law. Practically in cases of this kind, where the governor was not learned in the law, civil, criminal, and some phases even of military authority devolved on the alcalde mayor, the two first *ex officio*, and the last as the legal adviser of the military chief. In new colonies this officer was invested with powers almost equal to those of the governor, though of a different kind.

[8] A document prepared by the united wisdom of church and state, for general use in the Indies, setting forth the obligations of all good savages to their dual head of Spain and Rome, with a list of punishments which were to follow disobedience. Of which more hereafter.

sued them. These were no effeminate islanders; the women fought side by side with the men, who were equal to those of Veragua, with the additional advantage of envenomed arrow-points, which, with the occasional shelter their forests afforded, made them more than a match for the Spaniards.[9] This Ojeda had all to learn, and to pay dearly for the knowledge. Of seventy of his best and bravest who followed him four leagues inland but one returned. Even his staunch and veteran friend, Juan de la Cosa, after vainly attempting to dissuade his self-willed colleague from his purpose, placed himself by his side and died there. Ojeda fought like a tiger until his men were scattered and killed, and he was left wounded and alone in a marshy thicket, where several days after a fresh party from the ships found him half-dead. When warmed into life and returned to the harbor he saw entering it Nicuesa's fleet he hid himself, afraid to meet his rival in that plight. Told of this by Ojeda's men, as supplemental to their dismal tale, Nicuesa's anger was aroused at the unjust suspicion. "Tell your commander," he exclaimed, "that Diego de Nicuesa is a Christian cavalier who makes no war on a prostrate foe; that not only shall past feuds be buried, but he promises never to leave this spot until the deaths of Juan de la Cosa and his comrades are avenged." He was as good as his word. Landing four hundred men, he surprised an Indian village, put men, women, and children to the sword, and secured large booty.

After Nicuesa had departed on his way, Ojeda cast off from that ill-fated shore his ships, and brought them to the gulf of Urabá, where on its eastern side, near the entrance, he built a fortress, the beginning of his capital city, and called it San Sebastian[10]

[9] To this day there are tribes in the vicinity of the Atrato River which have never been subjugated.

[10] I am unable to find this place on any map. Gomara, *Hist. Ind.*, 68, says: 'Començo luego vna fortaleza, y pueblo, donde se recoger, y assegurar enel mesmo lugar que quatro años antes lo auia comẽçado Iuan dela Cosa.

in honor of the arrow-martyred saint, whose protection he craved from the venomous darts of his subjects. From San Sebastian, Ojeda despatched to Santo Domingo one of his vessels with the gold and captives he had taken, at the same time urging Enciso to hasten his departure, and send supplies. Meanwhile Ojeda's temper, which was as sharp and fiery as Damascus steel, made little head-way against tangled marshes and poisoned arrows. Persisting in his high-handed policy, he could do nothing with the natives, food being as difficult to obtain as gold, and his ranks rapidly thinned.

While harassed by hunger and watching anxiously the coming of Enciso and the return of their ships, the colonists descried one day a strange sail. On reaching San Sebastian it proved to be a Genoese vessel which, while loading with bacon and cassava bread at Cape Tiburon, had been piratically seized by one Bernardo de Talavera and a gang of vagabonds from Santo Domingo, who escaped with their prize and had come to Nueva Andalucía to seek fortune under the wise and happy rule of Governor Ojeda. To buy the cargo was the work of a moment, for the pirates were very ready to sell; and, indeed, had they not been, the governor would have compelled them. The poison was in his blood, which was now hot with fever, and he was in no mood for ceremony. But the relief thus obtained was only

Este fue el primer pueblo de Españoles enla tierra firme de Indias.' If the author refers his first town to the former visit of Juan de la Cosa four years before, I should say that could scarcely be called an attempted settlement, still less an established town. If he intimates that this fort of Ojeda's was the first settlement, then is he wrong, for Belen, in Veragua, was before this. Whatever he means, and that often is impossible to determine, in this instance it is safe to say that he is in error, as San Sebastian can by no possibility have been the first settlement in Tierra Firme. Herrera writes, i. vii. xvi.: 'Entrò en el golfo de Vrabà, y buscò el rio del Darien, que entre los Indios era muy celebrado de oro, y de gente belicosa, y no le hallando, sobre vnos cerros assentó vn pueblo, al qual llamò la villa de san Sebastian, tomandole por abogado contra las flechas de la yerua mortifera: y esta fue la segunda villa de Castellanos que se poblò, en todo la tierra firme, auiendo sido la primera la que començò a poblar el Almirante viejo, en Veragua.' Words to the same effect are in *Navarrete, Col. de Viages*, iii. 172. It seems rather premature to call these futile attempts establishing towns.

temporary. Day by day the food supply diminished. The colonists were reduced in number from three hundred to three score. And with bodily ailment came as usual mind-distempers, wranglings, ruin, and despair. Where now was the valiant Ojeda? Humiliated to the dust, as well before the savages as before the Spaniards.

Yet he would not yield to fate without another effort, wasted and weak as he was. Giving Pijano command of the fortress, Ojeda took passage in the freebooter's ship and sailed for Santo Domingo. But his patroness, the virgin, had indeed deserted him. Shipwreck met him at Cuba, whence he crossed to Jamaica. Talavera and his gang, after the most extraordinary exertions, likewise reached Jamaica, but only to be seized by order of Diego Colon and hanged. Ojeda said nothing to Esquivel about striking off his head, but humbly took the kindly extended aid. Proceeding to Española in a caravel he found Enciso gone, and himself a bankrupt invalid. Pride, which seldom deserts a Spanish cavalier, gave way. Reduced to penury, broken-hearted, he died, begging as proof of his humility to be buried under the monastery portal, that all who entered should tread upon his grave. Farewell, daring, dashing, irrational Ojeda!

Let us now look after Nicuesa. When from the discomfited Ojeda the gallant governor of Castilla del Oro last parted, he coasted westward toward Veragua, where he purposed to plant his colony. The better to survey the seaboard, he took a small caravel, and ordered Lope de Olano, his lieutenant, to attend him with two brigantines, while the larger vessels kept farther from the shore. Thus they proceeded until reaching the Indian province of Cueba, where a port was discovered into which flowed a small stream called Pito. There they landed and said mass,[11] and therefore named the place Misas.

[11] The first in Tierra Firme, Oviedo says, but he forgets the landing, for the same purpose, of Bartolomé Colon at Cape Honduras, Sunday, August 14, 1502.

Leaving there the largest ships in charge of a relative named Cueto, who was to receive word when to follow, Nicuesa pressed forward toward Veragua with a caravel carrying sixty men, Lope de Olano still attending in a brigantine with thirty men. A storm arising not long after, the latter took advantage of this and the darkness of the night to separate from him, impelled partly by a conviction that they were on the wrong course, partly by ambitious projects. After waiting two days in vain for his companion Nicuesa continued westward. In the search for Veragua he attempted to follow a chart drawn by Bartolomé Colon, though his pilots Diego de Ribero and Diego Martin, both of whom had been with Columbus, assured him that he had passed the place. The storm increasing, Nicuesa ran his vessel into the mouth of a large river; but when attempting to proceed after the storm he found himself caught in a trap, and his vessel on the bar amidst the breakers, the water having subsided. Unable to move the ship in either direction, its destruction was inevitable, and the men set about saving themselves. A rope was stretched to the shore at the cost of a life; and scarcely had the last person reached land when the vessel went to pieces.

Behold, then, the courtly Nicuesa, so lately the proud commander of a fleet, by this sudden freak of fortune cast upon an inhospitable shore, his whereabouts unknown to himself or to those in the ships, and his almost naked followers destitute of food, save one barrel of flour and a cask of oil flung them by the surly breakers! His mind was moreover ill at ease concerning Olano, whose reputation was none of the best, and who Nicuesa thought might have joined him had he been disposed. The ship's boat fortunately drifted ashore, and in it Nicuesa placed Diego de Ribero and three seamen, ordering them to keep him company along the shore, and render assistance in crossing streams and inlets. Already faint with

hunger, they began their march. But whither? Still westward, but not toward Veragua. Each weary footstep carried them farther and farther from their destination. It was not a pleasant journey feeling their way through tropical forests, with such impediments as tangled jungles, hot malarious mudbeds, craggy hills and treacherous streams to block their way. Some of the party had no shoes, some no hat; sharp stones cut their feet, thorny brambles tore their flesh, and their half-clad bodies were exposed alternately to burning sun and drenching rain. They were soon glad to get shell-fish and roots to eat with their leaves. One day an arrow from an overhanging height struck dead Nicuesa's page, but fortunately the savages retired without pressing their advantage. Nicuesa's dog, seeing murder in his hungry master's eye, took to his heels and was never afterward seen. Yet greater misfortunes awaited the Spaniards. After crossing an inlet in the boat one evening, they rested for the night, and in attempting to resume their march next morning found themselves upon an island. Calling for Ribero, he was missing. Nor was the boat anywhere to be seen. It could not be possible that he had left them to die on that circumscribed and barren spot. Loudly they called, searching every inlet, and sweeping the horizon with terror-lighted eyes. It was true; they were abandoned!

It is curious to witness the effect of despair on different minds, of the near approach of that hateful means for our final suppression. Some will fight the monster; others succumb, sinking into drivelling imbecility; others calmly abandon themselves to the inevitable, even the ludicrous aspect of the case coming home to some of them, looking grimly cheerful. As elsewhere, both fools and philosophers were found among Nicuesa's crew. Some prayed and confessed, with divers degrees of accompaniment, from low lamentation to frantic raving; some cursed; some nursed their horror in sullen silence.

I shall not attempt to describe Nicuesa's sufferings while on this island. Suffice it to say that on a scanty diet of roots and shell-fish with brackish water many died, while others wished themselves dead; for the former might rot in peace, but the latter yet living swarmed with impatient vermin. And there was little satisfaction in effort, when drinking only increased thirst, and eating but kept alive despondency. Truly it was a good thing, a grand thing to adventure life to capture wild lands and rule one's fellows!

Thus weeks passed. Then like a ray shot from the Redeemer's throne a sail was seen. Men wasted to the last extremity shook off death's grip and roused themselves, stretching their long lank necks, their bony chins and glazed eyes toward the approaching vessel, which soon came to anchor before the island. Ribero was not a villain after all. Satisfied that Veragua was behind them, but unable to convince Nicuesa, Ribero won over to his views the three boatmen, left the island during the night, retraced their course and reached Veragua. There they found the colonists, with Olano bearing rule, who on the information of Ribero could scarcely do less than send his governor succor.[12]

Leaving here Nicuesa, let us inquire concerning the other portions of his scattered colony. Two months having elapsed since the departure of the governor from the port of Misas, and hearing nothing from any one, Cueto, in whose charge the fleet was left, became uneasy, and taking a small vessel, set out in search of his commander. The only tidings he could gain were from a letter found on an island, wrapped in a leaf and fastened to a stick, which in-

[12] When Oviedo gravely asserts that Ribero intended desertion, and was stealing by Belen when he was captured by Olano, he goes out of his way to make palpable nonsense appear as truth. Admit them inhuman monsters, which they were not, whither would four starved helpless wretches desert on this deadly shore?

formed him that Nicuesa was well and still journeying westward. Returning to Misas, Cueto with the entire fleet sailed for Veragua; but so badly worm-eaten were the ships that he was obliged to come to anchor at the mouth of the River Chagre,[13] which from the ravenous alligators that swarmed there was called by the Spaniards Lagartos. There portions of the cargoes were landed; and while attempts were made to repair the ships, one of the pilots, Pedro de Umbría, was sent in quest of the lost governor. Meanwhile Lope de Olano arrived.

Evidently the lieutenant did not in his heart desire his captain's return. For although in reciting to his comrades the circumstances of the storm, and the disappearance of the governor, with such variations as suited his purpose, with tears which would have done honor to the crocodiles thereabout, he made no effort to find Nicuesa. He affected to believe him dead. "And now, gentlemen," he said, "let no more mention be made of him if you would not kill me."

The fleet now proceeded to Belen, where the usual catalogue of disasters attends the disembarkation. Four men are drowned. The worm-eaten ships are dismantled, broken in pieces, and of the fragments huts are made on the site formerly occupied by Bartolomé Colon. Olano, after some opposition, is formally proclaimed lieutenant-governor. Raids fol-

[13] Chagre, not Chagres, was the name of the native province through which this river flows. Near its mouth empty several small streams, and it was only below the confluence of these that the term Lagartos for any length of time applied. Says Alcedo, *Dic.*, i., of the River Chagre:—'Lo descubrió el de 1527 Hernando de la Serna llamándole rio de Lagartos, y ántes su boca Lope de Olano el de 1510.' Oviedo remarks upon it:—'Algunos han querido deçir que los de aquesta armada le dieron este nombre, porque ninguna cosa viva saltaba de los navíos que en pressençia de la gente no se la comiessen luego muy grandes lagartos, lo qual se experimentó en algunos perros. Este rio es la boca del rio Chagre.' *Hist. Gen.*, ii. 467. Acosta is somewhat loose in the statement, *Compend. Hist. Nueva Granada*, 34, 'En la boca del rio Chagres, que entonces llamaban de los Lagartos por la multitud de caimanes que Colon habia visto en él.' Vaz Dourado places, on *Munich Atlas*, no. x., 1571, in this vicinity a river with the word *chi*. *Munich Atlas* no. ix. has it *Chiche*. De Laet writes *R. de Chagre;* Dampier, *R. Chagre;* Jefferys, *R. Chagre* and *Ft Chagre*.

low; but the quibian, grown wise by experience, retires with his people, and leaves the Spaniards to shift for themselves. There being nothing to steal, they starve. Disease and disaffection follow; Olano is not happy.

Wrathful, indeed, was Nicuesa on reaching Belen. Against Olano his indignation was extreme. He charged him with wilful desertion, with felonious destruction of the ships, and with gross mismanagement. He had ruined all. Branding him as a traitor he ordered his arrest; and when some feeble attempts were made by the others to mitigate the governor's displeasure, he broke forth on them. "It well becomes you," he exclaimed, "to ask pardon for him, when you should be begging mercy for yourselves!"

But of what use were oaths and bickerings? Of his gallant company half were dead, and the less fortunate remainder lived only to suffer yet awhile before following. Of all the men who came from Spain, proud Nicuesa lost the most, having most to lose. Of all New World woes, Nicuesa's woes were greatest; the half of what thus far has been words cannot tell, and the worst part is yet to come.

Now that the rich Veragua was reached, the Golden Castile of greedy anticipations, what then? The gold with which to load the ships was wanting; the ships with which to bear away that gold were almost all destroyed. The fertile soil was marshy, the spicy air malarious, the redundant vegetation yielded little food for man. Sallow-faced skeletons of men clamored their distress. Death was busy enough, so Olano's life was spared, though his badge of office was exchanged for fetters. Even foragers perished for want of food; every member of one band died from eating of a putrescent Indian. The governor grew peevish; his generous temper was soured by misfortune. The colonists complained of his harsh treatment and indifference to their sufferings. And they said to him: "The fates are against us here; let us abandon this

place." "Oh, very well!" snarled Nicuesa. Leaving Alonso Nuñez, with the dignified title of alcalde mayor, and a few men to harvest some grain planted by Olano, the colonists embarked in two brigantines and a caravel, built of fragments of the broken ships, to seek some healthier spot. After sailing eastward some twenty leagues, a Genoese sailor named Gregorio addressed the governor: "I well remember, when with the admiral in this vicinity we entered a fine port where we found food and water." After some search the place was found, the Portobello of Columbus, and an anchor dropped there by the admiral was seen protruding from the sand. Landing for food, the Spaniards were attacked and twenty killed; indeed, they could scarcely wield their weapons so weak were they. Faint and disheartened they continued their way about seven leagues farther, when approaching the shore Nicuesa cried out: "Paremos aquí en el nombre de Dios!" Here let us stop in God's name! They found anchorage, the place being the Puerto de Bastimentos of Columbus. The companions of Nicuesa, however, ready in their distress to seize on any auspice, took up the cry of their commander and applied the words Nombre de Dios[14] to the harbor which they then entered, and which name to this day it bears.

Here another attempt was made to locate the government of Castilla del Oro. Disembarking, Nicuesa

[14] The name familiar to cartographers often assumed in those days peculiar orthography on the maps. Thus Fernando Colon writes this name *nõbre;* Ribero, *nõb;* Agnese, *nõmbre de dio;* Vaz Dourado, *nõbre de dios;* Ramusio, *Nome de dio;* Hondius, in Purchas, *Nom de Dios;* Mercator, Dampier, Ogilby, the author of *West-Indische Spieghel*, Jefferys, and their successors, contrary to their frequent custom, all write the words correctly. This place, as we shall hereafter see, was for a long time famous as the chief post on the northern coast of Tierra Firme through which passed the merchandise from Spain and the gold from Peru. Says Benzoni, *Hist. Mondo Nvovo*, 79: 'Questa Città stà situata nel mare di Tramontana. Sogliono adunque communemen te ogn'anno andare di Spagna al Nome di Dio, da quattordici, ò quindici naui, fra piccole, e grande, e la maggior porterà mille, e ottocento salme; cariche di robbe diuerse.' Dampier about a century later found the spot where the city had stood overgrown with trees. Its abandonment was owing to poisoned air, the same unwholesome climate that broke up all the early settlements on this coast, the last being always regarded as the worst.

took formal possession, erected a fortress, and began again his necessary though suicidal policy of foraging. The natives retired. The malarious atmosphere wrapped the strangers in disease and death. The caravel was sent back to Veragua, and Alonso Nuñez and the remnant of the colony brought away. The vessel was then sent to Española for supplies, but neither ship nor crew were ever afterward heard from. Meanwhile Nicuesa and the remnant of his luckless company made a brave stand, but all of no avail. Long since fate had decreed their destruction. It was not possible in their present condition to live. Reptiles as food became a luxury to them; the infected sunlight dried up their blood; despair paralyzed heart and brain; and to so dire extremity were they finally reduced that they were scarcely able to mount guard or bury their dead.[15]

[15] The original authorities for this chapter are: *Real Cédula*, etc., in *Navarrete, Col. de Viages*, iii. 116; *Memorial presentado al Rey por Rodrigo de Colmenares*, in *Navarrete, Col. de Viages*, iii. 387; *Las Casas, Hist. Ind.*, ii. 61; *Oviedo*, ii. 465–78; *Noticias biográficas del capitan Alonso Hojeda*, in *Navarrete, Col. de Viages*, iii. 163; *Gomara, Hist. Ind.*, 69; *Peter Martyr*, dec. ii. 2; *Herrera*, dec. i. lib. vii. cap. vii. Reference, mostly unimportant, to the doings of Ojeda and Nicuesa may be found in *Ramusio, Viaggi*, iii. 18–22; *Roberts' Nar. Voy.*, xviii.-xix.; *Dalton's Conq. Mex. and Peru*, 37–38; *Montanus, Nieuwe Weereld*, 62–65; *Morelet, Voy. dans l'Amérique Cent.*, ii. 300–1; *Laharpe, Abrégé*, ix. 160–84; *Ogilby's Am.*, 66–67, 397; *March y Labores, Marina Española*, i. 391–402; *Juan* and *Ulloa, Voy.*, i. 94; *Acosta, Compend. Hist. Nueva Granada*, 26–36; *Remesal, Hist. Chyapa*, 163; *Andagoya, Nar.*, 4–5; *Nouvelle An. des Voy.*, cxlviii. 7–10; *Dufey, Résumé Hist. Am.*, i. 66–71, 371–75; *Helps' Span. Conq.*, i. 295–334; *Gordon's Hist. Am.*, ii. 62–72; *Holmes' Annals Am.*, i. 29–30; *Lardner's Hist. Discov.*, ii. 37–40; *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro Eccles.*, ii. 57; *Quintana, Vidas*, 'Vasco Nuñez,' 1–10, and 'Pizarro,' 42–43; *Robinson's Acct. Discov. in West*, 171–95; *S. Am. and Mex.*, i. 12–14; *Snowden's Am.*, 70–1; *Robertson's Hist. Am.*, i. 191–95; *Irving's Col.*, iii. 66–131; *Russell's Hist. Am.*, i. 43–8; *Drake's Voy.*, 155–58; *London Geog. Soc., Jour.*, xxiii. 179; *Du Perrier, Gen. Hist. Voy.*, 110–13; *Pizarro y Orellana, Varones Ilvstres*, 53–61; *Benzoni, Hist. Mondo Nvovo*, 36–47; *Morelli, Fasti Novi Orbis*, 14; *Bastidas, Informacion*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, ii. 439; *Décadas*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, viii. 14; *Mesa y Leompart, Hist. Am.*, i. 85–86; *Touron, Hist. Gen. Am.*, i. 275–87; *Lallement, Geschichte*, i. 22.

In my bibliographical notices thus far I have had occasion to make mention more particularly of original documents referring to individual episodes. I will now say a few words concerning the early chroniclers, Las Casas, Oviedo, Peter Martyr, and Gomara, and of the later and more general writer, Herrera. On these, the corner-stones of early Spanish American annals, the fabrics of all who follow them must forever rest.

The lives of Las Casas and Oviedo constitute in themselves no small portions of their respective histories. Both came to the New World, and each took an active and prominent part in many of the matters of which he wrote. They were nearly of an age; the former being born at Seville in 1474, and the latter at Madrid in 1478; but Oviedo did not come to America until 1514, being with Pedrarias Dávila when he went to govern Darien, while Las Casas took up his residence under Ovando at Española in 1502. Las Casas was an ecclesiastic whose life was devoted to befriending the Indians, and he did not leave America for the last time until 1547, after half a century of most humane service; Oviedo was a cavalier who sought to better his broken fortunes by obtaining through his influence at court the office of *veedor de las fundiciones del oro de la Tierra Firme*, supervisor of gold-melting for Tierra Firme, which office he held throughout his connection with the affairs of the continental Indies, until 1532. Both were influential men at court, Las Casas being quite intimate with young Charles, while Oviedo had been *mozo de cámara*, or page to Prince Juan. Both made frequent trips between Spain and America; Oviedo crossed the Atlantic twelve times, Las Casas even more.

Las Casas was as able an annalist as he was reformer. His greatest work, *Historia de las Indias*, was begun in his fifty-third year, and completed in 1561, five years before his death. It was extensively copied and used in manuscript, but was not printed until 1875–76. Though consisting of five volumes, it comprises but three decades, or books, and brings the history of the New World down only to 1520. It was the author's original intention to have continued his work through six decades, which would have brought it down to 1550, and hence have included his important experiences in Guatemala, Chiapas, and Mexico. Next to the general history of the Indies stands the *Apologética Historia*, comprising a description of the country and the customs of the people, and written to defend the natives against the accusation that they lacked system in their societies, not having reason to govern themselves. His first printed work was issued in Mexico in 1546; it was entitled *Cancionero Spiritual*, and was dedicated to Bishop Zumárraga. At Seville, in 1552, was published, in one volume 4to, *Brevísima relacion de la destruccion de las Indias Occidentales*, and other tracts of a similar nature; such as his Controversy with Sepúlveda; his Thirty Propositions; Remedies for the Reformation of Indies; Rules for Confessors; a treatise proving the sovereign empire and universal authority which the kings of Castile and Leon have over the Indies, etc. This collection was put in print in Latin, French, Italian, German, and Dutch, some of the translations appearing in several editions. The Controversy with Sepúlveda was issued separately. Juan Antonio Llorente printed at Paris in 1822 a *Coleccion de las Obras del Obispo de Chiapa*, 2 vols. 8vo, which was published the same year in French, under title of *Œuvres de Don Barthélemi de las Casas*. The collection comprises several of his less important works; the French translation is remarkably free, the author being at times quite lost sight of, and several new pieces of doubtful origin are added. As a writer, Las Casas is honest, earnest, and reliable, except where his enthusiasm gets the better of him. His learned opponent and arch-enemy, Sepúlveda, pronounces him most subtle, most vigilant, and most fluent, compared with whom the Ulysses of Homer was inert and stuttering.

He was not only a thorn in the flesh of evil-doers, but by his persistent and stinging effrontery he often exasperated mild and benevolent men. But whatever his enemies may say of him, and they are neither few nor silent, true it is that of all the men who came to the Indies he almost alone leaves the furnace with no smell of fire upon him.

Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdés was of the noble family of Oviedo in Asturias. In early childhood, before entering the service of Prince Juan, he was with the duke of Villa Hermosa. While watching the fall of Granada he met Columbus, and afterward witnessed his triumph at Barcelona. After the death of his young master in 1497, who in fact was of his own age, Oviedo went to Italy, where art and science were enlivened by war, serving under Frederico of Naples, and sometimes jewel-keeper to Queen Juana. Married at Madrid, in 1502, to the beautiful Margarita de Vergara, whom he lost in childbirth ten months after, he plunged into the excitement of war, serving as secretary to Córdoba in the French campaign. Marrying again, he hovered about the court until, in his thirty-sixth year, his dwindling fortunes sent him with Pedrarias to Darien, in the capacity before mentioned. His doings there will be told in the text of this history; suffice it to say here that most of his time there was spent in broils with the governor, beside which he had to endure the loss of his wife and child, imprisonment, and the dangerous wound of an assassin's knife. But, obtaining at last the appointment of Pedro de los Rios in place of Pedrarias, and for himself the governorship of Cartagena, which office, however, he never exercised, after three years' further residence in Tierra Firme, this time in Nicaragua, he returned to Spain in 1530, spent two years in arranging his notes, resigned his *veeduría*, and received the appointment of *Cronista general de Indias*. In the autumn of 1532 he went to Santo Domingo, and although appointed the following year alcaide of the fortress of Santo Domingo, the remainder of his life was passed chiefly in literary work. After an eventful life of seventy-nine years he died at Valladolid in 1557, while engaged in the preparation for the press of the unpublished portion of his history. Throughout the whole of his career Oviedo seems to have devoted every spare moment to writing. Even before he was appointed royal chronicler he was an indefatigable collector of material. He was well acquainted with the prominent persons of his time, and few expeditions were made without adding to his store. Want of discrimination in the use of authorities is more prominent in his writings than want of authorities. Of twelve literary efforts but one, beside those relating to America, found its way into print. He formed the plan of writing about the New World long before he first crossed the ocean, and actually began his history, according to José Amador de los Rios, before 1519, keeping open the general divisions for additions to the day of his death. After his return from the second voyage to Darien he wrote at the request of the king, and chiefly from memory, as his notes were at Santo Domingo, *De la Natural Hystoria de las Indias*, printed at Toledo in 1526. This work was republished by Barcia, *Historiadores Primitivos*, i., translated into Italian by Ramusio, *Viaggi*, iii., and garbled by Purchas in *His Pilgrimes*, iv. 5. This, it must be borne in mind, is totally distinct from the *Historia General y Natural de las Indias, Islas y Tierra-Firme del Mar Océano, por el Capitan Gonzalo*

Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdés, primer cronista del Nuevo Mundo, and which alone admits the author to the first rank as a historian. The General History was originally divided into three parts, containing in all fifty books. The first part, comprising nineteen books, with the preface and ten chapters of the fiftieth book—not 20, 21, or 22 books as different bibliographers state—was published during the author's life at Seville in 1535, under the title *Historia General*, etc., and republished at Salamanca in 1547 as *Hystoria General*. This rare issue contains in several places a few columns of additional matter which have not escaped my attention. An Italian version of the same parts was published by Ramusio in his *Viaggi*, iii.; the first ten books were translated into French and published as *Histoire Naturelle*, etc., Paris, 1556; the twentieth book, or the first of the second part, was published separately at Valladolid in 1557 as *Libro XX.*, etc. Thirteen chapters of Book XLII., relating to Nicaragua, were published in French by Ternaux-Compans, *Histoire du Nicaragua*, in his second series of Voyages, iii., Paris, 1840. Finally, the fifty books complete were beautifully and accurately printed at Madrid in four folio volumes, with plates, by the Real Academia de la Historia in 1851–55. The editor, José Amador de los Rios, gives in an introduction the best notice of the life and writings of the author extant. Oviedo was not a learned man like Peter Martyr, and it is doubtful if a further insight into the books of the day would have made him any wiser; yet a man who could dictate the natural history of a new country without his notes cannot be called illiterate. He knew Latin and the modern languages; but his familiarity with Latin was not sufficient to prevent an unpleasant parade of it. Nor did he possess the genius or practical sagacity of Las Casas; yet his extraordinary opportunities were not wholly wasted, nor did life at court, political quarrels, or gold-gathering at any time wholly stifle his ambition to achieve the useful in letters. Oviedo was a fair example of the higher type of Spaniard of that day; he was intelligent, energetic, brave; but cold, unscrupulous, and cruel. And this is true, without going full length with Las Casas in his fiery fanaticism when he says:—"Oviedo should regret what he has written of the Indians; he has borne false witness against them; and has calumniated them in every way....He should have inscribed on his title-page, 'This book was written by a conqueror, robber, and murderer of the Indians, whole populations of whom he consigned to the mines, where they perished'....His work is as full of lies as of pages." To which sentiment I by no means subscribe. Probably no kind of work, however thoroughly and conscientiously done, is more open to criticism, is more certain to be criticised on every side, than contemporaneous history from facts for the first time gathered, and from many and conflicting witnesses. Ternaux-Compans says well:—"Oviedo n'est pas exempt des préjugés de son temps contre les Indiens, mais après tout, ce qu'il dit se rapproche plus de la vérité que les peintures fantastiques de l'évêque de Chiapa, qui veut retrouver l'âge d'or même chez les nations les plus féroces." Both of these authors, Las Casas and Oviedo, wrote in the heat of the engagement of the abnormal and ill-understood scenes passing under their immediate notice. What they wrote was certainly true to them; it is our business to analyze and sift, and make their records true to us. In the showy criticisms of these and a kindred class of authors we see generally something

brought in about style and arrangement. The latter is always bad, and the index worse than none; but critics should find something better to do than find fault with the words and their arrangement of these old fighting chroniclers. Of course their style is bad, abominable; but who cares for style in them? One wants only the facts. Their books are not made to be read, but to be used. Rios seems to entertain a proper appreciation of the matter when he writes:—"Mas ya fuera porque procurase dar á su lectura aquella diversidad, tantas veces por él apetecida, ya porque la misma fatiga é irregularidad con que recibia los datos, le impidiese someterlos á un plan maduro é inalterable; es lo cierto que la crítica de nuestros dias, al par que aprecia y agradece tan interesantes inquisiciones, echa de menos cierta cohesion y armonia en la exposicion de las costumbres de los indios, no hallando mayor enlace en la narracion de los descubrimientos y conquistas, que ni se refieren siempre en órden cronológico, ni guardan entre sí la conveniente relacion para que pueda comprenderse sin dificultad su influencia recíproca."

While the Protector of the Indians and the First Chronicler of the New World were thus gathering and recording historical data in the several parts of America, one of the most learned men of Europe, Pietro Martire d'Anghiera, or latinized Anglerius, commonly called Peter Martyr, was collecting similar facts in Spain, and recording them, copiously diluted with the philosophy of the day, in the form of ten-year epochs, constituting in the end a series of decades. The duchy of Milan was the early home of this chronicler, and 1457 the year of his birth. His family was of noble descent, and originally of Anghiera. Going to Rome in 1477 to finish his education, he became so conspicuous for learning and eloquence that ten years later the Spanish ambassador invited him to try his fortune at the court of the Spanish sovereigns. By them he was graciously received, especially by Isabella, who wished to occupy him in the instruction of the young nobles of Castile. The ardent Italian must have a taste of war, however, before settling into permanent sagedom; so he fought before Baza, and laid not down the sword till the city of the Alhambra fell. Then he became a priest, and turned toward pursuits more in keeping with his natural bent and erudition. He opened various schools of learning, which youth of quality made it the fashion to attend. Having risen into high consideration at court, in 1501 he was sent by the crown on missions to Venice and Cairo, in which he acquitted himself creditably, and wrote on his return the *De Legatione Babylonicâ*, an account of Lower Egypt in three books. On Ferdinand's death he was appointed by Jimenez ambassador to the Sultan Selim, but refused the honor on account of his age; and afterward he did not find Charles less inclined to acknowledge his merits. During the three years following his return from Egypt he was appointed prior of the cathedral of Granada, and by the pope apostolic prothonotary, and in 1518 he took his seat in the Council of the Indies. His life was one of rare industry, in which he gathered and disseminated much knowledge, and which gained him the respect of princes; his death occurred in 1526, in the 69th year of his age, and he was buried in his cathedral at Granada. Peter Martyr is the author of at least two great works, viewed historically. They are written in Latin, of anything but Ciceronian ring, for patristic is to the patrician Latin as the 'Frenche of Stratford atte

Bowe' is to the French of Paris. Of these his two notable works the chief is *De Orbe Novo*, an account of the New World and its wonders, in eight decades, or books. The first, and the first three, of these decades were published at different times during the author's life, but the eight decades complete did not appear before 1530, when they were printed at Alcalá under the title *De Orbe Novo Petri Martyris ab Angleria Mediolanensis Protonotarii Cæsaris senatoris decades.* Three of the decades translated into English by R. Eden were printed in 1555, and reprinted in 1577, with another decade added by R. Willes. The best complete edition of the eight decades, in their original Latin, next appeared in Paris, published by R. Hakluyt, 1587. Indeed, beside the edition of 1530, this is the only complete original edition of the *De Orbe Novo*. In 1612 appeared the work entire in English, the result of the 'Industrie and painefull Trauaile of M. Lok Gent.' This has been included in a supplement to *Hakluyt's Voyages*, London, 1812. Beside these important editions, partial translations, extracts, and compilations have appeared at various times and in various languages. In 1534, at Venice, in Italian, were published, in three several parts, summaries of the history of the Indies taken from Peter Martyr, Oviedo, and others. The other of the two works alluded to is a collection of Peter Martyr's letters, in Latin, which brim with notices of contemporary events, and run from 1488 to his death. Two editions of these collected letters were published, the first at Alcalá in 1530, the second at Amsterdam, by the Elzevirs, in 1670. The title runs thus—*Opus Epistolarum Petri Martyris Anglerii Mediolanensis*, etc.; a translation of the letters has never been published. So confused, misdated, and interposed are the epistles that Hallam expressed his disbelief in any connection whatever between actual and ostensible dates and service. But the *De Orbe Novo* may be regarded equal in authority to the relations of the eye-witnesses Las Casas and Oviedo. Peter Martyr was the first of the chroniclers to write and to publish on the New World, his decades beginning to appear about the time Oviedo first went to the Indies. Immediately Columbus set foot on shore, on his return from the first voyage, the eloquent and philosophic scholar began to question him and those who came with him, and to write, and he never ceased writing until death stopped him. There was so much for a man of his mind to think and talk about. For a time after this marvellous discovery the learned and intelligently curious lived in a ferment concerning it. It was to some extent the revolutionizing of science and philosophy. The lines of tradition were snapped; the cosmos had lost its continuity. Peter Martyr, a grave man of broad and deep capabilities; well situated for procuring information, meeting daily, many of them at his own table, those who had returned from the Indies—discoverers, conquerors, explorers, sailors, priests, and cavaliers —having access to the official letters, diaries, charts, and relations of these men, his account, I say, should be as reliable and as valuable as that of one who had actually mingled in the scenes described. In some respects it should be more so, able as he was to see with a hundred eyes instead of two, and to determine disputes more coolly and equitably. It is true his records are marred by the haste with which they were written, and by the admitted lack of correction or revision by the author; order and method are nowhere present; mistakes and contradictions are frequent. But

we have the raw material, which is far better than any elaboration. Las Casas was the first of the chroniclers to visit the Indies, and the last of the three thus far named to begin to write and publish history, which was in 1552. Oviedo began to write at about the date the history of Las Casas terminates. It was four years after the death of Peter Martyr that Oviedo was appointed official chronicler of the New World. The general relations of the three historians were antagonistic; from which their writings may all the better be brought to harmonize with truth. Of the hundreds who have made their criticisms on the writings of Peter Martyr I will mention but two. Says Las Casas, *Hist. Ind.*, i. 32: "De los cuales cerca destas primeras cosas á ninguno se debe dar más fe que á Pedro Martir;" and Muñoz remarks, *Hist. Nuevo Mundo*, xiii.: "Merece indulgencia por el candor con que lo confiesa todo, por su ningun afan en publicar sus borrones, y principalmente porque tal qual es la obra de las décadas contiene muchísimas es pecies que no se hallan en otra parte alguna, y estas escritas con la conveniente libertad por un autor coetáneo, grave, culto, bien instruido de los hechos, y de probidad conocida."

Of much less importance than the preceding are the writings of Francisco Lopez Gomara, particularly his history of the Indies, which is an imitation rather than a genuine original, and of which too much has been made, notwithstanding Muñoz pronounces it the first history worthy the name. Although Icazbalceta, a high authority on the subject, gives the name Gómara, or Gómora, with the accent on the first syllable as the Peninsular pronunciation, with the remark that it is commonly called Gomára in Mexico, I have not thought best to depart from an almost universal usage. Bustamante goes out of his way to signify an accent where it would naturally fall, writing Gomára. Born in Seville in 1510, of an illustrious family—it seems exceptional to find any man of note in Spain whose family was not illustrious—and educated at the university of Alcalá, he became a doctor of both civil and canonical law, and filled for a time the chair of rhetoric. From the military life designed for him by his parents he was driven by literary tastes into the priesthood; and in 1540, upon the return of Cortés from his last visit to Mexico, he became chaplain and secretary to the marquis. From this some have inferred and erroneously stated that he spent four years in America prior to publishing his history. At Saragossa in 1552–3 appeared his *La Historia General de las Indias*, in two folio parts, the first general, and dealing chiefly with Peru, the other devoted to Mexico. The book was popular; and in 1553 from Medina del Campo issued another folio edition; and another from Saragossa the year following, with this difference as to the last, however, that its second part was treated as a separate work and entitled *Cronica de la nueua España con la conquista de Mexico, y otras cosas notables: hechas por el Valoroso Hernando Cortes*, while the first part appropriated the original title of *Historia General*, etc. Then appeared an edition at Antwerp, 1554, and one in which the date, 1552, is evidently spurious. The author seems to have handled government affairs too roughly; for in 1553 we find the book suppressed by royal decree, which, however, was not fully enforced, and was revoked in 1729. Barcia printed a mutilation of the two works in his *Hist. Prim.*, ii., in 1749, and the two were again published, in a correct form, in *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, xxii., Madrid, 1852. A somewhat singular case occurred in Mexico in 1826,

when was issued, in 2 volumes 8vo, *Historia de las Conquistas de Hernando Cortés, escrita en Español por Francisco Lopez de Gomára, traducida al Mexicano y aprobada por verdadera por D. Juan Bautista de San Anton Muñon Chimalpain Quauhtlehuanitzin, Indio Mexicano. Publícala para instruccion de la juventud nacional, con varias notas y adiciones, Carlos María de Bustamante*, which being interpreted, at best is confused. It says that the work, written in Spanish by Gomara, was translated into the Mexican language, and there leaves it. On turning over the leaves we find the book printed in Spanish, and not in Nahuatl, as we were led to suppose. Nor does a lengthy preface by Bustamante make the matter clear in every respect. Turning to other sources, and by comparing all information, we finally learn that Bustamante and others once believed in the existence, somewhere, of a history of Mexico, by the learned and noble native Chimalpain. Probably it lay hidden in some one of the libraries or government offices about Mexico. Boturini spoke of various historical manuscripts written by Domingo de San Anton Muñon Chimalpain, some in Castilian, and some in Nahuatl. Note, in passing, the difference in the name, here Domingo, and in the title Juan Bautista. Clavigero, Leon Pinelo, Beristain, and Antonio de Leon y Gama also vaguely mentioned some work or works by Chimalpain. Bustamante claimed, at first, to have found the Mexican history of Chimalpain in manuscript, and obtained contributions of money from various sources to enable him to print a translation of it, with notes. But before the translation was fairly issued in Spanish, the editor was obliged to confess himself mistaken as to its being an original work; it was only Gomara rendered into Mexican by the learned Indian, and now translated back again into Spanish by Bustamante, the text much marred by the double transformation, but enriched by notes from both editors. There are men so uncharitable as to say that Don Carlos María Bustamante never found Chimalpain's translation, because Chimalpain never made one. I do not know. Any one of three or four ways was possible. Bustamante may have found the alleged translation of Chimalpain, and while translating into Spanish what he believed an original work, may have discovered it to be Gomara; it may have been then in type or printed, or too far advanced to stop; or it may be Bustamante, having received the money, felt bound to go on with the work, and concluded to trust to his own and Chimalpain's notes to satisfy those concerned and the public; or Bustamante may have perpetrated a deliberate fraud. This last, although he is openly accused of it by his countrymen high in authority, I can scarcely believe to be the true solution of the mystery, and rather lean to the first possibility; but I must say that Bustamante committed a serious mistake in not admitting this frankly, if true. Gomara's history was translated into Italian, and published at Rome, one edition, 4to, in 1555, and one in 1556; and at Venice, one in 8vo, 1565, one in 4to, 1566, and in 8vo again, in 1576. In French, at Paris, six editions in 8vo, 1569, 1578, 1580, 1584, 1587, and 1597, the last five reprints of the first, except slight augmentations in the last three. London furnished an English translation by Henry Bynneman, in 4to, in 1578. The prologue warns all persons against translating the book into Latin, as he was engaged thereat himself; but his Latin version never appeared. Gomara wrote well. His style is better than that of any predecessor; but while his opportunities were

great, for he had culture, leisure, and access to the knowledge and material of Cortés, it is painfully apparent that his desire was greater to please the master than to present a plain unvarnished tale.

And now, after a century of writing and discussions, comes Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas as royal historiographer to gather, arrange, and embody in one general history all knowledge available at that time. It was a work needing attention; for if it were further postponed much information then obtainable would be lost. He was born in Cuéllar in 1549, and although the father bore the name of Tordesillas and the mother of Herrera, for the sake of euphony, distinction, or other unknown vagary, the son took the name of his mother, a thing not unusual then or now in Spain. At an early age we find him in Italy holding the position of secretary to Vespasiano Gonzaga, viceroy of Naples, upon whose death Herrera was so well recommended to Philip II. that, in 1596, he was made chief historiographer for the Indies. Honored also with the title of historiographer of Castile and Leon, he fulfilled the duties of both offices through portions of the reigns of the three Philips, II., III., and IV. He was likewise nominated for the first vacant place among the secretaries of state, but died before that vacancy occurred, in the 76th year of his age. As an historian Herrera has made a respectable place for himself, but his reputation rests principally, though not wholly, for he wrote much, on his *Historia General de los Hechos de los Castellanos en las Islas i Tierra Firme del Mar oceano ecrita por Antonio de Herrera coronista mayor de sv M:d d las Indias y sv coronista de Castilla*, 4 vols. folio, Madrid, 1601–15. On the elaborately engraved title-page of the first volume is added, *En quatro Decadas desde el Año de 1492 hasta el de 1531*, which refers only to the first two volumes, as the whole four volumes consist of 8 decades, comprising general events to 1554. The first two volumes were printed in 1601, and reprinted at Valladolid in 1606; the second two volumes appeared in 1615. The work was freely translated; the first decade appearing in French, at Paris, in 1659, and with the second decade the year following, the remaining decades in 1671. A most vile translation into English was made by John Stevens and published in London, in 6 volumes, the first two in 1725 and the last four in 1726, new editions of which appeared in 1740 and 1743. There were two reprints in Spanish; one in Antwerp, in 1728, by Verdussen, without maps and otherwise faulty; and one in Madrid, 1728–30, with notes, corrections, and index by Barcia, and therefore better than the first edition, in fact the best extant. At the end of the second volume of the first edition, and as a prefix to the first volume of the Barcia edition, should appear the *Description de las Indias Occidentales*, with maps, translations of which were made in Latin, Dutch, and French. An attempt was made to carry on Herrera's history, and it was continued for three decades, from 1555 to 1584, by Pedro Fernandez del Pulgar, the chronicler who succeeded Solis, but it was not deemed of sufficient importance to print. The original manuscript is in the Royal Library at Madrid. Herrera was quite a voluminous writer, being author of a general history during the reign of Philip II.; of a history of Scotland and England during the life of Mary Stuart; of Portugal, and the conquest of the Azores; of France from 1585 to 1594, and of moral and political tracts, and historical, political, and ecclesiastical translations. But though all his works were highly

prized for their erudition, none attained the celebrity of his History of the Indies. Even to-day he may be called chief among historians of Spanish-American affairs; not for his style, bald, and accurately prolix; nor for his method, slavishly chronological, and miserably failing in the attempt to do several things at once; but because of his massed material. His position as state historiographer gave him, of course, access to everything, and he made use of his opportunity to an extent then exceptional. At a later period in the art of history-writing his work must have been regarded as crude even for early times. But from one who lived when piety and patriotism were ranked as the highest virtues, higher than truth, integrity, or humanity, the more searching philosophy cannot be expected. Beside the faults of style and arrangement there are evidences everywhere of inexperience and incompetent assistance. Now that we have before us many of the sources of Herrera's material we can see that his notes were badly extracted, and compiled in a bungling manner; so much so that in addition to the ordinary errors, from which to some extent the most carefully executed work cannot be expected to be wholly free, there are many and serious discrepancies and contradictions for which there is no excuse, the cause being simply carelessness. Yet, for all that, Herrera's is not only the most complete, but one of the most reliable of the New World chronicles, and for this the writer merits the gratitude not alone of his countrymen but of the world.

Before closing this note, I will give clearly my opinion regarding the credibility of the early chroniclers, including in that category for the present purpose all the early writers, conquerors as well as historians, such as Columbus and Cortés, Bernal Dias, Solis, Torquemada, Boturini, and the Anonymous Conqueror; for I have been assailed by those who, to gain cheap notoriety in refuting them, have attributed to me doctrines which I have nowhere expressed or held. They who cannot build for themselves seem to think it gravely incumbent on them to demolish any structure another may rear, and with one scurrile sweep they would wipe out the work of twenty years. They are correct enough to this extent, that, if ever a building is found so frail as to fall under their attacks, it does not deserve to stand. Hence we find it the fashion in certain quarters, under cover of criticism, to repudiate the early writings, in so far at least as they interfere with cherished theory or dogmatic opinion. Spain had lately emerged from the Moorish wars with great glory, they say, and Spaniards in the New World, so long as it remained with them to tell the story, would not be in the least behind their brethren at home in this new field of fiery exploits. Hence, for their accounts, naked barbarians were gorgeously apparelled, and surrounded by stately pageantry; art, science, and literature wholly mythical were given them, and cities equal, at least, to the average of civilization were built. Instance the Tenochtitlan, the Tezcuco, the Tlacopan of Cortés and his contemporaries, which must have been pure fictions. Else where are the vestiges of the walls and gardens and palaces? There are no ruins of splendid cities, they continue with the effrontery of ignorance, no remains of aqueducts, stone carvings, and tumuli. There are some fine ruins in Central America and Yucatan, they admit, displaying no mean advancement in architectural art; but they must have been

the work of Egyptians, or Phœnicians, or some other foreigners, because they resemble the ruins standing among those nations, and because no aboriginal people capable of such performance exist in America to-day. There was no human sacrifice in Mexico, because bigoted ecclesiastics in those days were apt to invest with religious significance every hieroglyph, statue, and consecrated stone. One, more virulent than the rest, himself of Indian origin and apparently jealous lest other aboriginals should outshine his Cherokee ancestry, and knowing little either of the Mexicans or their conquerors, denies the existence of a Nahua or Maya civilization and denounces every one who differs in opinion with him, on the ground that all American societies of which he knew aught were formed on one skeleton, a most earthy, red, and ignoble one, and that the conquerors, not understanding this social structure, could not correctly describe it, and therefore their statements are not to be relied on.

I can only say that I have studied these chronicles some score of years, that I have studied the monumental and literary remains of the nations conquered, that, apart from the modern writings of both those who believe and those who disbelieve, I have instituted comparisons and weighed evidence with no more desire to reach one conclusion than another, except always to arrive at the right one; and that in my own mind I am well enough satisfied as to about the measure of truth that should be accorded the respective writers of early New World annals. Others, my assistants and friends, equally earnest and unbiassed, equally desirous of reaching only the truth, and for whose convictions I entertain the highest respect, have devoted many years to the same research and with similar results. It is not my purpose, nor has it ever been, to appear as the champion of the sixteenth-century chroniclers. It is not my province to champion anything. It is a matter of profound indifference to me what these or those are proven to be, whether angels of light or devils of darkness; it is a matter of lively apprehension with me that I should estimate men and nations at their value, and deduce only truth from statements fair or false. While I entertain a distinct conception of the status of the Aztecs and Quichés relatively to other nations of the globe, I have no theory concerning the origin of the Americans, or the origin of their civilization—except that it seems to me indigenous rather than exotic; nor should I deem it wise in me to husband a doctrine on this or any other palpably unprovable proposition.

I am not prepared by any means to accept as truth all that has been said by priest and soldier. No one is readier than I to admit their frequent attempted deceptions. Navigators the world over have been notoriously untrue in regard to their discoveries, giving strange lands strange sights, stocking barren shores with boundless wealth in pearls, and gems, and precious metals, peopling the ocean with monsters, and placing islands, straits, continents, and seas wherever the gaping savans at home would have them. Many of these stories are false on their very face, being contrary to nature and to reason. Some of them are unintentional falsehoods, the off-float from imaginations warped by education, and now morbidly excited under new conditions. By bodily suffering and perils the mind was now and then reduced to the border of insanity; at which times the miracles, the visions, and the supernatural interpositions they record were real to them. But the

best of the early writers wilfully lied in some things, and held it serving God to do so.

Although the temptation and tendency was to exaggerate, to make the New World conquest equal or superior to any Old World achievement; although assertions were at the first not open to contradiction, and the sailors and soldiers of those times, returned from foreign parts, were no more celebrated for telling the truth than those of our own day, yet in the main and as a whole the writings of the Spaniards earliest in America are unquestionably true. Most of the several phases of error and misstatement are easily enough detected, the events described being either impossible or opposed to preponderant and superior evidence. For example, when Las Casas, who was conscientious and in the main correct, asserts that Manicaotex opposed Columbus at the head of 100,000 warriors in Española, we may safely put it down as exaggeration simply from our general knowledge, gained from other sources, of the aboriginal population of these islands and the adjoining continent. Here was a multitude of witnesses, European and American, whose verbal or written statements were usually subordinate to substantial facts, unknown to each other, and giving their evidence at widely different times and places. Often the conquerors fell out and fought each other to the death, writing to Spain lengthy epistles of vindication and vilification, many of which have been preserved; so that where one extolled himself and his achievements, there were a dozen to pull him down. Thus from a mass of contradictory statements, on either side of which the less penetrating are apt to linger, to the patient and laborious investigator unfold the clearest truths. He who habitually practises deceit is sure somewhere to expose himself; and the taking of evidence does not proceed far before the examiner can tell the witness more than he himself knows or remembers of the scenes through which he has passed. The native witnesses, living at the time of the Conquest and subsequently, were likewise naturally inclined unduly to magnify the glories of their ancestors and of their nation; yet to verify their statements they point to the monuments and material remains then and now existing, to manuscripts, huge piles of which it was the infamous boast of the fanatical conquerors to have burned, but of which enough have been preserved to authenticate all the more important parts of their stories; they also refer to tradition, which is worth as much, and no more, than that of other nations.

Blank assertions similar to those advanced against the New World chroniclers might with equal reason and effect be brought forward to overthrow the early records of any nation. Christ and Confucius may be denied, Homer and Shakespeare, but that does not prove they never lived. That Columbus made his seamen swear that no doubt Cuba was Zipangu, does not prove that there was in those days no Japan. Because Drake's chaplain chose to tell the most monstrous and wilful falsehoods respecting the climate, metals, and inhabitants of California; because Cook, Meares, and Vancouver sailed by the mouth of the Columbia, superciliously scourging those who had spoken of it, this does not prove the non-existence of Marin County, or of the River of the West. In such ways as these neither the truth of the one statement nor the falsity of the other is established. But, as I have observed, before us is abundant evidence, palpable and incontestable,

that the early writings on America are for the most part true; and if, in the following pages, it does not clearly appear which are true and which false, then has the author signally failed in his effort. I do not in the least fear the overthrow of the general veracity of these writers until there come against them enemies more powerful with more powerful weapons than any that have yet appeared. How senselessly speculative their reasonings! Because the natives of the present day cannot tell who or whence were the authors of the carvings, or the builders of the structures upon whose ruins they have gazed since childhood, these works must forsooth have been done by foreign visitors. Europeans now and then may have found their way to America, but I find no evidence of such visits before the time of Columbus except by the Northmen; no one knows of such, nor can know until more light appears. The material relics, I fancy, will always prove a stumbling-block to those who would reject American aboriginal civilization.

That different conquerors, teachers, and travellers of various creeds and nationalities, in various pursuits, in different lands and at various times, together with native testimony, hieroglyphic writings, and traditions, to say nothing of carvings in stone and other monumental remains, should all combine, with satanic inspiration, to perpetrate upon the world one grand and overwhelming fraud is so preposterously ridiculous that the marvel is how there could be found, outside the walls of a lunatic asylum, a single individual with cool impudence enough to ask men to believe it. And yet there are several such, and they find believers. So charmed by the sound of their own voice are these captious cavillers, that they apparently do not deem it possible for such things to exist in this enlightened age as pedantic ignorance and literary fanaticism, of which they are bright examples. They do not seem to know that the petty and puerile theories which they would pass upon the simple as startling conceptions, original with themselves, are as old as the knowledge of the continent. They do not consider that before taking the first step toward proving origin, migration, or kinship by analogy, they must first dispose of the universal relationship of man, the oneness of human nature, human needs, and human aspirations, and then show how men first came upon this earth, and which was land and which water then and since. But those who thus array themselves against American aboriginal civilization and the early Spanish writers on the New World do not pretend to offer counter evidence, or to refute with reason; they rely chiefly on flat contradiction. I have yet to find among them all any approach to reasonable propositions or logical argument. They have nothing on which to base argument, neither fact nor plausible supposition. Their hypotheses are as chimerical as their deductions are false. They would have the world exercise a far more irrational credulity in accepting their hollow negations, than in believing every word of the most mendacious chronicler. And when they come to deny the presence of a native civilization upon the Mexican table-land, they betray lamentable ignorance both of the facts of history and of the nature of civilization.

CHAPTER VII.

SETTLEMENT OF SANTA MARÍA DE LA ANTIGUA DEL DARIEN.

1510-1511.

FRANCISCO PIZARRO ABANDONS SAN SEBASTIAN—MEETS ENCISO AT CARTAGENA—HE AND HIS CREW LOOK LIKE PIRATES—THEY ARE TAKEN BACK TO SAN SEBASTIAN—VASCO NUÑEZ DE BALBOA—BOARDS ENCISO'S SHIP IN A CASK—ARRIVES AT SAN SEBASTIAN—THE SPANIARDS CROSS TO DARIEN—THE RIVER AND THE NAME—CEMACO, CACIQUE OF DARIEN, DEFEATED—FOUNDING OF THE METROPOLITAN CITY—PRESTO, CHANGE! THE HOMBRE DEL CASCO UP, THE BACHILLER DOWN—VASCO NUÑEZ, ALCALDE—NATURE OF THE OFFICE—REGIDOR—COLMENARES, IN SEARCH OF NICUESA, ARRIVES AT ANTIGUA—HE FINDS HIM IN A PITIABLE PLIGHT—ANTIGUA MAKES OVERTURES TO NICUESA—THEN REJECTS HIM—AND FINALLY DRIVES HIM FORTH TO DIE—SAD END OF NICUESA.

WHEN Alonso de Ojeda left San Sebastian for Española, he stipulated with Francisco Pizarro, who for the time was commissioned governor, that should neither he himself return, nor the bachiller Enciso arrive within fifty days, the colonists might abandon the post and seek safety or adventure in other parts.

And now the fifty days had passed; wearily and hungrily they had come and gone, with misery an ever present guest; and no one having come, they dismantled the fortress, placed on board the two small brigantines left them the gold they had secured—trust Francisco Pizarro for scenting gold, and getting it—and made ready to embark for Santo Domingo. But though only seventy remained, the vessels could not carry them all; and it was agreed that they should wait awhile, until death reduced their number to the capacity of the boats.

Nor had they long to wait; nor would their grim attendant let them put to sea without him. He had been so long domiciled with them, and had become so useful in settling disputes, adjusting accounts, and the like, that he was one of them, and one, indeed, with all the companies which attempted colonization on these pestilential shores. As they coasted eastward in search of food before steering across for Española, a squall struck the vessels, overturning one of them and sending all on board to swift destruction. Entering with the other the harbor of Cartagena, Pizarro found there the tardy Enciso hunting his colony.

Now the bachiller, beside possessing great learning, was a man of experience, all the way from Spain; a man of keen intelligence and practical sagacity, his wits sharpened by the narrow-minded legal bigotry of a sixteenth-century Spanish lawyer. He must be of exceedingly ready wit who could deceive the bachiller. It was scarcely to be expected a man of his kidney should credit the stories of Ojeda's visit to Santo Domingo, of the deputy governorship, and of the late disaster; though honest Pizarro on this occasion told only the truth, and his companions vouched for it with all the feeble force of their high-keyed husky voices. If Ojeda had gone to Santo Domingo more than fifty or seventy days before, would not the bachiller have seen him there? Indeed, to a less erudite judge than Enciso, a band of robbers on the high seas, with an abundance of gold and no bread, would call up suspicions rather of foul play than honest adventure. And back they must go. The functions of high judge should begin here and now. Was not this Nueva Andalucía? With the horrors of San Sebastian still fresh in their minds, the thought of returning there was repugnant in the extreme, and the poor wretches begged the lawyer to let them go to Española, or join Nicuesa. No. Enciso had staked his whole earthly posses-

sions on the delightful prospect of domination, and these should not escape him. They were just the clay for his fashioning; men for whom the law was made. Whipping out his commission, which at once deposed Pizarro, the bachiller drove them back into their boat, and all embarked for San Sebastian. But scarcely had they turned the Punta de Caribana,[1] when the bachiller's well-stored ship struck upon rocks and broke in pieces, those on board barely escaping with their lives. Thus the worthy bachiller was beggared; the savings from life-long pettifoggings were swept away within the hour. Still his original stock in trade, egotism and arrogance, was left unimpaired.

Making their way along the shore to San Sebastian, the Spaniards found their fort demolished and their houses, some thirty in number, burned. In a feeble way they began to forage again, but even Enciso saw that it was useless. The absence of food, the poisoned arrows, and the poisoned air were too much for the bravest long to contend with. "Let us leave this accursed spot," they all cried. "Whither

[1] So named by the early settlers of Antigua, probably because of its being on the other side of the gulf from them, toward the Carib country. It is now known as Punta Arenas. Some maps make two points, and give one of the names to each.

would you go?" demanded the lawyer. One of them said:—"Once when I coasted this gulf with Rodrigo de Bastidas, along the western shore we found the country fertile and rich in gold. Provisions were abundant; and the natives, though warlike, used no poisoned arrows. Through this land of which I speak flows a river called by the natives Darien."

All eyes were turned upon the speaker. It was the *hombre del casco*, Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, a fine specimen of the Spanish cavalier, at that time about thirty-five years of age. He was taller than Ojeda, though perhaps not stronger; there was not about him the assurance of breeding and position that Nicuesa bore; nor were there present in his features those marks of greed and brutality plainly discernible in the face of Francisco Pizarro, who stood not far from him. Strong and comely in every part, apparently, of body and mind, one to be observed with intuitive respect in a society of this kind, one to be approached with ease, but with due care; frank and manly, with a firm and winning eye and manner, yet there was about him noticeable something between shyness and reticence. Indeed, the standing of this person, since his sudden and altogether informal appearing as one of the present company had been somewhat dubious, and he seemed to regard it good taste to hold himself rather in the background. For all this there was that innate superiority about him over every one present, not excepting the erudite judge or the subsequently cunning conqueror of Peru, that could not always remain concealed, particularly amid constantly recurring vital issues.

Of the invariable poor but noble family, a native of Jerez de los Caballeros, Vasco Nuñez was reared in the service of Pedro Puertocarrero, the deaf lord of Moguer. Drawn with the crowd to the New World, upon the abrupt termination of the voyage of Bastidas, he obtained a repartimiento of Indians, and applied himself to agriculture at Salva-

tierra, a town of Española. Becoming embarrassed by debts, and disgusted with the plodding life of a farmer, he determined to try fortune in the new colony of Alonso de Ojeda. But how to escape his creditors was the question. Debtors were prohibited by edict from leaving the island. The town of Santo Domingo at this time swarmed with insolvent adventurers anxious to engage in new adventure, and the strictest watch was kept on them by the authorities. An armed escort accompanied every departure until well out at sea, to bring back discovered stowaways. For all this Vasco Nuñez determined to sail with Enciso. Now mark the budding of genius! Taking a large cask, such as was used in shipping stores, he ensconced himself therein, and caused it to be headed up, placed upon a wagon, and driven from his farm to the landing, where it was placed with the other stores, and finally carried on board the ship. The vessel put to sea; the tender returned to port; to the creditors was left the farm of Vasco Nuñez, while the late owner was forever safe beyond their reach.[2]

When, like Aphrodite from her circling shell, the serio-comic face of the bankrupt farmer appeared emerging from the provision cask, the bachiller was disposed to treat the matter magisterially, and threatened to land the refugee from justice on the first deserted island. But as the learned judge could not be held accountable as a party to the fraud, and as he thereby gained a valuable recruit, his judicial sensitiveness was finally mollified, and he assigned to the stowaway the ordinary duties of a soldier. Nevertheless the mildly murderous threat of the lawyer was not lost upon the farmer.

Into the hearts of the desponding colonists at San Sebastian the words of Vasco Nuñez infused new life. No time was lost in making ready; and crossing the gulf, they found the country and river as he

[2] Oviedo, ii. 426, says that, with the assistance of one Hurtado, Vasco Nuñez was hidden in a ship's sail.

had said. Near this river of Darien,[3] for so the Atrato and country thereabout was then called, stood the village of the cacique, Cemaco, a brave and upright ruler.

Enciso, who is no less valiant than wise and conscientious, determines to make this place judicially his own. Cemaco, who believes himself the legal owner, objects. Whereupon is invoked that admirable provision, the ultimate appeal; and the man of the long robe and the man of no robe at all, each after his fashion, prepare for war. Sending his women and children up the river, Cemaco posts himself with five hundred warriors before the village. Enciso, in whose person are united the combined essences of Christendom, civil, ecclesiastical, and military, concentrates all his forces, human and divine, to hurl upon the presumptuous savage. First, as is his wont in legal battles, to every soldier he administers the oath that he will not flinch before the enemy; then he invokes the powers above to aid him in the approaching contest, vowing that if victory shall be his and the town shall fall into his hands he will name it in honor of the virgin and build and dedicate a church within the town in honor of her sacred image, Antigua of Seville. Moreover, he promises that he will make a pilgrimage to her holy shrine if she will give him the victory over Cemaco; and with

[3] 'Der Name *Darien* (*Dariena*, oder *Tarena*) scheint zunächst mit dem indianischen Namen des grossen Flusses Atrato, welcher sich in den Golf von Uraba ausgiesst, seinen Anfang genommen zu haben. Der erste Eroberer, der in diesen Golf einsegelte, war Bastidas 1501. Ob er schon den Fluss Darien gesehen und den Namen nach Europa gebracht hat, ist ungewiss. Gewiss ist es, das der Name des Flusses Darien bereits in den Dokumenten und Theilungspakten zwischen Nicuesa und Ojeda in Jahre 1509 genannt wird.' *Kohl, Die Beiden ältesten General-karten von Amerika*, 116. On Peter Martyr's map, *India beyond the Ganges*, 1510, is *tariene;* on the globe of Orontius, 1531, the gulf is called *Sinus vraba*, the river *vrabe*, and the Isthmus *furna dariena*. Salvat de Pilestrina, *Munich Atlas*, no. iv., 1515, places on the west side of the gulf of Urabá the word *dariem*. Maiollo, *Munich Atlas*, no. v., 1519, calls the place *daryen;* Fernando Colon, 1527, writes *darien;* Diego de Ribero, 1529, *darie;* *Munich Atlas*, no. vi., 1532–40, *dariem;* Vaz Dourado, 1571, *dariem;* Robert Thorne, in *Hakluyt's Voy. Darion;* *Mercator's Atlas*, 1569; *West-Indische Spieghel*, 1624; *Ogilby's Map of America*, 1671; Dampier, 1699, and subsequent cartographers give the present form.

these preparations the battle begins. The half-starved Spaniards fight like fiends. Cemaco for a time maintains his position with firmness; but the awe-inspiring appearance of the strangers, their ship, their shining armor, their beards, the whiteness of their skin, the wonderful sharpness of their weapons, and the solemn thunder and smoke of their fire-arms soon scatter to the forest his terror-smitten people. To the unbounded joy of the conquerors the town is found rich in gold and cotton, and the adjacent fields afford abundance of provisions.

This is something like reward for toilsome missionary labors. Along the river banks, secreted in caves, are found golden ornaments to the value of ten thousand castellanos.[4] The virgin's share and the king's share are set aside, and the remainder of the spoils divided among the band. Thus Cemaco's village becomes the seat of government in Tierra Firme; and to it, as the lawyer promised the virgin, is given the name of Santa María de la Antigua del Darien.[5]

In good truth fortune had at length smiled upon the colonists. Captives taken in the skirmishes which followed the pitched battle were made to gather gold and work in the fields. The bachiller began a rigorous rule with a full sense of the responsibilities resting upon him as representative of the crown of Spain and of his own importance before his soldiers, and as a hero in the great work of pacification. This view of his own merits appeared to him by no means diminished after his recent success. Though small in

[4] Ogilby, *Am.*, 66, entertains a dim conception of the fact when he says, 'Ancisus pursuing, found in a Thicket of Canes, or Reeds a great Treasure of Gold.'

[5] 'De que hoy no quedan ni vestigios,' says Acosta. Nor do I find laid down on any map in my possession the town of Santa María, or Antigua, or Darien, by which names this place has been severally designated. Puerto Hermoso, placed by Colon at the south-western extremity of the gulf of Urabá, *p: hermosso*, and also by Ribero, *pº hmoso*, is supposed to have been the anchorage of Enciso and the harbor of Antigua. Oviedo, i. 4, in endeavoring to fasten upon the place the name *La Guardia*, confuses himself beyond extrication. 'En la cibdad del Darien (que tambien se llamó antes la Guardia) é despues santa Maria del Antigua.'

number, this colony should be mighty in law. Poor Ojeda! How happy he might have been in the position now occupied by this mummified bundle of quiddities.

Settling themselves in Cemaco's houses, the Spaniards began to look about. First in order after his lawless raid, in the eyes of Enciso, was law. The bachiller, as we have ere this surmised, was one of those super-wise and self-opinioned men who to achieve a fall have only to attain a height. Very little law was here needed, very little government; but Enciso was a lawyer and a ruler, and little of it would not suffice him. His first edict was the prohibition of private traffic with the natives. This measure, though strictly legal, could scarcely be called politic. The hundred or so ragged piratical wretches cast on this rich and feebly defended shore wanted few decrees; and the fewer laws their ruler made for them the fewer would be broken. But, necessary or not, the alcalde mayor must issue orders, else he is no alcalde mayor. Hence other regulations followed, equally unpopular, until the colonists began to consider how best they might make a plug which should stop this great running to waste of law. Though convinced that Enciso was planning to get the gold as well as the government all into his own hands, and employ the colonists as tools wherewith to mine, and hold the savages in check, so inbred is Spanish loyalty, that even the reckless members of this crude commonwealth hesitated before committing any overt act which might forever outlaw them from their country. Better employ his own weapon against the bachiller, for law is safer than hemp for hanging even lawyers.

There was about Vasco Nuñez a plain directness of thought and purpose the very opposite of those engendered of the law's entanglements. Ever since his fortunate suggestion to cross from San Sebastian to Darien he had been regarded as the savior of the

colony; and now he thought he saw open a way of deliverance from their present trouble, and so he told them. "The gulf of Urabá," said he, "separates Nueva Andalucía from Castilla del Oro. While on the eastern side we belonged to the government of Alonso de Ojeda; now that we are on the western, we are subject only to Diego de Nicuesa." Before this simple logic the bachiller was dumfoundered. Of what value was legal lore that could be so easily overturned by an illiterate adventurer? In vain he feebly argued that wherever was Ojeda's colony, Ojeda's deputy was master. The people were against him; and the opinion of the people concerning him was expressed by Vasco Nuñez when some time afterward he wrote the king regarding persons of that cloth in infant settlements: "Most powerful sire," he said, "there is one great favor that I pray your royal highness to do me, since it is of great importance to your service. It is for your royal highness to issue an order that no bachiller of laws, or of anything unless it be of medicine, shall come to these parts of Tierra Firme, under a heavy penalty that your highness shall fix; because no bachiller ever comes hither who is not a devil, and they all live like devils, and not only are they themselves bad, but they make others bad, having always contrivances to bring about litigations and villainies. This is very important to your highness' service in this a new country."[6]

[6] *Carta dirigida al Rey por Vasco Nuñez de Balboa desde Santa María del Darien, 20 de Enero de 1513*, in *Navarrete, Col. de Viages*, iii. 358. That Enciso has been properly represented as a vain and shallow man is proved by a reference to his book, *Suma de Geographia*, 2, wherein he does not hesitate to patronize the boy-emperor 'whose youth had not permitted him to read much of geography.' 'Por tanto yo Martin fernandez de enciso alguazil mayor dela tierra firme delas Indias ocidentales llamada castilla dl oro. Desseando hazer algun seruicio a vuestra. s. c. c. m. que le fuesse agradable y no menos prouechoso, cõsiderando que la poca edad de vuestra real alteza no ha dado lugar a que pudiesseleer los libros que dela geographia hablan.' And that he was as beastly in his bigotry and cruelty as his less learned companions we may know from what he himself wrote the king, *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, i. 449, about the caciques who kept men dressed as women, and used as such, 'and when I took Darien, we seized and burned them, and when the women saw them burning they manifested joy.' Compare *Oviedo*, ii. 425–27, 472–76; and iii. 7; *Herrera*, dec. i. lib. viii. cap. v.–vii.; and lib. ix. cap. 1; or, if one

So the lawyer was deposed, and the cavalier elevated. Enciso gracelessly yielded his dear authority; and after much wrangling among the ill-assorted fraternity, a municipality was decided upon, and two alcaldes[7] were chosen, Vasco Nuñez de Balboa and Martin Zamudio. The office of regidor[8] fell among others to one Valdivia. Subsequently additional officials were chosen.

Government without law, however, proved no less ineffectual than law without government. Disaffections and altercations continued. In the administration of justice, Balboa was accused of favoring his friends and frowning upon his enemies. Some repented having crossed the gulf; some desired the restoration of Enciso; some suggested that as they were now within the jurisdiction of Nicuesa, it was his right to rule, or to name their ruler.

While these strifes were raging, the inhabitants of Antigua were startled one day by the report of a gun coming from the direction of San Sebastian. Thinking perhaps Ojeda had returned, or sent supplies, they built fires on the adjacent heights in order to attract attention. Presently two ships approached, and

will have it in Dutch, *Ezquebel, Aankomst*, 30–8, in *Gottfried, Reysen*, i.; *Acosta, Compend. Hist. Nueva Granada*, 33–8; *Drake's Voy.*, 157–58; *Norman's Hist. Cal.*, 10; *Patton's Hist. U. S.*, 11; *Ogilby's Am.*, 399; *March y Labores, Marina Española*, i. 413–23; *Benzoni, Hist. Mondo Nvovo*, 41–5; *Harper's Mag.*, xviii. 468; *Bidwell's Panamá*, 27–28; and *Heylyn's Cosmog.*, 1087.

[7] As I have before observed, there were alcaldes of various denominations, duties, and jurisdictions. In new discoveries, when the chief of the expedition had not contracted with the king for the appointing of authorities, the settlers met and elected one or more alcaldes and regidores. The alcalde, in the absence of the governor or military chief, presided over the municipal council, composed of regidores who governed the municipality, or *regimiento*, as it was then called. The alcalde was also the executive power, exercising the functions of judge, with original jurisdiction in all matters civil and criminal, those relating to the natives excepted. In the absence of the adelantado he was therefore chief in authority, and when the governor was present, the alcalde was second. Alcaldes in new settlements, and in early times, were different from those created later. Their duties covered the emergency. In the present instance, had Enciso continued to exercise the office of alcalde mayor, regidores might still have been elected to attend to the affairs of the municipality, in which case no alcaldes would have been elected, for Enciso himself would have presided.

[8] Regidores, or members of the municipal council, were elected by the residents of a ward or district. Cities were entitled to twelve, towns to six, and villages or small settlements were limited to three or even less.

anchored before the town. They proved to be vessels belonging to Nicuesa, freighted at Española with supplies for the colony of Castilla del Oro, and commanded by Rodrigo Enriquez de Colmenares. Thrown by stress of weather upon the coast of Santa Marta,[9] he had there lost a number of his men; after which he entered the gulf of Urabá, hoping to find information of Nicuesa.

A quick observer and a faithful officer, Colmenares soon understood the position of affairs, and took prompt measures to secure to his governor such advantages as might accrue from profitless contentions. By a judicious distribution of articles greatly needed by the colonists, attended by wise counsels, he gained their confidence, and partly healed their feuds; so that before sailing he prevailed on them to send two ambassadors to treat with Nicuesa concerning the affairs of their settlement. The two envoys chosen were Diego de Albites, and an aspiring lawyer, hitherto overshadowed by the august presence of Enciso, called the bachiller Diego del Corral, and they were directed to accompany the ships of Colmenares in the brigantine belonging to the settlement of Antigua.

It was about the middle of November, 1510, when Colmenares entered the gulf of Urabá. Unable to gather any tidings of Nicuesa, he continued his voyage westward, searching the inlets along the coast. He would nevertheless have passed Nombre de Dios had he not seen some of Nicuesa's men in their boat, at one of the islands, seeking food. The wildest joy greeted the new arrival. It was to the colony of Castilla del Oro as a reprieve from death. Gazing sadly on the sallow faces and emaciated forms before them, the miserable wreck of Nicuesa's gallant company now reduced to sixty souls, listening to their tales of wretchedness, tears of honest sympathy fell from the eyes of the hardy sailors.

[9] The name of a Spanish settlement midway between Cape de la Vela and Cartagena, and sometimes applied to the territory in that vicinity.

With difficulty could be recognized in the leader of the hapless troop the once gay and courtly Nicuesa. Colmenares gave the sufferers food and comforted them. He told Nicuesa of Ojeda's failure, of the settlement at Antigua, and how Enciso and his company, having found a spot rich in gold and well provisioned, had fallen to quarrelling among themselves about the government, and had finally sent messengers to him, the rightful ruler, for the healing of their disputes.

To Nicuesa these words were as fresh oil in an expiring lamp. But in his enfeebled state, the sudden change from blank despair to brilliant hope played havoc with his discretion. After brief thanksgiving for deliverance, his mind became excited by dreams of boundless wealth and empire. He ordered a feast, at which he presided with insensate levity. Toward the ambassadors from the gulf he assumed a haughty arrogance, claiming supreme authority relative to all matters at Antigua, and stoutly swearing that the gold taken from his subjects of Darien should be disgorged.

Colmenares had marked the effect of Nicuesa's altered temper on his followers. He saw that disaffection was rife, and that the governor held control by a feeble thread. Showing Nicuesa the madness of his course, he explained the importance of attaching the remnant of Ojeda's colony to his own, and pointed out their strength and his weakness; he received in reply only insolent rebukes.

Meanwhile the ambassadors Albites and Corral, men whose wits were about them, were not pleased with this foretaste of Nicuesa's rule; nor did intercourse with Nicuesa's men tend in any wise to diminish their unfavorable impressions. One night they visited Lope de Olano, who for his sins was chained to a rock and made to grind corn. "Behold my condition," he exclaimed. "I have ever served my governor faithfully. I saved him from perishing, when I

had but to delay his rescue to become myself the governor. This is my reward. You men of Antigua may draw your own conclusions." By others the ambassadors were informed that the chief officers of the new government were already selected: Vasco Nuñez was to be stripped of all authority, and Zamudio, as a relative of Olano, could scarcely hope to fare better. Those who had trafficked with the natives were to be severely punished. It was enough. Stealing away, they hastened back to Antigua. "A pretty mess you have made of it, with your infernal bickerings," they said to the assembled confederates. "Nicuesa will give you more of law than Enciso, and more of arbitrary rule than Vasco Nuñez and Zamudio ten times over." A few days after a messenger, one Juan de Caicedo, arrived from Nicuesa, and informed them, for their further comfort, that the governor was detained at one of the islands capturing natives, but would be with them shortly. Perceiving that his tidings were not hailed with transports of joy, and being himself embittered against Nicuesa, as were indeed almost all his followers, Caicedo swung round upon his bearings and laughed at them. "Silly señores! free and rich, you call in a cormorant to swallow your substance and yourselves." And now, as usual when folly comes home, curses flowed freely on themselves and others. The prospect of losing their gold touched them. What should they do?

Once more Vasco Nuñez offers a pertinent suggestion. "You were dissatisfied with Enciso, and questioned many of my acts. Now you fear a governor possessing all the bad qualities of your former rulers, with, perhaps, few of their redeeming traits. If calling Nicuesa was an error, is not receiving him a greater one?" Struck by the suggestion, the colonists drop their differences and unite as one man against Nicuesa, each taking a solemn oath never to serve under him. Sentries are then stationed to give notice of his approach, and measures taken to prevent his

landing. After eight days pleasantly passed kidnapping among the islands, the ill-fated governor enters the harbor and comes to anchor, little dreaming of the reception that awaits him. On shore before the town he observes a company of armed men, assembled, as he supposes, to give him welcome. As he prepares to disembark, the public procurator[10] advances and, to his astonishment, in a loud voice warns him on pain of death not to place foot on shore, but instantly to abandon these parts and return no more.

The colony at Antigua was at this time comparatively strong and well-conditioned; Nicuesa's followers were few, weak, and disaffected. For him to enforce authority was not possible. His mind had dwelt fondly of late on his rising fortunes, and this hostile reception was a terrible disappointment, for it was the last earthly resource. To return to the broken camp at Nombre de Dios would be to enter again the jaws of death; if he could not remain here, he certainly could not depart.

Recovering in a measure, as from a heavy blow, the governor requested permission to land, promising solemnly to enter into any stipulations concerning the government which the colonists should deem just. His proposals were drowned by the shouts of the rabble; and he was warned, as he valued his life, to approach no nearer the shore. Nicuesa continued his expostulations till nightfall, when he retired with his ship a little farther from land. Returning next morning, he renewed his importunities. A change had apparently taken place in the minds of the people, for he was now permitted to land with his page. Balboa received the governor courteously, conducted him to his house, and made him a guest for the night. The affairs of the govern-

[10] The *procurador de la ciudad*, called afterward *síndico procurador*, and later still *síndico*, was an officer of the municipal council, whose duty it was to see the city ordinances enforced, bring suit for and defend the city in any suit, performing the functions of city attorney, beside having a seat in the common council of the city.

ment were discussed, and an amicable understanding was arrived at by the two leaders. It was nothing less, in fact, than that one of them should be first, and the other second, in Castilla del Oro. On the following day a portion of the crew on board Nicuesa's ship was permitted to land; and Vasco Nuñez now endeavored to reconcile his comrades to the rule of the governor. It was too late. Sedition is more easily raised than allayed. Not only was Zamudio jealous of his colleague, but he well knew that under the proposed regime the odium of all the opposition would fall on him. Drawing round him the rougher element, he reminded the colonists of their oath, and pictured to them the poverty and restraint under the proposed government. So successful was he in exciting bad blood, that Nicuesa was glad to escape insult and violence by retiring to his ship. Thus encouraged, Zamudio resolved to press a final issue by capturing the governor, and dictating terms to him. The next day accordingly he placed his men in ambush near the landing, and with one companion, Pedro Macaz, appeared before the ship. Hailing the commander, he assured him that all was well, and that he now might safely venture on shore. Nicuesa fell easily into the trap. Joining the conspirators, he walked unsuspiciously with them toward the spot where the gang lay concealed. When near it Zamudio changed his tone to one of harsh insolence, "Señor Nicuesa," he said, "why do you persist in remaining here contrary to our wishes? Your presence is our ruin. We can neither accept you, nor abandon this place. You must depart instantly, or die. Take your choice." Meanwhile his minions sprang forward. Nicuesa saw it all at a glance. He was fleet of foot, and this was his only hope. So flinging off dignity, he eluded their clutches, dashed off at the top of his speed along the shore, and outstripping his pursuers, turned into the forest to hide.

When Vasco Nuñez saw the desperate plight to

which Nicuesa was reduced, all the generous impulses of his nature were aroused. He hated himself for the part he had played, and cursed the sordid ambition which thus unjustly humiliated so chivalrous a gentleman. More in earnest than ever, he sought out Nicuesa in the wood; and then endeavored to excite the sympathies of the colonists, and even to intimidate them; but all was of no avail. Those there were who well knew they had gone too far ever to be forgiven.

Satan now wholly possessed Zamudio. No fiend could ever invent and execute a more dastardly measure than was now proposed. With sixty men he entered the forest, seized Nicuesa, and made him swear instantly to sail for Spain, touching no port till he should reach Cádiz. Then, as if in mockery, he took from him his only serviceable ship, placed him into the old brigantine, now rotten and unsafe, which had been in use at Veragua, and sent him forth with seventeen men and a few devoted members of his household. It was in March, 1511, that the so lately proud and gallant Nicuesa was thus driven from Antigua, and neither he nor any of that ill-fated company was ever afterward heard from![11]

[11] Benzoni asserts that after leaving Antigua, Nicuesa followed the coast for some distance, but landing one day for water, he was seized by cannibals, who captured the vessel and devoured the men. 'E così Niquesa molto dolente se ne partì, e per quella costa andando saltò in terra per piglior acqua, e su da 'paesani ucciso, e poi mangiato con tutti i suoi compagni, e questo su la fine della vita di Diego di Niquesa, con la sua armata di Veragua.' *Hist. Mondo Nvovo*, i. 47. A story was current for a time that they had been thrown on Cuba, where all perished, leaving inscribed upon a tree, 'Here ended the unfortunate Nicuesa.' Las Casas and Herrera, however, are of opinion that his vessel foundered at sea. 'Algunos imaginaron que aportò a Cuba, y que los Indios le mataron, porque andando ciertos Castellanos por la isla hallaroò escrito en un arbol: Aqui feneciò el desdichado Nicuesa: pero esto se tuvo por los hombres mas verdaderos, por falso, porque los primeros que entraron en Cuba, afermaron nunca aver oydo tal nueva. Lo que se tuvo por mas cierto, es, que como llenava tan mal navio, y las mares de aquellas partes son ton bravas, y vehementes, la mesma mar lo tragaria facilmente, o que pereceria de hàbre, y de sed.' *Herrera*, i. viii. viii. But his fate must forever remain a mystery; and he one among the many whose visionary hopes have been buried beneath these waters; one among the many who, having left home with sanguine expectations, sailed over these seas in quest of gold or adventure, never again to be heard from! It is easy, after a failure, to find the mistake. Many of Nicuesa's misfortunes sprang not from any fault, and yet faults, in place of nobler qualities, were developed by his misfortunes.

CHAPTER VIII.

FACTIONS AND FORAGINGS IN DARIEN.

1511–1513.

THE GARRISON AT NOMBRE DE DIOS—SUBTLE DIPLOMACIES—VASCO NUÑEZ ASSUMES COMMAND—ENCISO, HIS LIFE AND WRITINGS—THE TOWN AND THE JAIL—RIGHTS OF SANCTUARY—VALDIVIA'S VOYAGE—ZAMUDIO'S MISSION—EXPEDITION TO COIBA—CARETA GIVES VASCO NUÑEZ HIS DAUGHTER—PONCA PUNISHED—JURA, THE SAVAGE STATESMAN—VISIT OF THE SPANIARDS TO COMAGRE—PANCIACO TELLS THEM OF A SOUTHERN SEA—THE STORY OF VALDIVIA, WHO IS SHIPWRECKED AND EATEN BY CANNIBALS—VASCO NUÑEZ UNDERTAKES AN IMPIOUS PILGRIMAGE TO THE GOLDEN TEMPLE OF DABAIBA—CONSPIRACY FORMED BY THE NATIVES TO DESTROY ANTIGUA—FULVIA DIVULGES THE PLOT—DARIEN QUIETED—VASCO NUÑEZ RECEIVES A ROYAL COMMISSION—SERIOUS CHARGES—VASCO NUÑEZ RESOLVES TO DISCOVER THE SOUTHERN SEA BEFORE HE IS PREVENTED BY ARREST.

THUS far the first decade of disaster along Tierra Firme; thus far the discovery of Rodrigo de Bastidas in 1501; the ineffectual attempt of Columbus at Veragua in 1502; the failure of the impetuous Ojeda, and the death of the veteran pilot, Juan de la Cosa; the founding of Nombre de Dios and Antigua; the destruction of the superb armament of Diego de Nicuesa, and the sad fate of its commander. Meanwhile we behold evolved from the factions of Antigua two notable characters, Francisco Pizarro and Vasco Nuñez de Balboa. We will now further observe society in Darien, and the attempts of the Spaniards to govern themselves and pacify their neighbors.

When Diego de Nicuesa embarked to assume command at Antigua, he left in the fortress of Nombre de Dios a small garrison under Gonzalo de Badajoz, with Alonso Nuñez de Madrid as alcalde. Their pro-

visions falling low, and expected relief failing them, like ill-mannered wolves they fell to fighting over the little remaining food, and but for the opportune arrival of Colmenares, civilization at Nombre de Dios would soon have found a miserable ending. To the proposal to join their countrymen at Antigua, they eagerly assented, and embarked without delay in the two brigantines sent for the purpose. Lope de Olano was released, and subsequently rose high in the esteem of Balboa. Thus the settlement of Antigua, after the departure of the hapless Nicuesa, comprised all that was left of the two colonies of Nueva Andalucía and Castilla del Oro, and numbered about two hundred and fifty men.[1]

The final disappearance of the two commanders by no means allayed the discords of the colony. Factions assumed broader dimensions than ever. A band of two hundred and fifty bears, after accomplishing the duties of the day, would sensibly stretch themselves under the welcome covert; but intellectual and moral beasts are, by reason of their superiority, doomed to the eternal curse of government; nor does it make much difference as to the quality or quantity of the herd; fools will fight for domination all the same.

Zamudio, followed by the gang that had driven out Nicuesa, claims preëminence as a reward for his villainies. Enciso, the learned and disinterested representative of the higher orders of mastership, earthly and heavenly, never fails to keep the high and holy law spread before these misguided men. Vasco Nuñez keeps his own counsel; but he feels within himself that neither Zamudio nor Enciso shall rule Antigua. All he need do is to continue as hitherto to turn against his opponents their own weapons. The lawyer he vanquishes with law; the ruffian, by giving him a rope wherewith to hang himself. In the present instance, like a skilful tactician, he separates his antagonists and opposes one to the other. Call-

[1] Oviedo, ii. 477, is obviously wrong in saying over six hundred.

ing Zamudio aside, he makes evident to him the necessity, if he would continue a municipal government, of withholding all power from the bachiller. Having no intention of relinquishing the sweets of office, for which he has risked so much, Zamudio lends a willing ear. The lawyer must be quieted, but lawfully. High-handed measures may be employed, but only exceptionally. The law is too useful a weapon to be flung aside by intelligent knaves. So the two alcaldes put their heads together and frame charges to fit the occasion. Enciso is accused of wilful usurpation of authority, of assuming the duties and exercising the functions of alcalde mayor without license from the king—grave charges, truly, emanating from so scrupulous a society. The lawyer's skill at pleading avails him nothing. He is convicted, his property confiscated, and himself cast into prison.[2] He is not long kept in confinement, however, but is set free on giving a promise immediately to leave the country.[3] Thus one of the two ambitious Cæsars is out of the way; but how dispose of the other? Again

[2] 'Il Baccelliero non potena mostrare le Reali sue prouisioni per bauerle per dute nella naue, che si ruppe nel Golfo d'Vraua.' *Benzoni, Hist. Mondo Nvovo*, i. 47. There were those who told Peter Martyr that Enciso was thus punished by providence for having advised the expulsion of Nicuesa.

[3] Martin Fernandez de Enciso first came to the Indies with Bastidas. After practising law for a time successfully at Santo Domingo, he was tempted to this expedition, as we have seen, by Ojeda, upon the promise of the office of alcalde mayor. Though a pettifogger in his profession, he was nevertheless possessed of worth and ability in other directions. In Darien, while in the main well meaning, he was unable to cope successfully with shrewder intellects sharpened by New World experiences. After his return to Spain he published a work, entitled *Suma de geografiâ q̄ trata de todas las partidas & prouincias del mundo: en especial de las indias. y trata largamēte del arte del mare ar: Juntamete con la esphera en romāce: con el regimiēto del Sol & del norte: nueuamente hecha.* As the title indicates, the book purports to be a compendium of universal geography, treating of all parts of the world, but including the little that was then known of the Indies. That part relating to the New World was made up in a great measure from his own observations. And yet it resembles too nearly the usual summaries of the period to be of much value. The first third of the work is devoted to the science of geography, with astronomical tables and a résumé of early Spanish history. Then the physical features of Spain, and Europe generally, are given, and finally a rambling account of Asia, Africa, and America. It was printed at Seville by a German, Jakob Cromberger, in 1519. Other editions appeared in 1530 and 1546. My edition is dated 1530, the part relating to America occupying the last eight folios of the book. Bibliographers believe this the first book relative to the New World printed in the Spanish language. 'Livre curieux, parce qu'il est le

Vasco Nuñez draws Zamudio aside and expresses a fear that the enraged bachiller, once in Spain, will stir up the king against them, and enter false statements before the tribunal of the Indies regarding the quality of justice dispensed by the alcaldes of Antigua. "Would it not be well," continues Balboa, "for one of us to accompany the bachiller? and thus, while misrepresentations may be promptly refuted, we may at the same time secure our government upon a more substantial basis." Zamudio sees this necessity, and is finally induced to accept the commission. Thus Vasco Nuñez is left to reign alone; and every effort is made by him firmly to secure his government. While cementing his friends, he conciliates his enemies; above all he strives to deal justly by everybody, and with fair success. By caring for their comfort and exercising strict impartiality in the division of spoils, he wins the hearts of the fighting men. Even Oviedo, who was not friendly to Balboa, says: "No chieftain who ever went to the Indies equalled him in these respects." And yet, beneath the accumulating honors the recipient sits not wholly at ease. "No one need hope to rule this land," writes Vasco Nuñez to the king, "and sit or sleep; for if he sleep, he will never wake. Day and night I think only of your Majesty's interests. In every battle I lead my men, and with truthful example, and kind treatment of the natives, seek to bring into favor your Majesty's government in these parts."

premièr traité de géographie impr. en Espagne, où l'on trouve des détails sur l'Amérique.' *Brunet, Manuel du Libraire.* 'Apparently the first book printed in Spanish relating to America.' *Rich, Bibliotheca Americana Vetus.* 'L'ouvrage rare et très remarquable.' *Humboldt, Examen Critique,* iv. 306. 'A great hydrographer and explorer, his work is invaluable for the early geographical history of the continent.' *Harrisse, Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima.* Navarrete says: 'Escribió Enciso un papel muy curioso sobre si los conquistadores españoles podian tener y poseer indios encomendados, contra los frailes domínicos que decian que no, y se opusieron al despacho de la expedicion de Pedrarias Dávila, so pretexto de que el Rey no podia enviar á hacer tales conquistas.' And in his *Epitome,* Pinelo remarks: 'Trata en su *Suma Geografia* del Arte de Navegar, de la Esfera, y de las quatro partes del Mundo, especialmente de las Indias, i es el primero que imprimió *Obra Geografica* de ellas.' Indeed, this last was said in 1738, and subsequent bibliographers have repeated it.

It must not be supposed that the settlers were idle all this time, or that the natives, or their gold, were neglected. The town had grown in size and importance since the driving out of Cemaco. Streets had been regularly laid out round a *plaza*,[4] or public square, common to all Spanish towns, and a church and religious houses established, for priests had come hither with the rest.

While Enciso made ready for departure, Bachiller Corral, Captain Badajoz, and others, enemies of Balboa, improved the time by secretly making specifications of both the alcaldes' errors, and by instigating others to assist in criminating the rulers. These charges were to be delivered to the king by Enciso. Hearing of it, the alcaldes seized the ringleaders and confined them in a pen,[5] the municipal jail, situated in the middle of the plaza. But the prisoners escaped from the cage to the Franciscan monastery, and, claiming the protection of the sanctuary,[6] they were finally discharged.

[4] For definition see chapter xv. note 1, this volume.

[5] It was the *cárcel*, whether jail or pen. In newly settled towns, and in some country villages where jails were not built, it was customary to construct a small enclosure on the plaza near the *casa consistorial*, or municipal hall, in which to confine prisoners till sent to the capital of the province, or elsewhere, for trial. Those convicted of petty municipal offences were likewise incarcerated in this pen. Inside were stocks, the better to secure great offenders.

[6] In popular parlance, *acogerse á santuario*, or *acogerse á sagrado*, or *tomar iglesia*, the protection afforded criminals who sought refuge in a church or other sacred asylum. As we shall often meet with the custom in this history I will state briefly what it was. It is well known that from the earliest times, in both heathen and Jewish societies, the right of asylum, or right of sanctuary, has existed, in degrees more or less modified by time, down to the present day. In Spanish-America it was in vogue as late as a quarter of a century ago. Originally the idea implied the right of appeal from the judgment of men to the justice of God. The Creator himself, it is said, set the example by placing a mark on Cain, the first murderer, that none might kill him; and Moses and Joshua, under divine sanction, established cities of refuge, whither certain involuntary offenders might flee and find safety. Later, the founders of cities offered asylum to outlaws for the purpose of increasing the population. To this custom is attributed in a measure the existence, or at least the importance, of Athens, Thebes, and other cities. Instead of making the whole city an asylum, a certain locality was sometimes assigned for that purpose; thus tradition says that one of the first acts of Romulus preparatory to building his city was to set apart Palatine Hill as a place of refuge. Sacred groves were asylums; also temples to the gods, and religious houses. Notably the groves of the Grecians, and the Erechtheium of Athens, the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, and that of Apollon at Miletus. With the advent of Christi-

Valdivia, the regidor, was Balboa's friend; before leaving the Salvatierra plantation they had been warmly intimate. Supplies were needed, and Enciso and Zamudio required passage to Spain. Taking, therefore, a small vessel, and placing in Valdivia's hands a large amount of gold,[7] Vasco Nuñez sent him to Española, with instructions to buy the good opinion of Diego Colon the governor, and Pasamonte[8] the king's treasurer, and bring back recruits. The regidor was fairly successful. He set forth the wealth of Tierra Firme, and the important services of Vasco Nuñez in glowing colors, and obtained from the governor a commission authorizing Balboa to act as his lieutenant in those parts. He begged for his friend

anity, to increase their influence, the clergy secured this privilege for their churches. In the time of Constantine all Christian churches afforded refuge, and Theodosius II. included in this right all houses belonging to the church, with their courts and gardens. In France and Spain not only the church and its surroundings afforded protection, but all chapels, cloisters, abbeys, monasteries, cemeteries, tombs, crosses, and in short all religious monuments. Frequently a stone bench, called the stone of peace, was placed for refugees within the church near the altar. The priests assured the people that they would be visited by dire calamities if they violated this right. Gradually, however, the practice diminished. Though the culprit must not be forcibly dragged from the church, he might be enticed thence, or starved out, or smoked out. Then the more abhorred criminals, as heretics and murderers, were denied protection; and the number of places was reduced. Clement XIV., in 1772, limited the number to one or two in each town, though no one sheltered by the roof of a church might be torn thence without an order from the ecclesiastical judge. The right of churches to extend protection over minor offenders was recognized long after it became the custom for the clergy to deliver rank offenders for punishment. The superstition was respected, as we have seen, in the wilds of the New World by the distempered colonists of Darien. Nor was England free from it; to this day there are places in France, and in Scotland, Holyrood abbey and palace, where a debtor may not be arrested. For a good treatise on right of sanctuary, and on immunity of religious persons and places, see *Vazquez, Chronica de Gvat.*, 288 et seq.

[7] Peter Martyr, dec. ii. cap. iv., thinks Valdivia carried away 300 pounds of gold. In the words of his quaint English translator:—'This pound of eight ounces, the Spanyardes call Marcha, whiche in weight amounteth to fiftie pieces of golde called Castellani, but the Castilians call a pound Pesum. We conclude therefore, that the summe hereof, was xv. thousande of those peeces of gold called Castellani. And thus is it apparent by this accompt, that they receiued of the barbarous kings a thousande and fyue hundred poundes, of eight ounces to the pounde: all the whiche they founde readie wrought in sundry kindes of ouches, as cheynes, braselets, tabletes, and plates, both to hang before their brestes, and also at their eares, and nosethrils.

[8] Quintana thinks the amount was too small, or that it never reached him; for as events unfolded Pasamonte proved himself no less friendly to Enciso than hostile to Vasco Nuñez. It seems never to occur to a Spaniard that a public officer could refuse a bribe. As it was, Pasamonte did favor Vasco Nuñez.

Pasamonte's influence with the king; but Enciso was active there with opposing influence.

Meanwhile Balboa was haunted by thoughts not of the happiest. He well knew how precarious was his tenure of position. Nicuesa's wrongs were ever before him. Though not the chief criminal in that affair, he knew he was criminal enough. Yet before the deed was done, and since, he had striven to make amends. "Once, twice, three times," writes he to the king, "have I sent aid to Nicuesa's men, and saved them when dying at the rate of five and six a day." Then, too, he must confess having treated poor Enciso somewhat shamefully; and the bachiller was stronger where there was more strength in the law; while Zamudio was not the same before the king as before his Antigua ruffians. There remained only one course. Action was the word. If he would play the great man, and rule others, he must bestir himself to something nobler than political strife and demagogy at Antigua. Gold would help him; he thoroughly appreciated the weakness of officials in that direction; but a notable adventure, a great discovery, were better. At all events, upon whatever he should decide, he must act immediately, before being deprived of his present modicum of authority.

First of all, he would begin his career of greatness by assuming to be great. One is never nearer the truth than when one puts on humility and curses one's self for an ass. Without offensive ostentation he assumed becoming forms of dignity, took upon himself the title of governor, appointed officers, and drilled soldiers in the tactics of Indian warfare.

Some twenty leagues westerly from Antigua, adjoining the lands of Cemaco, was an Indian province called Coiba, of which Careta[9] was chief. The gov-

[9] We shall see everywhere, from Darien to Alaska, Indian towns and provinces frequently called by the name of the ruling chief. For instance, adventurers and geographers who knew only the chief's name, called his village Careta's village, or Careta; his country, Careta's country, or Careta.

ernor, being informed that Careta was rich in gold and maize, despatched thither a small company under Pizarro, whom he had made captain. They were hardly on the march before Cemaco was encountered, at the head of four hundred men, all fired, like their chief, with ever-living rage. Never for an hour since the strangers landed to seize their homes had the eyes of the savages been removed from them. It was hopeless to fight, naked as they were; yet for what had they to live, with houses and lands and all their property taken from them? The mode of warfare, too, was against the natives; they did not fight here, as at San Sebastian, with poisoned arrows shot from behind rocks and trees, but engaged in hand-to-hand conflict, opposing their defenceless bodies to the steel weapons of the Spaniards, on whose coats of mail their darts and clubs fell harmless. A fight ensued nevertheless, and fiercely it was waged. It is somewhat difficult to believe Herrera when he says that Pizarro had with him but six men, who, when the four hundred closed with them, eviscerated one hundred and fifty savages, and put the remainder to flight. Hastening back to Antigua, leaving one man wounded on the field, Pizarro stood before the governor exhausted and bleeding. Balboa's anger at the desertion overpowered for a moment his admiration for the desperate courage displayed by the little band, and turning to Pizarro, he said sharply, "Go instantly and bring me Francisco Hernan, and, as you value your life, never again leave one of my soldiers alive upon a field of battle." Pizarro departed, and soon returned with his disabled comrade. Balboa immediately placed himself at the head of a hundred men, and started in pursuit of Cemaco, determined to ex-

Maiollo, 1519, writes on his map, where the province of Careta should be, *aldea de machin;* and adjacent north-west, *P. scatozes.* Vaz Dourado, *Munich Atlas,* nos. x. and xi., 1571, labels the province *careta;* De Laet, 1633, gives *Careta;* Jefferys, 1776, *Pta Carata;* and Kiepert, 1858, *Pto Carreto.* Alcedo mentions the river *Careti.* 'De la Provincia y Gobierno del Darien y Reyno de Tierra-Firme: nace en las montañas del N. y sale al mar en la Ensenada de Mandinga.'

tirpate the tribe; but, after ascending the river for some distance and finding no enemy, he abandoned pursuit. Scarcely had he returned, when the two brigantines sent to Nombre de Dios for the remainder of Nicuesa's men made their appearance at Antigua. They brought no news of Nicuesa, greatly to the disappointment of Balboa, who would now gladly have fortified himself in a less elevated position, and placed Antigua under the banner of the lawful governor of the territory.

Fresh accounts of the wealth of Coiba, by this arrival, soon dispelled the governor's misgivings, and turned his thoughts in other directions. It seems that as the vessels were returning from Nombre de Dios, they touched the shore of Coiba; and while there were greeted by two painted savages in plain Castilian. The riddle was solved when the men told them they were gentlemen renegades, escaped from Nicuesa's colony for fear of punishment for misdemeanor. After long and dangerous wanderings in the wilderness, they had thrown themselves, half-dead, upon the mercy of Careta, who received them with gentle courtesy, bestowing food and every kindness, which they were now ready to requite by betraying to the Spaniards the cacique's treasures, for he was very rich.

To this act of treachery the Spanish yielded a prompt compliance, and were ready for the adventure on the instant. Owing to their present weak condition Colmenares advised delay, and arranged that one of the miscreants should go with them to Antigua, while the other remained with Careta in readiness to betray him at the proper time. Nor had the governor the least scruple in availing himself of this villainy. With one hundred and thirty men he marched on Coiba, directing the two brigantines to meet him there. Acting under the direction of the fugitive whom he had made his confidant and counsellor, Careta went out to meet the Spaniards, brought them to his village, and entertained them to the best of his

ability. Balboa began with the modest request for maize to fill his ships. Careta answered, that owing to war with his ever hostile neighbor, Ponca, he had this year planted nothing, and hence had no surplus. Careta's Spanish friend assured his countrymen that this was false, that the savage had abundance. It was enough. A heathen had lied to a Christian. Let the nation be anathema!

Bidding the chief a friendly farewell, with thanks for his hospitality, the Spaniards took their departure as if for Antigua; but about midnight they returned, attacked the village on three sides, slaughtered the inhabitants, burned the houses, loaded the brigantines with booty, and carried Careta and his family prisoners to Antigua. "Why should you do this?" asked Careta. "How have I wronged you? Take my gold, but restore me to my country. And as a pledge of my good faith, there is my daughter who shall remain a hostage in your hands. Take her and let us be friends." The proposal pleased the governor, not less from the advantage of the alliance, than from the influence thrown over him by the charms of the dusky maiden, for she was very beautiful, and had already given her heart to the Christian chieftain. And thus according to the usage of her people she became his wife, though not wedded after the Spanish fashion; and Vasco Nuñez ever cherished her with fond affection.

Before dismissing the new allies with presents to their homes, care was taken to excite their admiration by showing them the arms and implements of civilization, and unfolding to them the doctrines of the true faith. These doctrines must have appeared in strange contrast to the blood-thirsty deeds of the Spaniards.

A joint expedition against Ponca, in which Balboa participated with eighty men, overran that chieftain's domain with great damage to him, and with some gain to the Spaniards in provisions and gold.

Adjoining Careta's lands, on the seaboard to the

west, were those of Comagre,[10] whose nation numbered ten thousand souls, and mustered three thousand warriors. Balboa visited him peaceably, upon the arrangement of a friendly interview by a native *jura*, or official, a deserter from Careta's council, who had become offended with his master, and joined Comagre. The jura was a statesman in a rude way, and a diplomat. He knew of the Spaniards, of their fearful doings, and of their alliance with Careta; and being an honest, well-meaning savage withal, he thought to avert disaster by interposing friendly relations.

With a train of attendants, Comagre met his distinguished guest, and with much ceremony conducted him to the palace,[11] which for size, durability, and rude excellence, far exceeded anything the Spaniards had seen in the New World. Among the numerous descendants of Comagre, for he was much married, were seven sons, remarkable for their valor, and nobleness of demeanor. The eldest, Panciaco, united with a haughty bearing exceptional sagacity. He saw at once the superiority of steel weapons; he saw that the Spaniards coveted gold; and he thought he saw an easy way open for purchasing their good-will. Collecting four thousand ounces of the metal finely wrought, he presented it with seventy slaves to the Spaniards, and watched the effect. The king's fifth was first solemnly set aside. Then they began to divide the remainder of the gold among themselves; and in this division arose a dispute which made Panciaco's lip curl in scorn as he watched them weighing the stuff. Louder grew their altercations, which were followed by blows. Overcome at length by disgust, Panciaco darted forward and struck the scales a violent blow which sent their precious contents flying. "Why quarrel for such a trifle!" he exclaimed. "Is it for this

[10] Map-makers give—Vaz Dourado, *comogra*, De Laet, *Comagre*, and *Pta de Comagre*, 'which according to Keipert,' says Goldschmidt, *Cartography Pac. Coast*, MS. i. 67; 'as near as I can determine, is now *P. Mosquitos*.'

[11] Peter Martyr, dec. ii. cap. iii., says this building measured 150 by 80 paces. See *Bancroft's Native Races*, i. 758.

you leave your country, cross seas, endure hardships, and disturb the peace of nations? Cease your voracious brawl and I will tell where you may obtain your fill of gold. Six days' march across yon mountain will bring you to an ocean sea, like this near which we dwell, where there are ships as large as yours, and cities, and wealth unbounded."

Forgetting in the matter the manner of the discourse, the Spaniards listened with eager attention. "How say you?" said Vasco Nuñez. "What proof have you of this?" "Listen to me," replied Panciaco. "You Christians seem to prize this metal more than body, life, or soul; more than love, hate, revenge. Some mysterious virtue it must possess to charm men so! We who can not translate its subtle power, love better friends, and sweet revenge. My father has an ancient enemy, Tubanamá, who lives beyond the mountains fronting the other sea. From time immemorial our people have fought his people; many have been killed on either side, and many enslaved. Could we for once bring low this hated Tubanamá, no sacrifice would be too dear. Be yours the gold; give us revenge. The path is difficult, the enemy fierce. One thousand Spaniards are none too many successfully to cope with him. Prepare your army. I myself will accompany you with all the warriors of our nation; bind me fast; keep me in close custody; and if my words prove false, hang me to the nearest tree."[12] Vasco Nuñez pondered. The area of his destiny seemed suddenly to have enlarged. If this the young man had said were true, and he might tap the mystery, and bring to the light of nations this other side of Tierra Firme, the temporary governor of a handful of heterogeneous colonists might achieve everlasting fame as one of the world's great discov-

[12] 'Estas palabras célebres,' says Quintana, 'conservadas en todas las memorias del tiempo, y repetidas por todos los historiadores, fueron el primer anuncio que los españoles tuvieron del Perú.' *Vasco Nuñez de Balboa*, 13. To which I would remark, first, that it is not certain Panciaco referred to Peru; and secondly, that vague allusions of a similar kind were made to Columbus, which historians apply to Peru.

erers, and realize the dream of Columbus, to rule the Aurea Chersonesus of King Solomon. To him who can execute comes opportunity. "God has revealed the secrets of this land to me only," he piously writes the 20th of January, 1513, "and for this I never shall cease to thank him." But whence were to come the requisite one thousand men? After closely interrogating Comagre, Careta, and other chieftains concerning the tramontane regions, the Spaniards returned to Darien; but not until many of the natives had renounced idolatry and received baptism at the hands of the priests. There they found Valdivia returned from Santo Domingo, after an absence of six months, with a small store of provisions, and what was of the highest consequence to Vasco Nuñez at this juncture, the commission from Diego Colon as governor of Antigua.

To guard against the scarcity of food which had thus far been one of the chief causes of failure in every attempt to colonize Tierra Firme, the governor had this year caused to be planted a large tract adjacent to Antigua, the labor of course being performed by captives. "Food has been our great necessity rather than gold," said Vasco Nuñez in a letter to the king. But a hurricane, followed by inundation, destroyed the crop, and Valdivia was again sent with the caravel to Santo Domingo for provisions. In a letter to Diego Colon, the governor set forth in extravagant terms his further knowledge of the country, dwelling upon the information received of a great sea to the southward, and begging assistance in raising a thousand men for its discovery. Gold to the value of fifteen thousand pesos[13] was, by this departure, remitted the king's officers as the royal share for the last six months. Large sums were also sent by private persons to their friends and creditors in Española and Spain. But all to no end. For when near Jamaica,

[13] This on the authority of Herrera. Gomara places the king's fifth at 20,000 ducats, and Bernal Diaz at 10,000 pesos de oro.

the vessel was struck by a squall, carried westward, and thrown on some rocks off Yucatan. Ship and cargo were all lost. Twenty men, without water, or food, or sail, or oars, in an open boat, escaped with bare life.

And now comes another tale of wretchedness which might well grace the annals of Acheron. In their helpless condition they are carried by the currents for thirteen days; one third of their number die of thirst, and the survivors drift to a yet more horrible fate. Thrown on the Maya shore, they are seized by savages, placed in a pen, and well fed. After their sufferings at sea, this is not so bad; but one day Valdivia and four others are taken to the temple and sacrificed, and their roasted limbs eaten in honor of the gods; over which prospect for themselves the survivors are uncomfortable, and nerved by desperation, they break cage and escape to the forest, where they wander naked and starving until life is a burden. Then they cast themselves at the feet of Ahkin Xooc, cacique of Jamancana, neighbor and enemy of the Maya lord. He and his successor, Taxmar, make them serve as beasts of burden until two only are left alive, Gonzalo Guerrero, sailor, and Gerónimo de Aguilar, friar. In an interchange of captives, the sailor becomes the property of Nachan Kan, chief of Chetumal. Bold and buoyant-hearted, he rises to barbaric distinction, becomes a great general, marries a princess, and in after years, when opportunity offers, declines return to civilized life. The friar is rescued by Cortés, in 1519, in which connection we shall again meet him.[14]

Cannibals are horrible things; but their teeth were hardly so sharp as Spanish steel, which, in following the law of survival common to the animal kingdom, was sacrificing freely about Antigua at this time.

[14] The strange story of Aguilar is given by *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 21–22; *Torquemada*, i. 371; *Cogolludo, Hist. Yucathan*, 24–9; and by *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. vii. cap. v. He was kept seven years in this captivity.

"Thirty caciques have already been slain in the attempted pacification of this country," writes Vasco Nuñez to Diego Colon, "and now that I am obliged to penetrate still further in search of food, I must kill all who fall into my hands; otherwise our colony can not exist while waiting relief." In pursuance of this humane measure, early in 1512—it was toward the close of 1511 that Valdivia had sailed for Española—the governor organized an expedition against Dabaiba,[15] a rich province some thirty leagues to the southward.

Startling stories were told of this place. At a temple lined with gold, slaves were sacrificed for the gratification of the gods, who returned in miracles the favors of their worshippers; so that Dabaiba became as Mecca in the wilderness. Of course, it was an outrage against heaven that the heathen gods should have so much gold and glory; though hunger and avarice lent as much assistance, perhaps, as piety, in instigating the contemplated raid.

Selecting one hundred and sixty men, Vasco Nuñez embarked in two brigantines for the mouths of the river.[16] There he divided his force, sending one third, under Colmenares, up the channel San Juan, while with the remainder he ascended the Rio de las Redes, the more direct route to Dabaiba, as he had been informed. But the eye of Cemaco, in restless hate, was still upon them. Rousing the country, he induced the caciques along the river to retire, and leave wasted fields to the invaders, a measure which defeated the expedition. Nevertheless, the Spaniards

[15] The name is variously rendered *Dabayba*, *Dabaibe*, *Davaive*, *Daibaba*, *Abibe*, *Abibeja*, and *d'abaibe*. 'Auch der Rio Atrato wurde nicht selten *Rio Dabeyba* genannt. Das 'D' im Anfang dieses Namens ist nur eine Abbreviatur von 'de,' und das Wort sollte wohl eigentlich: *d'Abaibe* geschrieben werden.' *Kohl, Beiden ältesten karten*, 125. Maps mark the region, Colon and Ribero, *dabayba*, at the southern extremity of the gulf, and De Laet gives the *Montanas de Abibe*.

[16] The Atrato discharges through several channels, one of which was called the Rio del Darien; one the Rio Grande de San Juan; one the Rio de las Redes, from the snares or nets found there for taking wild beasts; one the Rio Negro, from the color of its water. Often the Spaniards had scoured these parts in search of food and gold.

secured, a short distance up the river, two canoe-loads of plunder, valued at seven thousand pesos, but on reaching the gulf they were overturned in a storm, and the boatmen drowned. Balboa then proceeded to the Rio San Juan and joined Colmenares, after which the entire party ascended the Negro channel for six leagues, and captured a town of five hundred houses, governed by a cacique named Abenamechey, one of whose arms a Spaniard cruelly struck off after he had been made prisoner. Leaving there half the men in charge of Colmenares, with the remainder Balboa continued his ascent of the stream, until, on entering a small branch, he found himself within the domain of Abibeiba, whose people built their houses in the branches of palm trees, making the ascent by ladders drawn up at night for safety. A supply of stones was kept in the houses for artillery purposes. When they saw the Spaniards coming, the people ran like squirrels for their houses, and drawing up after them the ladders, fancied themselves in security.

Approaching the tree in which lived the chief, Balboa hailed him and ordered him down. "What brings you hither to molest me?" demanded the chief. "Go your way. I know you not as friends or foes. I have no gold. I desire only to be left in peace." The Spaniards answered by applying the axe to the tree, and when the chief saw the chips fly, while his stone showers fell harmless upon the mail-coated men below, he capitulated, and the village descended to earth.

After further foraging and fighting with varied success, the governor returned to Antigua, leaving Bartolomé Hurtado with thirty-one men in possession of the country. Of these more than half fell sick, and Hurtado incautiously despatched them for Antigua with twenty-four captives in charge. They had not proceeded more than three leagues before Cemaco was upon them with one hundred warriors; and of the Spaniards only two escaped to carry the news to

Hurtado, who hastened to Antigua with the further intelligence that five caciques, namely, Abibeiba of the high-tree house, Abernemechy of the severed arm, Dabaiba of the golden temple, Abraiba and Cemaco of Darien, had confederated with five thousand men to exterminate the Spaniards. The rumor was lightly regarded until Vasco Nuñez was informed by one of his mistresses, Fulvia he called her, that her brother had notified her to withdraw from the town on a certain night, so that she might not fall in the massacre intended. Love overruling duty, Fulvia thus divulged the secret. She saved the settlement, but she lost her country.

Poor heart of woman touched with love! Vasco Nuñez induced Fulvia to lure thither her brother, who thereupon was seized and forced to confess the plot. Furthermore, he told Balboa that then at work in his fields were forty men long pledged to assassinate him, but as he had always appeared before them armed and armored, and on a caparisoned horse, which was their greatest terror, they had feared to attack him. The rendezvous of the conspirators was Tichirí, not far distant. With seventy men, by a circuitous route, Balboa marched on the encampment, while Colmenares with an equal force ascended the river in canoes, guided by the traitress Fulvia's traitorous brother. Attacked thus unexpectedly from opposite sides, the confederates were thrown into confusion; many were killed and many taken prisoners. The chief general was honored by being shot to death with arrows, while the others were hanged. Cemaco escaped. So sudden and bold and severe was this blow, that, while Antigua existed, the savages never recovered from it, and the wooden fortress which Balboa immediately built as a guard against future surprise was scarcely necessary.

The natives being thus pacified, the Spaniards were at liberty to evolve fresh projects. Gold and grain in the vicinity of Antigua were well-nigh exhausted,

and new fields must be found. The time for Valdivia's return had elapsed; and doubts respecting the integrity of the regidor were entertained by Vasco Nuñez, with fears for the safety of his treasure. Unable to endure the suspense he resolved on visiting Spain and pleading his own cause before the king. But the colony demurred. Friends declared his presence necessary, while enemies saw danger in his absence. It was finally arranged that Colmenares and Caicedo, both worthy men who had been faithful to Nicuesa as long as Nicuesa had been faithful to himself, and faithful to Vasco Nuñez, should take the only remaining vessel fit for service and embark for Spain in the general interests of the colony. The reasoning by which the mistrustful populace arrived at this agreement was, that if Balboa went he would secure all the advantages to himself, or never return; while Colmenares, who left large property in lands and laborers, and Caicedo, a genuine Spanish wife to whom he was devotedly attached, would be sure to return.

Again the governor wrote Pasamonte soliciting his favor; not forgetting, in addition to the king's fifth, a valuable present in gold for the king's treasurer. The commissioners sailed from Darien in October, 1512, and reached Spain the May following.

Meanwhile times at Antigua ran their varying course. At first nothing of interest occurred; and such were the composite elements of this society that inactivity invariably resulted in spontaneous combustion. Again it centred round the ruling powers. "Who is this Vasco Nuñez that he should lord it over us? a renegade! an absconding debtor! he of the cask!" The immediate cause of the outbreak was the investiture of Hurtado, an unpopular person, with authority; and the more specific charges were partiality in the division of spoils, and the unlawful assumption of powers pertaining to a royally appointed ruler.

The new faction was led by one Alonso Perez de la Rua, who for fancied insult pawed the earth and bellowed vengeance. The agitation becoming troublesome Perez was arrested and placed in confinement. The insurgents rushed to arms and demanded the release of their leader, and this being denied they prepared to rescue him by force. The governor placed himself at the head of his adherents, and the two parties prepared for battle. At this juncture peaceful measures were interposed by a third party, consisting of those who had taken no active part in the disputes, and embracing many respectable colonists. Perez was released; but the gnawings of hate continuing he roused his party and made prisoner Hurtado, who in his turn was given liberty at the hands of the conciliators.

Chivalry having had its brief day, avarice came in for a share of public attention. Among the yet undivided plunder was gold obtained in the late Atrato River raids, equivalent in value to ten thousand castellanos. Of this the disaffected demanded immediate division.

The governor well knew that in their present mood it was beyond the power of man to satisfy them. Though omniscient justice distributed this treasure, new troubles would grow out of it. He determined therefore to adopt a non-committal policy, retire from the scene, and freely give them the opportunity, for which they were so ready, to shed blood. Quitting the town at night, ostensibly on a hunting tour, he remained away for several days, leaving them to their destruction. The result was as he had anticipated. Finding themselves free the rioters elevated to the command Perez of the wounded honor, and Bachiller Corral. Then breaking into the public plunder-house, they brought out the gold and placed it in the hands of their leaders for distribution. Proof that the division was fair lay in the fact that every one was dissatisfied. Each, rating his own services superior to most and inferior to none, thought he received too little and

another too much. They began to suspect their mistake. A dim perception of the infelicities that mix with the rapturous sweets of governing entered their stolid brains. Balboa's party quickly assumed the ascendency, and thrusting the ringleaders of the insurgents into prison they awaited the return of the governor.

"Your highness must know," writes Vasco Nuñez of this affair to the king, January 20, 1513, "that some days ago little differences occurred here, because the alcaldes, filled with envy and falsehood, attempted to arrest me. Failing in this they brought against me false accusations and false witnesses. Hereof I complain to your highness, for if these men go unpunished, no governor that your highness may hereafter send will be free from this evil. That your highness may know the truth in the matter, and of my great and loyal services in these parts of the Indies and Tierra Firme, I have appointed two judges to investigate my conduct, and report to your majesty all that I have done. I hope," concludes the modest cavalier, "that your majesty will read all this, and reward my great services according to their value."

About this time there arrived at Antigua two vessels, in command of Cristóbal Serrano, sent by Diego Colon, with one hundred and fifty men and provisions for the colony. But what gave Vasco Nuñez the greatest joy was a royal commission, signed by Pasamonte, the treasurer, investing him with the supreme command of the colony. Thus established in authority, and being of a generous temper, the governor at the solicitations of their friends readily pardoned the rebels and set them at liberty.

Another communication, however, which Vasco Nuñez received by this arrival, caused him no little anxiety. This was a letter from Zamudio informing him of his failure to conciliate the royal favor. As

had been feared, the bachiller Enciso, burning under a sense of injuries, had denounced the alcaldes before the Council of the Indies, and aroused the king's wrath by a recital of Nicuesa's banishment and probable death. The Council had decreed that Enciso should be indemnified, and that Vasco Nuñez should be summoned to court to answer graver charges. Moreover, Zamudio with difficulty escaped the arrest imposed on him by the Council.

This was as wormwood in Balboa's cup of joy. Yet it was not wholly unexpected; it was not wholly unmerited. There was one redeeming feature about it; the intelligence was private. He was still master of himself; ay, and governor of the colony. Might not some signal service be made to cover his transgressions, and win for him the royal favor? There was that mysterious sea to the southward, reported by Panciaco. The very thing, were men and means at hand for its achievement. Means! There was no time to talk of means; the next arrival would bring a warrant for his arrest. Do it without means, and so gain glory the more. Where was the true Spanish cavalier who would hesitate in such an emergency? Why, the very danger itself was a fascination. He would do it or die!

CHAPTER IX.

DISCOVERY OF THE PACIFIC OCEAN.

1513.

DEPARTURE OF VASCO NUÑEZ FROM ANTIGUA—CARETA'S WELCOME—DIFFICULTIES TO BE ENCOUNTERED—TREACHEROUS CHARACTER OF THE COUNTRY—HISTORICAL BLOODHOUNDS—PONCA RECONCILED—CAPTURE OF QUAREQUÁ—FIRST VIEW OF THE PACIFIC FROM THE HEIGHTS OF QUAREQUÁ—THE SPANIARDS DESCEND TO CHIAPES—TAKE FORMAL POSSESSION OF THE SOUTH SEA—FORM OF TAKING POSSESSION—THE NAMES SOUTH SEA AND PACIFIC OCEAN—FURTHER DISCOVERIES—PERILOUS CANOE VOYAGE—GOLD AND PEARLS IN PROFUSION—TUMACO PACIFIED—THE PEARL ISLANDS—THE RETURN—TEOCA'S KINDNESS—PONCA MURDERED—POCOROSA PACIFIED—TUBANAMÁ VANQUISHED—GOLD, GOLD, GOLD—PANCIACO'S CONGRATULATIONS—ARRIVAL AT ANTIGUA.

REVOLVING matters in his mind, plans quickly unfolded. Winning for the project a few staunch friends, Vasco Nuñez selected with great care one hundred and ninety men.[1] More could have been taken, but he had determined on a rapid march of discovery rather than pacification and occupation. Hence he preferred only tried men, those inured to fatigue, men resolute and reckless, with heart and head hard, and sinews of steel. He also provided from among his captives and the neighboring nations one thousand natives, to serve as warriors and beasts of burden. These might live or die, as it should happen: no great matter what became of them. A pack of bloodhounds completed the company.

The men were armed with crossbows, swords, arquebuses and targets, and provisions for the expedition were placed on board a brigantine and ten large

[1] Galvano says 290, which for him is quite near the mark. Oviedo places the number at 800, which probably was intended to include the natives afterward added.

canoes. Before embarking, the hazardous nature of the enterprise was made known to the soldiers. Wealth and glory awaited success; the reward of failure, death; opportunity was then offered for any one to withdraw without prejudice or injury.

Sailing with his little armament from Antigua on the first day of September, 1513, Vasco Nuñez de Balboa followed the coast of Darien north-westward to Careta's province, where the expedition disembarked on the fourth day. The chieftain's dusky daughter, whom the governor continued to regard with great affection, was still a bond of friendship between this nation and the Spaniards. Careta added to their stock of provisions and furnished them with guides; and some of his warriors joined the expedition, in the hope of witnessing the downfall of their enemies beyond the mountains. The boats were left in charge of a guard; and after invoking divine favor the expedition was ready to move.

I know the tendency of the historian, warmed by his theme, to magnify merit, and the obstacles it overcomes; and I have elsewhere said as much. While I endeavor to confine myself to the plain words of a simple story, those who have sat at ease, sipping iced champagne, during a delightful ride of three or four hours across this sometime terrible neck, may find in this chapter expressions appearing strong. But I do assure the reader that it is difficult to magnify in the present instance. Vasco Nuñez now stood on the northern coast, opposite the gulf of San Miguel, which, breaking the shore of Panamá Bay, narrows the isthmus of Darien to a width of fifty miles.[2] But

[2] The Spaniards must have had quite accurate information from the natives as to the trend of the southern coast, though there was then little communication between the northern and southern seaboards. But, without such knowledge, Balboa naturally would have undertaken the ascent of the river Atrato, which flows directly from the south, rather than have sailed some distance to the north-west before attempting to cross. The direct march to the gulf of San Miguel, from which course a deviation would have almost doubled the distance, is another evidence of his having obtained the most reliable information before or during the march.

such is the infamous character of the country, that even modern efforts to penetrate the unexplored interior from either side have met disaster and ruin.[3]

[3] Enciso, *Suma de Geographia*, 57, calls the country 'tierra rasa y buena de muchos mãtenimientos y caças.' 'Experience had proved that moving a body of men sufficient to act as a protecting force and to carry the necessary provisions was attended with great risk and great delay.' *Gisborne's Survey of Darien*, in *London Geog. Soc., Jour.*, xxvii. 193. 'Mr Hopkins was lately prevented by the Indians from ascending the Chepo river towards Mandinga, or San Blas Bay; and Dr Cullen was stopped likewise by the aborigines while endeavoring to ascend the Paya river.... *Climate* and *natives* are at present the only serious impediments to a regular survey.' *Fitz-Roy's Intk. Cent. Am.*, in *London Geog. Soc., Jour.*, xx. 161. 'The Panama railroad, a most stupendous work, considering the excessively swampy nature of the country over which it has been carried.' *Cullen's Darien*, 95. For obstacles overcome in surveying and constructing the Panamá railway, see *Otis' Isthmus Panama*, 15–36. The climate inclines 'to the wet extreme, for two thirds of the year, the Rains beginning in *April*.' *Defence of the Scots Settlement at Darien*, 64. On the Atrato 'the trees approach to the very edge of the stream, which their branches overhang. The trees are frequently concealed by dense masses of vines which entirely envelope them, and in certain lights present plays of color comparable only to those of the richest velvet.... But like the plumes and velvet of the funeral pageant, they serve but to conceal and adorn corruption. Behind them stretches, far away, the pestiferous swamp, through the dreary wilds of which even the birds refuse to sport; and whose silence is broken only by the sighing of the breeze, or the sullen growl of the roving tiger.' Venomous reptiles often fall into the boats from the branches overhead; wasps' nests are frequent and troublesome; natural levees of soft mud stretch along the banks. Floods are common, and the houses are built on stilts. *Trautwine*, in *Franklin Inst., Jour.*, xxvii. 220–4. In 1853, Carl Scherzer, a German naturalist, travelling in Costa Rica with a civil engineer and a force of thirty-two men, attempted to make a survey for a road from Angostura to Limon Bay; but on account of scarcity of provisions, illness, and the difficulties of the route, they failed in their purpose; and after having penetrated to within eight leagues of their destination, they were obliged to return, having travelled only ten leagues in two weeks. See *Wagner and Scherzer, Costa Rica*, 358–407. In December of the same year, a party under J. C. Prevost, of H. M. S. *Virago*, set out with fourteen days' provisions from the gulf of San Miguel for Caledonia Bay, on the opposite side of the Isthmus. Their route was essentially that of Vasco Nuñez on his return. As he ascended the Sabana River, the attention of Captain Prevost was attracted by the débris on the overhanging branches, which marked the height of water attained during certain seasons. The dense foliage was enlivened by birds of gay plumage; brilliant flowers carpeted the ground; and the chattering monkeys, which they shot in great numbers, furnished the guides food. The country even then was as wild as when traversed by Vasco Nuñez; the natives, however, had exchanged their wooden weapons for fire-arms. Swamps and hills alternate, and 'dense was the forest we had cut our way through.' The flora then changed, and 'instead of the small underwood, we came on almost impenetrable thickets of the prickly palm or aloe, rather more than six feet in height, through which we with great difficulty cut our way.' They crossed 'deep ravines, whose steep and slippery sides caused many a tumble.' The attempt was finally abandoned. Returning, on arriving at one of their ranchos or encampments, where had been left three sailors to guard the provisions, they found the men murdered and the camp sacked. 'So toilsome was our journey,' says Captain Prevost, 'that we spent fifteen days in performing a distance of little more than twenty-six miles, having to force our slow and laborious path through forests that seemed to stretch from

Inaccessible forests filled with noxious reptiles and wild beasts, tangled jungles through which man must cut his way foot by foot; rugged mountains, slippery slopes, and rocky precipices, over and round which the weary traveller threads his way under a blooming tropical canopy; frequent and sudden rains and inundations; treacherous morasses, and the malarious exhalations from putrid vegetation, unite with warlike savages to render this spot one of the most difficult on the globe to explore. Add to these obstructions the weight of heavy armor and cumbrous weapons, and some conception may be formed of a military march through an equatorial wilderness.

No wonder Vasco Nuñez scrutinized his company before starting. "I beg your very royal Highness," he had written before this to the king, "to give me men from Española; for such as come from Castile are for my purpose worthless, bringing loss not only on themselves but others."[4] Born amidst the clash of arms in chivalrous Spain, broken to adversity at Española, and many of them toughened at Santa Marta, Veragua, and Antigua, the present band mustered the survivors of daring expeditions whose bones strewed the shores of Tierra Firme.

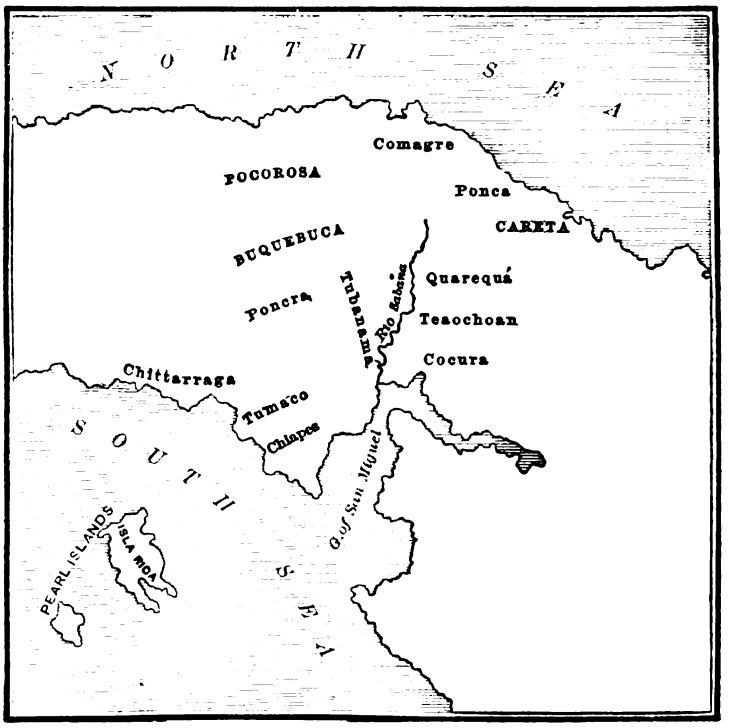
The Spaniards began their march on the 6th of September. The second day brought them to the lands of Ponca, who having been warned of their approach had retired from the path.[5] But other thoughts than

the Pacific to the Atlantic shores. The trees, of stupendous size, were matted with creepers and parasitical vines, which hung in festoons from tree to tree, forming an almost impenetrable net-work, and obliging us to hew open a passage with our axes every step we advanced.' *London Geog. Soc., Jour.*, xxiv. 249. Nothing could more aptly illustrate the difficulties surmounted by the Spaniards than this narrative of failure, by a British officer of the nineteenth century, who operated under conditions far more favorable than those so successfully overcome by a company of ill-accoutred and poorly fed adventurers more than three hundred years before. With the material before me, these illustrations could be greatly multiplied; but I have given enough to show that the transit of the Isthmus, by a small party of Europeans, over an unknown or unexplored route, is even to-day esteemed a desperate undertaking.

[4] *Carta dirigida al Rey por Vasco Nuñez de Balboa desde Santa María del Darien*, in *Navarrete, Col. de Viages*, iii. 368.

[5] A strategy which continues through the centuries. 'The Indians, although offering no direct hostility, abandoned their villages at our approach.' *Gisborne's Survey of Darien, London Geog. Soc., Jour.*, xxvii. 193.

those of plunder and petty warfare now filled the mind of Vasco Nuñez; and, preferring to leave no enemy in his rear, while resting in the cacique's comfortable quarters he made overtures of friendship to the chief, who straightway returned from his hiding, and gave gold, together with valuable information concerning the southern sea and the route thither in



return for beads, mirrors, hawk-bells, and axes. For none knew better than the courteous governor how to kindle friendship in the savage breast, and make it profitable. The gold which Ponca gave consisted of finely wrought ornaments from beyond the mountains, and ten pounds of the metal from his own mines. He described a certain summit from which this

southern sea might easily be seen, gave information of the nations to be encountered by the Spaniards, and furnished them with guides for the secret passes.

Roused by this encouragement, and leaving here the sick and wayworn, the Spaniards were on their southward march again the 20th of September. Between the several provinces were no beaten paths, across the rivers no bridges; so great were the impediments to their progress, and so much more time was consumed than had been anticipated, that food began to fail.

Making their way amid these difficulties, they came to the foot of the high mountains where terminated their pacified territory, and where they must prepare to dispute the way with native sovereigns of the soil. Ascending the mountains, they encountered on the 24th a cacique named Porque, lord of the province of Quarequá, the ruler of these parts, whose arrogance, fed by his successes, had kept full pace with them. At the head of a thousand warriors, Porque appeared before Vasco Nuñez, demanded the object of his visit, and threatened to kill every man who should put foot within his dominions. The Spaniards nevertheless continued slowly to advance, keeping well together. Amazed at their temerity, and indignant at the seeming indifference to his threat, Porque swept down upon them with flourish of weapons and terrific yells, confident of easy victory. But as well might he have spent his unleavened force against the eternal hills.

Waiting until the whole swarm was well within reach, Vasco Nuñez gave the order to charge. Shouting the inspiriting war-cry, Santiago, y á ellos! the Spaniards sprang upon them. The fire-arms were discharged, the bloodhounds[6] let loose, and striking the

[6] Among the dogs which accompanied the expedition was one, the property of the commander, whose pedigree and physical and metaphysical traits and mighty deeds are minutely recorded by contemporary historians. His name was Leoncico, little lion, descendant of Becerrico, of the Island of San Juan. He was in color red with black snout, of medium size and extraordinary strength. In their foragings Leoncico counted as one man, and drew captain's

cruel steel into the naked bodies of the enemy, he was literally hewn in pieces. Vainly, in wild confusion, the savages struggled to escape; the flash of fire, the thundering noise, the sulphurous smoke, bereft them of their senses, making easy work for the sharp iron which entered unresisted their vitals, until six hundred lay dead upon the ground, Porque among the number. Many prisoners were taken; the survivors escaped to the hills. In the village of Quarequá was found much needed food, and some gold. So toilsome had been the march that eighteen days had passed since leaving Careta's town. And here Vasco Nuñez rested for the night, nursing his wounded, and cheering the sick and down-hearted. The guides whom Ponca had furnished, and who had proved of incalculable service to the explorers, were dismissed to their home with presents, and with hearts made glad by the destruction of Porque. So rolls round the planet inexorable nature, detested death giving hourly joy to universal life.

The 25th[7] of September, 1513, a day ever memorable in the annals of the Pacific States, dawned brightly over the sierra of Quarequá. The village in which the Spaniards had made their quarters was situated on an elevated plateau, and near it rose the reputed mountain whose summit had for ages gazed

pay and share of spoils. Upon these conditions his master frequently loaned him; and during the wars of Darien he gained for Vasco Nuñez more than one thousand pesos de oro. He was considered more efficient than the best soldier, and the savages stood in the greatest terror of him. He readily discriminated between wild and tame Indians. When a captive was missing from the fields, and Leoncico was told, 'He is gone; seek him!' the dog tracked the poor fugitive, and did not harm him if he returned quietly, but if the Indian resisted, the dog would destroy him. The hero of many a conflict, he was covered with wounds; but like Cæsar he escaped the wars to meet his death by treacherous hands. He was poisoned. See *Oviedo*, iii. 9–10.

[7] Again a general difference occurs in an important date, and, according to my custom, I am governed by the authorities I deem most reliable. Oviedo follows the expedition from day to day, noting places and dates; and he says, iii. 10: 'Y un mártes, veynte é cinco de septiembre de aquel año de mill é quinientos y treçe, á las diez horas del dia,' at 10 o'clock in the morning. So Gomara also writes, *Hist. Ind.*, 77: 'Vio Valboa ala mar del Sur alos veynte y cinco del Setiembre del año de treze;' and Las Casas, *Hist. Ind.*, iv. 100: 'Llegaron á la cumbre de las más altas sierras á 25 dias de Setiembre de dicho

on the mysterious southern sea. At an early hour Vasco Nuñez was astir, to prepare with thrilling anticipations for the ascent. But sixty-seven, out of the one hundred and ninety Spaniards who within the month had embarked upon this enterprise at Antigua, possessed sufficient strength for the present effort. Departing from the town, their way at first lay through a tangled forest, which fringed the mountain base, and whose dense foliage hid from view the more distant objects. As they mounted upward into a cooler, drier atmosphere, the vegetation became more stunted, yet the undergrowth was still so thick that the soldiers had to cut a passage with their sabres. Emerging at length into an open space near

año de 1513;' and Herrera, i. x. i.: 'A veynte y cinco de Setiembre, deste año, de donde la mar se parecia.' Careful writers following these first authorities also name the day correctly, as Humboldt, *Exam. Crit.*, i. 319, who says: 'Vasco Nuñez de Balboa vit la Mer du Sud, le 25 septembre 1513, du haut de la Sierra de Quarequa;' and Acosta, *Compend. Hist. Nueva Granada*, 50: 'Esto pasó el dia 25 de setiembre del año de 1513 poco antes de medio dia y forma una de las épocas notables en el descubrimiento de la América;' and Quintana, *Vidas de Españoles Célebres*, 'Balboa,' 20: '25 de setiembre;' and Chevalier, *L'Isthme de Panama*, 15: 'Le vingt-cinquième jour, le 25 septembre;' and Campbell, *Hist. Span. Am.*, 23: 'the 25th of *Septembre;*' and Helps, *Span. Conq.*, i. 361: '25th of September;' etc. In the face of which, Irving, *Columbus*, iii. 198, shows gross carelessness when he writes 'the 26th of September.' To support him he has Ramusio, who, *Viaggi*, iii. 29, falls into a mistake of Peter Martyr's, 'alli ventisei adunque di Settembre,' and Du Perier, *Gen. Hist. Voy.*, 139, and, to copy his error, Dalton, *Conq. Mex. and Peru*, 43, and a host of others. Not quite so often mentioned as Columbus' voyages is this discovery of Vasco Nuñez, though nearly so. After Oviedo and Las Casas probably Peter Martyr gives the best original account. Herrera copied from all before him. The following popular accounts are most of them meagre and unreliable:—*Nouvelles An. des Voy.*, cxlviii. 11–12; *Goodrich's Manupon the Sea*, 201–8; *Voyages, New Col.*, i. 180–6; *World Displayed*, i. 153–9; *Monson's Tracts*, in *Churchill's Voy.*, iii. 372; *Marchy Labores, Marina Española*, i. 413–59; *Dufey, Résumé Hist. Am.*, i. 75–86; *Gottfriedt, Neue Welt*, 239–41; *Juarros, Guat.*, 122; *Montanus, Nieuwe Weereld*, 66–72; *Ogilby's Am.*, 69–72; *Norman's Hist. Cal.*, 10–11; *Patton's Hist. U. S.*, 11; *Pim's Gate of Pacific*, 99; *Hazlitt's Gold Fields*, 3; *Roberts' Nar. Voy.*, xx.; *Isth. Panama*, 5; *Humboldt, Essai Pol.*, i. 17; *Lallement, Geschichte*, i. 25; *Bidwell's Panamá*, 23–7; *Andagoya's Nar.*, 19; *Galvano's Discov.*, 123–4; *Cavanilles, Hist. España*, v. 290–1; *Greenhow's Mem.*, 22; *Farnham's Adv.*, 119; *Fédix, L'Orégon*, 67–8; *Span. Emp. in Am.*, 23; *Burney's Discov. South Sea*, i. 8–9; *Niles' S. Am. and Mex.*, 14–15; *Kerr's Col. Voy.*, ii. 67–8; *Colton's Jour. Geog.*, no. 6, 84; *Douglas' Hist. and Pol.*, 44; *Holmes' Annals Am.*, i. 32–3; *Inter-Oceanic Canal and Monroe Doct.*, 11; *Hesperian*, ii. 27–33; *Lardner's Hist. Discov.*, ii. 40–1; *Harper's Mag.*, xviii. 469–84; *Macgregor's Prog. Am.*, i. 10–11; *Mofras, L'Orégon*, i. 88–9; *Ovalle, Hist. Rel. Chile*, in *Pinkerton's Col.*, xiv. 142–4; *Mesa y Leompart, Hist. Am.*, i. 88–94; *Mavor's Am. Hist.*, xxiv. 52–5; *Holinski, Cal.*, 62–4; *Benzoni, Hist. Mondo Nvovo*, 47–8; *Morelli, Fasti Novi Orbis*, 15; *Rivera, Hist. Jalapa*, i. 20.

the summit, a bare eminence was pointed out by the guides, whence the view was said to be unobstructed, and the sea distinctly visible.

Viewed prosaically, there was nothing astounding in ascending a hill and taking a look at the ocean. It had been often done elsewhere; it had been often done here. Nor was there any peculiar difference between sea and land here and sea and land elsewhere. But there was that to the minds of the impetuous and impressible Spaniards, there is that to our own minds, in first things and first views of things, our first view, our country's first awakening, that stirs the soul and sets faster beating the heart. Reduced to words, the sentiment is the pleasure the mind derives from improving surprises; it is the joy of development, the ecstasy of evolution.

If such be commonly the case, how much more reason had Vasco Nuñez de Balboa to be impassioned on this occasion. Behind him was ignominy, perhaps chains and death; before him was glory, immortal fame. And it was meet in him that this ordinarily trivial act should be consummated with a ceremony becoming to one of civilization's great achievements.

Ordering a halt, Vasco Nuñez advanced alone. His should be the first European eye to behold what there was to behold, and that without peradventure. With throbbing heart he mounted the topmost eminence which crowned these sea-dividing hills. Then, as in the lifting of a veil, a scene of primeval splendor burst on his enraptured gaze, such as might fill with joy an archangel sent to explore a new creation. There it lay, that boundless unknown sea, spread out before him, far as the eye could reach, in calm, majestic beauty, glittering like liquid crystal in the morning sun. Beneath his feet, in furrowed prospect, were terraces of living green, sportive with iridescent light and shade; waving plains and feathered steeps white-lined with flowing waters, here dashing boisterously down the hill-side, yonder winding silent through the

sighing foliage to the all-receiving sea. In that first illimitable glance time stood back, the mists lifted, and eternity was there. What wonder if to this Spanish cavalier, in that moment of triumphant joy, visions of the mighty future appeared pictured on the cerulean heights, visions of populous cities, of fleets and armies, of lands teeming with wealth and industry. And to Spain should all these blessings and advantages accrue; to Spain through him.

Dropping on his knees, he poured forth praise and thanksgiving to the author of that glorious creation for the honor of its discovery. The soldiers then pressed forward, gazed enchanted likewise, and likewise assumed the attitude of prayer; for however ungodly were their lives, these cavaliers were always fond of praying.

"There, my friends," exclaimed Balboa, rising and pointing to the prospect before him, "there is the realization of your hopes, the reward of your labors. You are the first Christians to look upon that sea, or to tread its luxuriant shores. The words of the chivalrous Panciaco concerning the Southern Sea are more than verified; please God so may we find them regarding the riches of its shore. All are yours, I say, yours the glory of laying this celestial realm at your sovereign's feet; yours the privilege of bringing to the only vile thing in it the cleansing properties of our holy faith. Continue, then, true to me, and I promise you honor and wealth to your fullest desire." A shout of approbation, such as the rabble are ever ready with before success, was followed by pledges of fidelity and fair service, to be broken upon the first occasion. And if we may believe old Peter Martyr, who enjoyed this triumph of progress almost as much as the discoverers themselves, Hannibal from the summit of the Alps, pointing to his soldiers the delicious fields of Italy, displayed no grander conception of his high achievements, past and future, than did Balboa at this moment. A cross was erected, round

which stones were heaped; the trees were blazoned with the sovereign's name; the Te Deum laudamus and Te Dominum confitemur was solemnly chanted by the company; after which Balboa in a loud voice called on all present to witness that he then and thereby, for and in the name of the sovereigns of Spain, took possession of this Southern Sea, with all its islands and firm lands, and all shores washed by its waters. The notary was ordered to draw up a certificate in accordance, to which each present affixed his name.[8]

Because the strangers seemed to delight in it, the savages assisted in the cross-raising and in carrying stones, though they saw nothing in the surroundings to become so excited about. Meanwhile the Spaniards

[8] The testimonial with the sixty-seven names attached, as given by Oviedo, iii. 11–12, is as follows:—'Diré aqui quién fueron los que se hallaron en este descubrimiento con el capitan Vasco Nuñez, porque fué serviçio muy señalado, y es passo muy notable para estas historias, pues que fueron los chripstianos que primero vieron aquella mar, segund daba fée de ello Andrés de Valderrábano, que allí se halló, escribano real é natural de la villa de Sanct Martin de Valdeiglesias, el qual testimonio yo ví é lei, y el mismo escribano me lo enseñó. Y despues quando murió Vasco Nuñez, murió aqueste con él, y tambien vinieron sus escripturas á mi poder y aquesta decia desta manera:' Los cavalleros é hidalgos y hombres de bien que se hallaron en el descubrimiento de la mar del Sur, con el magnífico y muy noble señor el capitan Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, gobernador por Sus Alteças en la Tierra Firme, son los siguientes: 'Primeramente el señor Vasco Nuñez, y él fué el que primero de todos vido aquella mar é la enseñó á los infrascriptos. Andrés de Vera, clérigo; Françisco Piçarro; Diego Albitez; Fabian Perez; Bernardino de Morales; Diego de Texerina; Chripstóbal de Valdebuso; Bernardino de Cienfuegos; Sebastian de Grijalba; Françisco de Ávila; Johan de Espinosa; Johan de Velasco; Benito Buran; Andrés de Molina; Antonio de Baracaldo; Pedro de Escobar; Chripstóbal Daça; Françisco Pesado; Alonso de Guadalupe; Hernando Muñoz; Hernando Hidalgo; Johan Rubio de Malpartida; Álvaro de Bolaños; Alonso Ruiz; Françisco de Luçena; Martin Ruiz; Pasqual Rubio de Malpartida; Françisco Gonçalez de Guadalcama; Françisco Martin; Pedro Martin de Palos; Hernando Diaz; Andrés Garçia de Jaen; Luis Gutierrez; Alonso Sebastian; Johan Vegines; Rodrigo Velasquez; Johan Camacho; Diego de Montehermoso; Johan Matheos; Maestre Alonso de Sanctiago; Gregorio Ponçe; Françisco de la Tova; Miguel Crespo; Miguel Sanchez; Martin Garçia; Chripstóbal de Robledo; Chripstóbal de Leon, platero; Johan Martinez; Valdenebro; Johan de Beas Loro; Johan Ferrol; Johan Gutierrez de Toledo; Johan de Portillo; Johan Garçia de Jaen; Matheo Loçano; Johan de Medellin; Alonso Martin, esturiano: Johan Garçia Marinero; Johan Gallego; Françisco de Lentin, siçiliano; Johan del Puerto; Françisco de Arias; Pedro de Orduña; Nuflo de Olano, de color negro; Pedro Fernandez de Aroche.' Andrés de Valderrábano, escribano de Sus Alteças en la su córte y en todos sus reynos é señorios, estuve presente é doy fée dello, é digo que son por todos sessenta y siete hombres estos primeros chripstianos que vieron la mar del Sur, con las quales yo me hallé é cuento por uno dellos; y este era de Sanct Martin de Valdeiglesias.

wondered how far the water extended, what nations inhabited its borders, what the commerce and religion of those nations, and what would be the effect of the discovery on Spain, on the world, on their own fortunes.

Descending the mountains on its seaward side they were met by a cacique, called like his province, Chiapes, who ordered them back if they sought not death. The policy of Vasco Nuñez here was peace. Hostile entanglements at this juncture he knew would sooner or later result in the destruction of his party. It must be a peace, however, based on fear and respect, seldom to be achieved among savages except by slaughter. Overtures of friendship were accordingly instituted by a sudden and vigorous onslaught with fire-arms, cross-bows, and bloodhounds, during which Chiapes took to his heels, midst thunder, smoke, and consternation; in consequence of which he was all the more happy when the men of Quarequá sought him out, and told him that these supernatural visitors who held the elements at their command were easily propitiated with gold. Tremblingly he appeared and laid at the feet of Vasco Nuñez five hundred pounds of the metal, glad that the favor of the gods might be bought so cheaply. The Quarequá guides were now dismissed with presents, and by them orders were sent the Spaniards resting at their town to follow the advance party.

The object of Vasco Nuñez was to approach the verge of the ocean and touch the water he had seen. For this purpose he despatched, in different directions, three parties of twelve men each, under Francisco Pizarro, Alonso Martin de Bon Benito, and Juan de Escaray to search an opening to the seaside through the dense foliage that concealed it. It is not a little singular that two days should elapse, and that the explorers suffered severely for want of water before any one could find the beach, though they were all the time so near it.

Alonso Martin's party came first to an inlet, on the shore of which were two canoes, the open bay being still hidden. Desirous of being first in something, however small, Martin sprang into one of the boats which was barely floating on the incoming tide, and cried to his companions, who had thrown themselves down under the cooling leaves—"I call on you all to witness that I am the first Spaniard to sail upon these waters." "And I the second," exclaimed another, rushing for the other boat.[9] Returning to Chiapes, Martin reported to Vasco Nuñez, who immediately began preparations to take more formal possession of the Southern Sea.

On the 29th of September, St Michael's day, Vasco Nuñez with twenty-six men set out for the border of the sea, accompanied by Chiapes with a numerous train. Arriving there they found the tide out, and seated themselves upon a grassy slope beneath the overhanging foliage, waiting the return of the waters. Presently, when the sand was covered to the depth of one or two feet, all arose, and Vasco Nuñez, armed and armored cap-a-pie, drew his sword and, taking from the hand of an attendant a banner, on one side of which were pictured the virgin and child and on the other the arms of Castile and Leon, marched into the water, and waving aloft his banner cried in a loud voice: "Long live the high and powerful monarchs Don Fernando and Doña Juana, sovereigns of Castile, and of Leon, and of Aragon, in whose name, and for the royal crown of Castile, I take and seize real and corporeal actual possession of these seas and lands, and coasts and ports and islands of the south, with all thereto annexed; and kingdoms and provinces which belong to them, or which may hereafter belong to them, in whatever manner and by whatever right and title acquired, now existing or which may exist, ancient and modern, in times past and present and to

[9] Herrera calls the second Blas de Atiença, but that name is not in Oviedo's list. Irving refers to Herrera, but fails to reproduce him correctly in his text. Compare *Oviedo*, iii. 11-12; *Herrera*, i. x. ii.

come, without any contradiction. And if any other prince or captain, christian or infidel, of whatever law or sect or condition he may be, pretends any right to these lands and seas, I am ready and prepared to contradict him, and to defend them in the names of the present and future sovereigns of Castile, who are the lords paramount in these Indies, islands and firm land, northern and southern, with their seas, as well in the arctic pole as in the antarctic, on either side of the equinoctial line, within or without the tropics of cancer and capricorn, according to what more completely to their majesties and their successors belongs and is due, for the whole and any part thereof; as I protest in writing shall or may be more fully specified and alleged on behalf of their royal patrimony; now and in all time while the earth revolves, and until the universal judgment of all mankind."[10] To which grandiloquent

[10] The form of taking possession, or the declaration of proprietary rights to the lands seized by Europeans, as we have seen, differs with different discoverers, and with the same discoverer at different times. Sometimes mass was said; sometimes a cross was erected; sometimes prayer was offered, of which the following is said to have been the prescribed form used by Columbus, Vasco Nuñez, Cortés, and Pizarro: Domine Deus æterne et omnipotens, sacro tuo verbo cœlum, et terram, et mare creâsti; benedicatur et glorificetur nomen tuum, laudetur tua majestas, quæ dignita est per humilem servum tuum, ut ejus sacrum nomen agnoscatur, et prædicetur in hac altera mundi parte. But always this seizure, whether by Spanish, English, French, or Dutch, and by whatsoever other formalities attended, was accompanied by a loud proclamation, before God and man, of the deed then and there consummated. This proclamation was made with drawn sword, by the commander of the party taking possession, and sometimes attended by the throwing of earth toward the four cardinal points, as was common, and is now in Spanish America, in giving judicial possession in granting lands, and planting the royal standard. All present were called upon to witness the act, which was done for and in the name of the sovereign authority recognized by the party. Then the notary, or, if none were present, a clerk, or a person or persons appointed to act as such, took down in writing what had been done, and each member of the party signed it. Examples might be multiplied indefinitely. We have seen what Columbus did in one or two instances, and how Vasco Nuñez conducted himself on the mountain overlooking Panamá Bay. That which I have just given in the text is a literal translation of Balboa's address to the four corners of the Pacific Ocean as reported by *Oviedo*, iii. 11–12. At the beginning the meaning of the orator is clear enough, but toward the latter part he lapses into verbiage. It is likely that he had in view, while taking possession of that sea or so much of it as his sovereigns should at any future time please to claim, the papal bull which divided the heathen world between Spain and Portugal, and a desire to avoid all words and acts which might prejudice the Spanish claim. A lengthy account is given of the taking possession of the province of Paque, on the Pacific shore of the Isthmus, west of Panamá, in 1519, by Pedrarias Dávila. The party was standing at

harangue there came no reply; no armed Poseidon appeared to dispute possession; only the mighty ocean dashed from its face the blinding glare of this new doctrine, heaved its bosom in long glassy swells, and gently growled its perplexity to the sympathizing beach.

The followers of Vasco Nuñez, however, even if all did not comprehend better than the sea what their

the head of an inlet, two notaries, a clergyman, several captains, soldiers, and seamen, beside the commander, being present. First, Pedrarias called on the notaries and all present to witness the acts he was about to perform. Then he took in his right hand a white silk flag, on which was represented the image of the Virgin Mary, and holding it aloft all knelt; the trumpet sounded, and in loud tones the commander offered the following prayer: 'Oh! mother of God, quiet the sea, and render us worthy of being and of moving under thy protection. May it please thee that under it we may discover these seas, and lands of the southern sea, and convert the people thereof to our holy Catholic faith.' Following the prayer was a long speech by Pedrarias, declaring possession after the usual form, similar to that employed by Vasco Nuñez, interspersed with divers acts in consummation of what he said. He declared the possession previously taken renewed, especially the 'possession *vel casi* of all the coast of the new land and of the southern sea, and of all the ports and inlets and coves and roadsteads.... being as I am, in the name of their highnesses and as their lieutenant-general in the said coast of the said southern sea, from the stones of the rivers to the leaves of the forests, eating the grass and drinking the waters, and razing, devastating, and cutting the woods of the said coast, upon the said site and province of Paque.' As a token of possession and seizure thereof, civilly, naturally, and bodily, he continued: 'I raise this royal standard of the said Queen Doña Juana and King Don Cárlos, her son, our lords, which is of red damask having thereon painted and stamped the royal arms of their highnesses the said kings, our lords;' the trumpeters were then ordered to sound; after which, in concert with Pedrarias, all said, 'Castilla del Oro and Tierra Firme, and new land, and southern sea, and coasts thereof, and island and islands, and all land and provinces that may be therein, for the most high and most illustrious Queen Doña Juana, our lady, and the King Don Cárlos, her son, our lord; and after them for their successors to Castile.' 'All of which new lands and southern sea and coast thereof and the whole Tierra Firme and kingdoms of Castilla del Oro, and all thereunto annexed and appertaining, and all that has been or may be hereafter discovered therein, is and must be of the royal crown of Castile, and you must testify how I, Pedrarias Dávila, in the name of the said kings, our lords, and of their successors to the royal crown of Castile, cut trees, and mow the grass in said land, and enter the water of the said southern sea, corporeally and standing on my feet therein, and stamp the new land and waters of the said southern sea.' Again the trumpets were sounded, and again Pedrarias reiterated in a loud voice his claims; and he called upon the notaries to witness as further proof of their possession that four ships had been built and navigated on the southern sea. Another flourish of trumpets, and by way of doxology three times repeated, 'Viva la muy alta é muy poderosa reyna doña Juana,' etc., concluded the ceremony. *Testimonio de un acto de posesion que tomó el Gobernador Pedrárias Dávila*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, ii. 549–56. Although the custom was universal from the beginning, Philip II. deemed best to decree, in 1568, that all captains or others discovering any island or mainland should, on landing, take possession in the king's name. *Recop. de Indias*, ii. 7.

leader had said, swore with loud acclamations to defend the claim of the sovereign who would thereby have so much more land to bestow, and to follow their gallant leader to the riches and honor he had so freely promised them. Andrés de Valderrábano, the notary of the expedition, was then called upon to draw up a certificate of the act of taking possession, to which all present subscribed their names. This being the day of St Michael,[11] the archangel, the gulf before them was called El golfo de San Miguel, which name it bears to this day. Tasting the water they found it salt, which proved it a true ocean sea that they had found; then they cut crosses on the trees in honor of the holy trinity, and with longings satisfied and hearts singing their high hopes, the party returned to Chiapes, richer, according to their pretensions, by one Pacific Ocean,[12] ten thousand

[11] Colon gives *g. de san migel;* Agnese, *G. de S. miguell;* Vaz Dourado, *Saõ migell;* Mercator, *S. Miguel;* Hondius, in *Drake's World Encompassed, Michael; Ogilby's Am., G. S. Miguel;* Jacob Colom, *G. del S. Miguel;* Jefferys, *G. de St. Miguel,* and emptying into it *R. Canty, R. Savanas, R. Congo.*

[12] It was not for some years after this discovery that the name Pacific was applied to any part of the ocean; and for a long time after parts only of it were so termed, this part of it retained the original name of South Sea, so called because it lay to the south of its discoverer. The lettering of the early maps is here significant. All along from this time to the middle of the seventeenth century, the larger part of the Pacific was labeled *Oceanus Indicus Orientalis,* or *Mar del Sur,* the Atlantic, opposite the Isthmus, being called *Mar del Norte.* Sometimes the reporters called the South Sea *La Otra Mar,* in contradistinction to the *Mare Oceanus* of Juan de la Cosa, or the *Oceanus Occidentalis* of Ptolemy, as the Atlantic was then called. Indeed, the Atlantic was not generally known by that name for some time yet. Schöner, in 1520, terms it, as does Ptolemy in 1513, *Oceanus Occidentalis;* Grynæus, in 1532, *Oceanus Magnus;* Apianus, appearing in the Cosmography of 1575, although thought to have been drawn in 1520, *Mar Atlicum.* Robert Thorne, 1527, in *Hakluyt's Voy.,* writes *Oceanus Occiden.;* Bordone, 1528, *Mare Occidentale;* Ptolemy, 1530, *Occean Occidentalis;* Ramusio, 1565, *Viaggi,* iii. 455, off Central America, *Mar del Nort,* and in the great ocean, both north and south, *Mar Ociano;* Mercator, 1569, north of the tropic of cancer, *Oceanius Atlanticus;* Hondius, 1595, *Mar del Nort; West-Indische Spieghel,* 1624, *Mar del Nort;* De Laet, 1633, *Mar del Norte;* Jacob Colon, 1663, *Mar del Nort;* Ogilby, 1671, *Oceanus Atlanticum, Mar del Norte,* and *Oceanus Æthiopicus;* Dampier, 1699, *the North or Atlantick Sea.* The Portuguese map of 1518, *Munich Atlas,* iv., is the first upon which I have seen a name applied to the Pacific; and there it is given, as I have elsewhere remarked, as *Mar visto pelos Castelhanos,* Sea seen by the Spaniards. On the maps of Baptiste Agnese, Vallard de Dieppe, Diego Homem, and others, is the name *Mar del Sur,* but the lettering is small, and seems applied only to the waters between Peru and Guatemala. We have noticed on the globe of Martin Behaim, 1492, a multitude of islands, scattered and in groups, situated between the coast lines of western

islands, and twenty-five hundred leagues of continental seaboard.

The grand event being so happily consummated, the Spaniards thought that, before returning to Antigua, they might indulge in a little exploration. Luckily the powerful Chiapes was not only their friend, but he could furnish them a goodly list of enemies having an abundance of gold and pearls. Under his direction they crossed a large river, fell upon a chieftain called Cocura, and returned to Chiapes with six hundred and fifty pesos. Then they decided to explore an arm of the gulf, which involved a short but dangerous canoe voyage. In vain Chiapes protested against the project. "Our God will protect us," replied the devout Vasco Nuñez, as with eighty Spaniards, and a dusky band under Chiapes, he stepped into the canoes, the 17th of October. Soon they found themselves in a sea so tempestuous that they were glad to escape upon an island whose uncertain soil threatened every moment to dissolve beneath their feet. There they remained up to their waists in water all that night. Fortunately before morning the waters of the gulf

Europe and eastern Asia. In that part of the globe where the north Pacific Ocean should be represented, are the words *Oceanus orientalis Indie.* On the globe of Johann Schöner, 1520, the two continents of America are represented with a strait dividing them at the Isthmus. The great island of *Zipangri,* or Japan, lies about midway between North America and Asia. North of this island, and in about the same locality as on the globe of Behaim, are the words *Orientalis Oceanus,* and to the same ocean south of the equator the words *Oceanus Orientalis Indicus* are applied. Diego Homem, in 1558, marks out upon his map a large body of water to the north-west of *Terra de Florida,* and west of Canada, and labels it *Mare leparamantium.* Neither Maiollo nor Vaz Dourado gives a name to either ocean. Colon and Ribero call the South Sea *Mar del Svr.* In *Hakluyt's Voy.* we find that Robert Thorne, in 1527, wrote *Mare Australe.* Ptolemy, in 1530, places near the Straits of Magellan *Mare pacificum.* Ramusio, 1565, *Viaggi,* iii. 455, off Central America, places *Mar del Sur,* and off the Straits of Magellan, *Mar Oceano.* Mercator places in his atlas of 1569 plainly, near the Straits of Magellan, *El Mar Pacifico,* and in the great sea off Central America *Mar del Zur.* On the map of Hondius, about 1595, in *Drake's World Encompassed,* the general term *Mare Pacificvm* is applied to the Pacific Ocean, the words being in large letters extending across the ocean opposite Central America, while under it in smaller letters is *Mar del Sur.* This clearly restricts the name South Sea to a narrow locality, even at this date. In Hondius' Map, *Purchas, His Pilgrimes,* iv. 857, the south Pacific is called *Mare Pacificum,* and the central Pacific *Mar del Sur.*

subsided, else the discoverers of the Pacific Ocean never would have returned to tell their tale. Day-break presented a dismal spectacle. Some of the canoes were split, others embedded in the sand; and all the provisions and clothing had been swept away. But to such hardships these men were inured. Since leaving Spain they had lived chiefly on maize bread, wild herbs, fruit, roots, sometimes fish, seldom meat. This was their best diet. In times of scarcity, which were frequent, they were glad to get reptiles, insects, or anything that would sustain life. They had no salt; and their only drink was river water, frequently putrid and unwholesome. Yet while life lasted, the brain worked inexhaustible resources. In the present emergency, for example, when both sea and land proved treacherous, they by no means yielded to despair. Stripping the glutinous bark from certain young trees which they found, they bruised it with stones, added to it fibrous sea-plants reduced in like manner, and, after binding their broken boats firmly with cords, they calked the seams with the mixture. Again they committed themselves to the mercy of the sea, and after two days of hazardous navigation, half naked and half starved, they ran into a small creek which flowed through a province called Chitarraga, and landed about midnight near an Indian village governed by a cacique named Tumaco.[13]

Carrying the village, though not without resistance, Vasco Nuñez, as usual, sought the friendship of the fleeing Tumaco, who was induced to return, bringing gold valued at six hundred and fourteen pesos, and a basin of pearls, two hundred and forty of which were of extraordinary size. This was indeed something worthy of an oriental India, thought the Spaniards, as their hearts danced enraptured over the beautiful baubles. Tumaco could not understand what power

[13] In his *Novus Orbis*, i., De Laet inserts a map on which he places *Tumaco* to the north of Chiapes. North of Tumaco is Quareca. The northern cape of *G. de S. Miguel* he calls *Pta de Garachine*. Debouching here is the *R. de Congos*. See *Goldschmidt's Cartography Pac. Coast*, MS. ii. 5.

his gift possessed that it should so charm these heavenly strangers. To him the oyster which he could eat was seemingly worth more than the pearl which he could not eat; for in roasting the bivalve he had spoilt pearls enough to make him rich in the eyes of any potentate in Christendom. When once he knew that pearls were wealth, Tumaco became eager to show the Spaniards how much he had at his command, and set his men to fish; and in four days they returned with twelve marks' weight, or ninety-six ounces of pearls. Six Spaniards accompanied them to see whence came the gems, and they showed the natives how to open oysters without heat, which discolored the pearl. Likewise gold hereabout was plentiful and lightly esteemed.

Vasco Nuñez endeavored to gain all the information possible concerning the nature and extent of the sea-coast. He was told by Tumaco that the ocean and the mainland extended southward without end; that far distant in that direction dwelt a great nation whose riches were immense, who navigated the ocean in ships, and employed beasts of burden. In order the better to describe these animals, Tumaco moulded in clay a figure of the llama, which seemed to the eyes of the Spaniards a species of camel. "And this," says Herrera, "was the second intimation Vasco Nuñez had of Peru, and of its wealth." Nor did Francisco Pizarro, who was present, fail to hold these things in remembrance.

Balboa now felt his mission accomplished. Had the new sea and its border been made for him it could not have pleased him better. Columbus had found a new continent; he had found a new sea; and wealth on this south side seemed illimitable. But before returning he deemed it prudent to supplement his deed of possession by the enactment of that ceremonial on the shore of the main ocean, for his exploits had hitherto been confined to the gulf of San Miguel.

Applying to Tumaco for the requisite means, an immense canoe was produced, the barge of state, with oarsmen, and oars inlaid with *aljófar*, an inferior kind of pearl; and Vasco Nuñez called on the notary to write it down, that boats on this Southern Sea were propelled by oars inlaid with pearl, so that his sovereigns might thereby place a greater value on it and on his own great services.

In pursuance of this plan, on the 29th of October, the Spaniards embarked in Tumaco's barge, and, proceeding to the shore of the main ocean, landed near an island called by the natives Crucraga, but to which Vasco Nuñez gave the name of San Simon. Here with banner and buckler, with drawn sword and high-sounding declamation, and amidst the lordly waves which had rolled their unimpeded course from far beyond the ever lifting horizon, the vaunting cavalier again affirmed ownership, swearing to defend he knew not what against he knew not whom; but "herein," according to Herrera, "he used all the formalities that could be imagined, for he was brave, subtle, diligent, and of a generous temper, a commander fit for mighty enterprises."

As they were about to depart, the men of Chitarraga directed the attention of Balboa to a group of small low islands rising from the sea five leagues distant. A powerful chieftain governed there, who, crossing to the mainland, made fearful havoc among the seaboard villages; and would the Spaniards please go and kill him, for at the largest island, Toe, were the most beautiful pearls in all that region. The Spaniards would go there or elsewhere for pearls and gold if they only had the time, and a favorable sea, but Vasco Nuñez would not permit himself to be led away into further fascinations on this visit. He nevertheless gave names to the islands, calling the largest Isla Rica, and the group Islas de las Perlas,[14]

[14] Colon and Ribero mark the group *y: de perlas* and *y:.ª de plas;* Vaz Dourado, *I:. de perollas; West-Indische Spieghel, I Perles;* De Laet, *Iªs de Perlas;* Jacob Colom, *I de Perlas;* Jefferys, *I del Rey or Perlas, Toboga, I.*

or Pearl Islands, assuring Tumaco, meanwhile, that he would return some day and avenge him his injuries.

Once more back at Chitarraga, Vasco Nuñez made ready his departure for Antigua. He proposed to cross the mountains by a different route from that by which he came. The sick and disabled he would leave with Chiapes, now the firm friend of the Spaniards, who were to kill his enemies and not him. This chieftain and a son of Tumaco asked permission to accompany the party as far as Teaochoan, an adjoining province. Accordingly, on the 3d of November, they embarked in canoes, and guided by the young cacique of Chitarraga, proceeded to the upper end of the gulf and entered a large river,[15] so inconstant as to overflow its banks in places, narrowing elsewhere between rocky confines; and rushing forward tumultuously under the overhanging foliage to the sea. By and by the youthful chieftain brought the boats to land. Disembarking, the Spaniards pacified the province in their usual way, the ruler, Teoca, chief of Teaochoan, being glad to save his life by paying one hundred and sixty ounces of gold and two hundred large pearls. Indeed, so effectually had Vasco Nuñez succeeded, by a judicious use of fire-arms and fair words, and some trifling presents, in winning the affections of the South Sea savages, that in taking leave of Chiapes and the Chitarraga youth at Teoca's town, they wept. It was indeed affecting; and soon Teoca, although the last to be robbed, caught himself paying the strangers the same briny tribute of his esteem.

After three days of rest the party proceeded, and reaching the base of the mountains they began to scale

Keipert in 1858 calls the group *Archipielago de las Perlas*, and the largest, that which Balboa called Isla Rica, *I. S. Miguel;* others of the group he calls *I. St. Elmo, I. Galera, I. Pajaros, I. Chapera, I. Contradora, I. Pacheca, I. Saboga, I. Bayoneta, I. Pedro Gonzales*, and *I. S. José*. 'Da die Haupt-Insel mehrere guten Schutz gewährende Ankerplätze hatte, so wurde sie bald das Rendezvous und der Ausgangs-Punkt der Flotten, die vom Golfe von Panama zur Entdeckung des Westens (Nicaragua) und des Südens (Peru) ausliefen. Auch war ihre Anhöhe stets für alle von Panama auslaufenden Flotten ein Merkzeichen zur Orientirung.' *Kohl, Beiden ältesten karten*, 164.

[15] Sabana. See note 3, this chapter.

them. A supply of dried fish and maize, with men of burden and guides, had been secured, and they were accompanied by Teoca's son, who had instructions to attend to all requirements of the strangers, and not to leave them without the permission of their commander. It was well for the company that they had a leader thoughtful and efficient; that instead of zealous guides, and willing men to bear the burdens, there were not lurking foes or treacherous friends with whom to deal—not one of them otherwise would have reached Antigua. For, toiling up the steep ascent under a burning sun, they soon found themselves without water, the springs upon which they had depended having failed. One by one the men yielded their strength and threw themselves upon the ground, victims of despair. Teoca's son assisted and encouraged them, and finally brought them all in safety to a cool, sequestered valley where were life-restoring waters.

Was it their way of giving thanks for the late escape from death, now to plan the death of others? While resting in the refreshing shade, Balboa asked his guide about a certain Poncra, a hideous despot, as rich as he was repulsive, of whom he had heard much. "We are now within his lands," the young chief replied. "Over the brow of yonder hill is situated his village." Then was detailed a story of this man's wickedness which sent a thrill of pleasing horror to the heart of every Spaniard present. Instantly all was excitement; and those so lately the readiest to faint were now the readiest to fight. Marching forward they entered the village only to find the vulture flown. Finely wrought gold to the value of three thousand pesos was found there to reconcile them to his absence. Scouts soon discovered his retreat, however, and partly by threats and partly by promises of safety, this lump of deformity was induced to give himself up with three of his principal men. No sooner was it known that the hated Poncra was prisoner in the hands of the Spaniards, than the neighboring

chieftains flocked in and begged his extermination. "Whence came your gold?" demanded Balboa of the unhappy man. "I know not," replied Poncra. "My forefathers left it me. We place no value on the unwrought metal." Although torture was applied, nothing further could be elicited. The bystanders clamored loudly for his death, charging him with infamous crimes, revolting to humanity. In an evil moment Vasco Nuñez yielded. The bloodhounds were let loose, and loud acclamations rent the air as the quivering flesh was torn from the limbs of the four unfortunate wretches, and they were made, as Ogilby says, "a Breakfast to the Spanish Doggs." Vasco Nuñez de Balboa gained the approval of the crowd; but throughout all time, wherever the name of the illustrious discoverer of the Southern Sea is spoken, this infamous act of treachery shall stain it. The praises of the savages, however, were profuse; "and there he remained thirty days," says Gomara, "receiving and ruling like a king." And very prettily Balboa commemorates his outrage by calling the place Todos Los Santos.

While resting here, the Spaniards were joined by the comrades who had been left at Chiapes. Throughout all this region the strangers were treated as invincible and superhuman. Passing through the domain of a chief named Bononiama, they were not only received as friends, coming as they did from Chiapes, but were presented with gold to the value of two thousand pesos, and the chief accompanied them to Poncra's village, that he might behold the wonderful leader of these wonderful men. Poncra's successor came forward in answer to overtures of peace; and on the first of December the Spaniards continued their journey, weighted down with spoils. Five days brought them to a small depopulated town whose chief, Buquebuca, had fled because he had not the means, he said, fitly to entertain such illustrious visitors. He was permitted to purchase their favor by

delivering up the gold in his possession, including some finely wrought plates.

Following a path northward from Buquebuca's they were hailed from a cliff near by. "Our King Chioriso sends greeting, O mighty men! and presents this offering, begging your assistance in vanquishing an enemy too powerful for him." The gift was certainly persuasive, being no less than thirty large gold medals or plates worth fourteen thousand pesos. Balboa scarcely knew what to do, nevertheless he graciously received it, and sent in return three axes, some gilt beads, and several pieces of leather and cloth, making the recipient to his own thinking the richest potentate in savagedom. Balboa furthermore promised to assist him at some future time in his wars. The country through which they were now passing was exceptionally rugged, and the men of burden were quite exhausted when on the 13th of December they arrived at the village of Pocorosa. Several of the soldiers had also fallen seriously ill from fatigue, and it was accordingly decided to tarry here for thirty days. The chief, as usual, had fled at their approach, but was brought back to purchase friendship of the Spaniards with slaves and gold.

Pocorosa informed the Spaniards that not far from there[16] lived the famous Tubanamá, of whom Panciaco had spoken when first directing the attention of the Spaniards to the South Sea. He was reputed the richest as well as the strongest chieftain of these mountains, and was the terror of the neighboring nations. Balboa felt it more than ever his duty to overthrow Tubanamá, kill some of his men, steal a few of his women, and relieve him of his gold. But to do this he must have a thousand soldiers, so he

[16] It is impossible from the rambling narratives which constitute the groundwork of Central American history to locate with certainty these two villages. Thus of Pocorosa Vasco Nuñez, in a letter to the king, says, 'Está un cacique que se dice Comogre y otro que se dice Pocorosa, estan tan cerca de la mar el uno como el otra;' and of Tubanamá, 'Ha se de hacer otra fuerza en las minas de Tubanamá, en la provincia de Comagre.' *Carta por Vasco Nuñez* in *Navarrete, Col. de Viages*, iii. 366, 369.

had been told. Casting his eye over his little band of bruised and wayworn men, he thought how one mistake might swallow all his past successes, and sighed; then he slept on it, and when after a few days' rest the question was adventured, enough were eager for the raid. The result was that seventy Spaniards, and a squad of Pocorosa's warriors, after a rapid march, fell on Tubanamá about midnight and brought him away prisoner, Ogilby says with eighty concubines. The men of Pocorosa, and chiefs of adjoining tribes, began to revile him, and begged of Vasco Nuñez his immediate death. He had done worse things than Poncra, they said, and had beside spoken ill of the Spaniards, threatening to drag them to death by the hair of their head if ever they came within his reach. Vasco Nuñez pondered. For some time past he had entertained a plan of establishing in this vicinity a military post for the protection of commerce between the seas, and also of gold-mining. Was it better to kill this chief as an enemy, or let him live as a friend, and assist to keep the others friendly? He chose the latter course. But first he must temper the proposed friendship by trial. "Infamous tyrant," he thundered at the trembling prisoner, "now shalt thou suffer for thine abominations. Thou shalt be made to feel the power of the Christians, and the same doom which thou before thy naked slaves didst promise them, shall now be meted thee." He then motioned the attendants as if to remove him for execution. The unhappy cacique denied the accusations and begged for his life. Balboa apparently overcome by his entreaties slowly relented, and finally ordered the captive released. The overjoyed chieftain could not do enough for his deliverer. He stripped his women of their ornaments, and, collecting all articles within his reach fabricated of the coveted metal, presented the Spaniards with thirty marks of gold, and his subjects soon brought in sixty marks more. Enjoining Tubanamá to gather gold, and ever

remain true to the Spaniards, Balboa returned in triumph to Pocorosa's town, with a long train of enslaved captives. About this time Vasco Nuñez fell sick; and no wonder when we consider the strain on mind and body during the past four months. First in every action, bearing exposure and privation in common with the poorest soldier, with the responsibility of the adventure resting wholly on him, he was a fit subject for fever. But his indomitable spirit never forsook him, and causing himself to be carried on a litter he still directed movements, as they resumed their march.

Weary, ragged, but exultant, the party at length reached the village of Comagre. Panciaco was overjoyed to see them. The old chief was dead, and the young man filled his father's place. He could not do enough for Vasco Nuñez, for whom his affection seemed to grow in proportion as he was permitted to do him service. Panciaco had given the strangers gold and slaves; he had entertained them royally, had told them of the Southern Sea and the way to reach it, all his words proving true. Now he was permitted to entertain and nurse the emaciated Spaniards, and this he did with lavish generosity, watching Vasco Nuñez through his sickness with the affection of a brother. He was permitted to give them more gold, and did so. The Spaniards graciously received these benefits; and in return for obligations too vast for requital, the generous cavalier, the chivalrous discoverer of the great South Sea, gave his friend and benefactor a linen shirt and some worthless trinkets. His parting words were "Gather and send me more gold, Panciaco." The chief, however, before the party left, had embraced Christianity and received baptism.

It was the 14th of January that the party left Comagre. A short and easy march brought them to Poncra's village, where fortune wreathed in smiles still attended the commander, now free from illness and loaded with gold. Vasco Nuñez here was met

by four Spaniards from Antigua who had come to report the arrival of two vessels from Española with provisions and reinforcements. Leaving the greater part of his company to follow at their leisure, Balboa with twenty men pressed forward, and after a hearty greeting from Careta at his village, embarked in the brigantine which there awaited him, and arrived the 19th of January, 1514.

His entry into the settlement was a triumph. All the people came to welcome him, and he was conducted to the public square midst loud acclaims. And when he told them of his successes, of the wealth-bound sea, and the treasures he had obtained, they were wild with exultation. Beside gold, to the value of more than forty thousand pesos,[17] the Spaniards had brought eight hundred Indian slaves, and a large quantity of pearls, cotton cloth, and Indian weapons. All the nations on the route, both in going and in coming, had been subjugated without the loss of a battle and without the loss of a man. Thus terminated one of the grandest and most successful achievements of the Spaniards in the New World.

The remainder of the company soon arrived, and the spoils were thereupon distributed in equitable allotments, wherein also those participated who had remained at home. Beside the royal share, two hundred of the largest and most beautiful pearls were set apart by Vasco Nuñez and his companions as a present for the king, and one of their number, Pedro de Arbolancha, an intelligent man and trusty friend of the governor, was chosen as envoy to proceed immediately to Spain and proclaim this important discovery. By him Vasco Nuñez sent the sovereign a letter detailing his brilliant achievement, and requesting the royal appointment as governor of the region by

[17] A hundred thousand castellanos, Gomara says. 'Passo muchos trabajos y hambre, traxo sin las perlas, mas de cien mil castellanos de buen oro, y esperança, tornando alla, de auer la mayor riqueza, que nũca los nacidos vieron, y conesto estaua tan vfano, como animoso.' *Hist. Ind.* 82.

him discovered, with the means to prosecute further adventures on that coast. "And in all his long letter," says Peter Martyr, "there is not a single leaf written which does not contain thanks to Almighty God for delivery from perils, and preservation from many imminent dangers." This letter was dated at Antigua the 4th of March, and a few days after Arbolancha took his departure.

Meanwhile Balboa was unremitting in his efforts to advance the prosperity of the growing colony. Having so long suffered the miseries and inconvenience of a meagre supply of food, particular attention was turned to agriculture. Indian corn was produced in great quantities, and seeds of various kinds from Spain were planted, yielding fruit in abundance. Society became more settled and factions were at rest; for who could stand before Vasco Nuñez? Memories of home bloomed anew. Old-time amusements were again enjoyed; national holidays were regarded, and jousts and tournaments were held, if not with as rich display as formerly, yet with heartiness and merrymaking. Two of the pacified caciques became discontented and rebelled, but were soon quieted by a few men under Diego Hurtado. Another captain, Andrés Garabito, was sent to explore the country for the shortest and best route between the seas. Peace everywhere reigned; and with a profusion of food and gold already in store, with high anticipations regarding the future; with wealth, and dominion, and honor, and brilliant hopes, and multitudes of heathen for slaves, ought not these pirates to have been supremely happy?

CHAPTER X.

PEDRARIAS DÁVILA ASSUMES THE GOVERNMENT OF DARIEN.

1514–1515.

How the Discovery of a Southern Sea was Regarded in Spain—The Enemies of Vasco Nuñez at Court—Pedrarias Dávila Appointed Governor—Departure from Spain and Arrival at Antigua—Arbolancha in Spain—Pedrarias Persecutes Balboa—The King's Requirement of the Indians—Juan de Ayora Sent to Plant a Line of Fortresses between the Two Seas—Which Work He Leaves for Wholesale Robbery—Bartolomé Hurtado Sent to Bring in the Plunder—Disastrous Attempts to Violate the Sepulchres of Cenú—Expedition of Tello de Guzman to the South Sea—The Site of Panamá Discovered—The Golden Temple of Dabaiba Once More—Gaspar de Morales and Francisco Pizarro Visit the South Sea.

In Spain the tidings of Balboa's discovery created little less sensation than had that of Columbus twenty-two years before. The hypothesis still obtaining that America was eastern Asia, to what new manifestations was not this Southern Sea to lead? Coupled with the belief was the concurrent testimony of all the native peoples, that along its shores were wealth and industry, gold, pearls, and civilization, hope-inspiring of replenished coffers to Ferdinand, and to zealous churchmen of increase of souls. At last, said the wise men, the opulent kingdoms of the eastern Indies which have so long eluded our grasp are opened to us.

Unfortunately for Vasco Nuñez, success came late; for prior to the arrival of his messenger in Spain there had been laid a train of events which threatened his ruin. Fanned to a yet redder reality by the argumentative winds of the Atlantic, Enciso's wrath glowed

hot as he pictured to the king in only too truthful colors the quality of justice administered in his name to his subjects of Antigua. And the bachiller became really happy as he rolled the story of Nicuesa's wrongs, a sweet morsel, under his tongue, to the utter demolition of his enemies. Zamudio and Vasco Nuñez were condemned, as we have seen, and the king determined to send out a new governor who should investigate and punish.

Out of the many applying was chosen a gentleman of Arias in Segovia, Pedro Arias de Ávila, called by Spanish contemporaries Pedrarias, and by English historians Dávila. He was large of frame, pronounced in mind and temper, and coarse-grained throughout, the grizzled hair surrounding his dark features like the selfish and unholy nature that environed his swarthy soul. Whence it would appear that he was elderly for so rude a mission, which was true; but being an officer in good repute, well born and highly connected,[1] and with no lack of fire and stubbornness remaining, his age was not reckoned so much against him. The nicknames El Galan and El Justador were significant of a gay and courtly youth, as that of Furor Domini, given him by the monks of the New World, was of a virulent old age. He was rich, at least his friends were, so that money was at his command. Fonseca favored the appointment—a habit the bishop had of looking kindly on those whose petitions were backed by gold. And so Ferdinand made him governor and captain-general of Castilla del Oro, which was now ordered to be called Castilla Aurífica.[2]

Several causes united to favor Pedrarias at this

[1] According to Oviedo, iii. 4, 'hermano de Johan Arias Dávila, que despues fué el primero conde de Puñoenrostro.'

[2] Though it was never popularly so designated. 'Gobernar á Castilla del Oro en la Tierre Firme,' write the chroniclers; but in his instructions the king says, *Navarrete, Col. de Viages*, iii. 343, 'é agora la mandamos llamar *Castilla Aurifia*.' Oviedo, iii. 4, gives Pedrariasa broad domain, from Cape de la Vela to Veragua, and from ocean to ocean; 'señalándole por gobernaçion desde el Cabo de la Vela hasta Veragua, y desde estos límites, que son en la costa del Norte, corriendo la tierra adentro háçia la parte austral, todo aquello que oviesse de mar á mar, con las islas que en ello concurriessen.'

juncture. The arrival at court of Caicedo and Colmenares, commissioned by the settlers of Antigua to report the rumors concerning a sea to the south, and solicit aid for an expedition in that direction, renewed speculation and inspired enthusiasm.[3] The envoys were graciously received, and presented by Bishop Fonseca to the king, who listened with attention to their recitals. "They often sojourned with me," says old Peter Martyr, "and their countenances declare the intemperateness of the air of Darien; for they are yellow like those afflicted with the jaundice," or as Oviedo expresses it, "as yellow as the gold they went to seek," "and also swollen," continues the former, "the cause whereof they ascribe to the hunger endured in times past." The air of mystery enfolding the region, no less than the gold displayed by persons coming thence, threw over the enterprise a charm which brought to the standard of Pedrarias hundreds of eager applicants. Then there was the sudden breaking-up of the Italian expedition under Gonzalo de Córdoba. The French victory at Ravenna, which threatened King Ferdinand's Neapolitan possessions, had roused the chivalry of Spain, and when the standard of the Gran Capitan was raised at Seville, thither flocked youthful cavaliers and veteran soldiers burning to enlist under the banner of so great a leader in so glorious a cause. But the king, envious of the popularity of his general, in a fit of jealousy countermanded the expedition, thus filling the streets of Seville with purposeless men, many of whom had sold or pawned their birthright for means to procure an outfit, and who now preferred any adventure, however desperate, rather than return in humiliation to their homes. Therefore they hailed with rapture

[3] 'Caicedo and Colmenares reached Spain in May, 1513; the date of Pedrarias' appointment is July 27, 1513, so that it is very probable, especially since Enciso and his complaints reached the court of Spain before these deputies, that the appointment of a governor was settled before they arrived.' *Helps' Span. Conq.*, i. 373. See *Título de Capitan general y Gobernador de la provincia del Castilla del Oro en el Darien, expedido por el Rey-Católico á Pedrarias Dávila*, in *Navarrete, Col. de Viages*, iii. 337.

this New World enterprise where gold as well as glory might be won. Moreover, the success of Portugal in India, with which Spain's in the west compared unfavorably, and which had engendered both fear and envy, oiled the wheels of government and unlocked the royal strong-box, so that the ducats of Pedrarias were increased in number to fifty thousand, "an enormous sum in those days," as Quintana observes, "in the expenditure of which was manifest the interest and importance attached to the enterprise."[4] Arms and ammunition were drawn from the royal arsenal; and in place of the heavy iron armor which had proved oppressive in tropical latitudes, were substituted wooden bucklers and coats of quilted cotton, proof sufficient against the weapons of the natives. The fleet numbered about nineteen sail, with accommodations for twelve hundred men. These were soon enrolled, while as many more offering themselves had of necessity to be refused. Subsequently, by permission of the Council of the Indies, the number was increased to fifteen hundred.[5]

Pedrarias was accompanied by his wife, Isabel de Bobadilla, an estimable lady, niece to the Marchioness de Moya.[6] The other members of his family, consisting of four sons and four daughters, were left in Spain. Among the officers were several nobles; and his followers consisted, as was usual in these mad

[4] The Licenciado Zuazo, in a letter to M. De Xevres, *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, i. 304–32, places the cost of the outfit at 40,000 ducats; Las Casas, *Hist. Ind.*, iv. 138, at 54,000 ducats; 'y lo que en aquel tiempo se hizo y suplió con 54,000 ducados es cierto que hoy no se supliera con 158,000 castellanos.' Balboa in his letter to the king, 16th October, 1515, implies that the cost was 40,000 pesos de oro. *Navarrete*, iii. 377.

[5] Herrera, i. x. vii., and Pascual de Andagoya, *Relacion de los sucesos de Pedrarias Dávila*, in *Navarrete, Col. de Viages*, iii. 393, say 1,500 men and nineteen ships; Gomara, *Hist. Ind.*, 84, seventeen ships; Galvano, *Discov.*, 125, seven ships. Peter Martyr, iii. v., places the number of ships at seventeen, with 1,200 men assigned; but affirms that surreptitiously or otherwise 1,500 sailed, and 2,000 remained behind pensive and sighing who gladly would have gone at their own cost. Oviedo, who, one would think, should know, as he was of the number, testifies in one place, iii. 22, to twenty-two, 'naos é carabelas,' and 2,000 men, and in another place, iv. 473, to seventeen or eighteen.

[6] Icazbalceta, in *Dic. Univ.*, i. 429, says that she was cousin-german to the marchioness, who was a great favorite with Queen Isabella.

migrations, of persons of every caste, not alone the young and naturally thoughtless, but, if we may credit Peter Martyr, "no small number of covetous old men" were of the company. They were mostly officials, cavaliers and ecclesiastics, however, for governing, fighting, and preaching offered the chief attractions; and very few artisans, agriculturists, or colonists of value in constructing a permanent and prosperous commonwealth. Under the new government a young man from the schools of Salamanca, called the Licenciado Gaspar de Espinosa, was appointed alcalde mayor; Bachiller Enciso, alguacil mayor; Alonso de la Puente, treasurer; Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdés, the historian, veedor or inspector;[7] Diego Marquez, contador, and Juan de Tabira, factor. The fighting men were, first, the governor's lieutenant, Juan de Ayora, an hidalgo of Córdova, and brother of the chronicler, Gonzalo de Ayora. Next, captains of hundreds, Luis Carrillo, Francisco Dávila, Antonio Tello de Guzman, Diego de Bustamante, Gonzalo de Badajoz, Diego Albites, Contreras, Gamarra, Villafañe, Atienza, Meneses, Gonzalo Fernandez de Llago, Francisco Compañon, Francisco Vazquez Coronado de Valdés, Juan de Zorita, Francisco Hernandez, Gaspar de Morales, cousin of the governor, and a nephew of the governor, likewise named Pedrarias, captain of artillery, and others. Several of these names became notable, and we shall meet them hereafter. Chief of the spiritual army, under the title of Bishop of Darien,[8] was Juan de Quevedo, the first prelate to come to Tierra Firme; and with him was a company of Franciscan friars. Bernal Diaz del Castillo, then but little more than a youth, afterward the chronicler of the Mexican conquest, came with

[7] Appointed to succeed Juan de Caicedo 'que iba proveido en el oficio de Veedor de las fundiciones del oro de la Tierra Firme.' *José Amador de los Rios, Vida de Oviedo*, in *Oviedo*, i. xxii. Caicedo died in Seville before sailing. The duties of the office were to assay and stamp the gold and take charge of the king's fifth. Oviedo was also *escribano general* or chief notary of Tierra Firme.

[8] Or as Oviedo, iii. 22, has it, 'con titulo de obispo de Sancta Maria de la Antigua é de Castilla del Oro.'

the expedition, and also Pascual de Andagoya, Hernando de Soto, discoverer of the Mississippi, Benalcázar, who afterward conquered Quito, and Diego de Almagro, one of the pacificators of Peru. It was, in truth, a brilliant company. Juan Serrano was chief pilot, he who was subsequently killed with Magellan, the discoverer of the strait that now bears that name.

Cemaco's village, still bearing the name of Santa María de la Antigua del Darien, was by royal ordinance raised to the title and dignity of a city, with metropolitan prerogatives, ecclesiastical as well as civil. Lengthy instructions were provided the governor by the Council of the Indies. He was charged to see that his people were properly clad, comfortably but not extravagantly; to prohibit the sale or use of cards and dice; to punish murder, theft, and blasphemy; to tolerate no lawyer or any ecclesiastical or professional or unprofessional practitioner of the law in the colony;[9] to take no important step without consulting the bishop and other royal officials—an injudicious measure which broke society into factions; to render justice quickly and in accordance with the laws of Spain; to be a bright and shining light to the heathen in all truth and fair honesty; and, last of all, by no means to forget the king's share of the spoils taken in the exercise of said virtues.[10] The new governor was furthermore charged to strip from Vasco Nuñez de Balboa all semblance of authority, and to bring him to a strict account for his misdeeds. The survivors of poor Nicuesa's followers were to be treated with special leniency, even to the remitting of the king's

[9] Gonzalo Fernandez writing from Santo Domingo the 25th of October, 1537, to the Council of the Indies, *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas*, *Col. Doc.*, i. 522–9, says that this order proved inoperative, 'pues que los que lo habian de ejecutar lo disimulaban,' since those who should have executed it dissembled. For a time, however, no lawyer was allowed to plead in the Indies, the alcalde mayor speaking on both sides, and finally deciding according to the evidence; 'sentenciaba por aquel por quien en el pleito habia mejor hablado.'

[10] *Instruccion dada por el Rey á Pedrarias Dávila para su viage á la provincia de Castilla del Oro, que iba á poblar y pacificar con la gente que llevaba*, in *Navarrete, Col. de Viages*, iii. 342–55; *Las Casas, Hist. Gen.*, iv. 139–42; *Herrera*, ii. i. xiii.

fifth on their accumulations. All this, it will be remembered, was before the discovery of the South Sea became known in Spain; and that discovery remained still unrevealed when, on the 11th of April, 1514, after an ostentatious review in the plaza of Seville, the fleet sailed away in grand glee from San Lúcar.[11] After touching at some of the islands for the purpose of capturing Caribs for slaves, and also at Santa Marta in order to ascertain the fate of eleven Spaniards said to have been left there by Rodrigo de Colmenares, the armament reached Darien in safety. Significant of the coming rule was an incident which occurred during one of the landings. A servant of Pedrarias, named San Martin, had failed in respect toward Ayora, the governor's lieutenant, while ashore. Informed of it, Pedrarias ordered Ayora to return immediately and hang the offender to the first tree, which was done.[12]

Scarcely had the vessels of Pedrarias disappeared from the shore of Spain, when the tardy envoy of Vasco Nuñez arrived at court, and craved audience of the king. Pedro de Arbolancha had unfortunately delayed his departure from Darien for two months after the return of the South Sea discoverers. On this point of time turned the destinies of Vasco Nuñez and of the New World. Pedrarias would scarcely have been made governor; Pizarro would probably never have become the conqueror of Peru, and Vasco Nuñez might possibly have reached Mexico before Cortés.

[11] Helps, *Span. Conq.*, i. 385, and Irving, iii. 230, say 12th April. Robertson, *Hist. Am.*, i. 207, stigmatizes Ferdinand for elevating Pedrarias, and abasing Vasco Nuñez; in which the learned historian is wholly wrong. We who know the merits of Vasco Nuñez may be disposed to excuse his faults, but the king could not do otherwise, from a ruler's standpoint, than depose the unknown adventurer guilty of unlawful excesses.

[12] Five or six months later Pedrarias instituted formal proceedings to prove his insubordination. The people murmured against that hasty justice, and attributed it to some former displeasure of the governor against the man. *Oviedo*, iii. 25. Part of the vessels returned to Spain; several of the old and worm-eaten were sunk in Urabá Gulf; one foundered at sea, on the voyage back, the crew escaping to Española. *Oviedo*, iv. 471–3; *Herrera*, ii. i. vii.; *Andagoya's Nar.*, 1–3; *Ramusio, Viaggi*, iii. 208.

Arbolancha was conducted into the royal presence. He displayed his treasures and told his tale. The sovereign's heart was touched at the soldier's recital. Those pearls! They would make the darkest deeds resplendent in righteousness. And that new Southern Sea! Surely it would wash away far deeper stains than any which sullied the hands of its gallant discoverer. Oh! that this man had sooner come; for then the many thousand ducats spent on old Pedrarias might not have been out of their box. What this costly armament was sent out to do, a handful of roving Spaniards had done, under the leadership of a condemned man, against whom the royal wrath up to this moment had burned. And in this achieving there had been neither much bloodshed nor any cost to Spain; the current formulas for securing possession had been observed, and even the king's fifth and the king's present were not forgotten. In such performance there was manifest no mean mind; any further thought for the punishment of so meritorious a cavalier could not be entertained; and King Ferdinand resolved that Vasco Nuñez should not go unrewarded. So rides success triumphant, even sagacious royalty bending its stiff neck before it.[13]

Meanwhile Pedrarias entered Urabá Gulf and anchored his fleet before Antigua. Not knowing in what temper the redoubtable chieftain of the town might receive a successor, Pedrarias despatched an officer to acquaint the colonists with his presence, and with the nature of his commission. Landing, the messenger asked of the first men he met for their leader. He was pointed where some native workmen were thatching a small cottage under the direction of a man clad in cotton jacket and drawers and pack-

[13] It was a desperate game Vasco Nuñez had been playing; and although success up to this time had been varied, it was sure in the end to be against him. According to the Licenciado Zuazo, *al muy ilustre señor Monsieur de Xevres*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, i. 312–13, Pasamonte was guilty of double-dealing, now receiving Balboa's presents and writing the king in his favor, and at another time seconding the persistent efforts of Enciso against him.

thread shoes. Now silk and brocade was the covering this petty officer had provided himself withal to flaunt it in Italy, while this cotton-clad fellow looked more like a common laborer than the governor of a Spanish colony. Nevertheless the officer knew his duty and approached the man in cotton respectfully. "I come from Don Pedrarias de Ávila," said he, "lately appointed governor of Darien."

It was sudden; like death, which, even when expected, seems abrupt. How swiftly in his brain revolved probabilities and possibilities. With self-possession and courteous dignity, however, he answered presently: "Say to Don Pedrarias that he is welcome to Antigua."

Next day, which was the 30th of June, Pedrarias disembarked. The landing, where he formed his brilliant retinue, preparatory to the entry into the metropolis, was a league from the town. On one side the governor held by the hand his wife, Doña Isabel, and on the other, arrayed in episcopal robes, walked the bishop of Darien, while dignitaries, officers, cavaliers, and adventurers followed in the line of march. Near Antigua they were met by the sallow-faced colonists, who, though ragged, were rich both in experience and in gold.

The two leaders met with great courtesy; Vasco Nuñez was reverent, Pedrarias gracious. Then all went forward to the town, the friars chanting their Te Deum laudamus for delivery from ocean perils. Vasco Nuñez conducted Pedrarias and the officers to his own dwelling, while the remainder of the company were distributed among the colonists. And soon a New World repast was spread before the newcomers, consisting wholly of native products, maize bread, esculent roots, fish, and fruit, and to drink water.

And now begins a game played by malevolent craft on one side, and honorable frankness on the other,

which is unapproached by any of the New World trickeries and treacheries. For whatever his faults, whatever the pitfalls his tumultuous destiny had spread for him, Vasco Nuñez was by nature single-hearted and chivalrous, whereas Pedrarias Dávila was almost satanic in jealousy and cold hatred.

Seeking an early interview, the latter assumes an air of friendship, praises Vasco Nuñez for his abilities, congratulates him on his successes, and speaks of the high appreciation of the king. And as the object of both is only the welfare of the colony, will he not kindly write down what he has done and what he is just now intending to do? Thrown from his guard by this semblance of sincerity, Vasco Nuñez consents, and writes not only what will enable Pedrarias to profit by his experience, but, as the governor hopes, to occasion his overthrow. For the old man is not slow to perceive, on arriving at Antigua and learning of the wonderful discovery, that he is now and must be in reality second in these parts where so lately he was appointed first. Dropping the mask, he institutes charges, and orders Vasco Nuñez to stand trial for his life.

As alcalde mayor, the investigation must be brought before the licentiate Espinosa, and he, in conformity with royal instructions, had to be associated with the bishop Quevedo. Though inexperienced, Espinosa is honest. As for the prelate—does not the accused pray devoutly, and pay liberally? and does he not send the good bishop gifts of slaves, and share with him several lucrative enterprises? Go to! He of the cask is not so great a simpleton after all. He forces even Doña Isabel to smile upon him. He is acquitted. The enraged Pedrarias then hurls civil processes at him, until he is nearly ruined. Enciso meanwhile manufactures fresh guilt relative to the affair of Nicuesa. It is of no use; for the bishop fattens. Pedrarias now swears he will send the fellow to Spain for trial. This does not suit

Quevedo. "What madness," drawls the bishop, "to send a successful man to court. Know you not that ere this all Europe is ringing his praises? Better keep him within your grasp; become reconciled, then crush him under your protecting wing." Never is more diabolical mercy solicited for a friend. The governor perceives more than the prelate intends, and immediately arrays his villainy in friendship's smiling garb.

Amid such profitless pastime, too often the chief occupation of rulers, the so lately hilarious fifteen hundred were becoming hungry. The provisions they had brought were exhausted. Looking at the five hundred old settlers, the remnant of other fifteen hundred, the unseasoned opened speculation as to their own similar contraction. And straightway they began to die; twenty a day, until seven hundred were buried in their brocades. Sending under a strong guard some provisions to a secret spot, at a distance from the town, Pedrarias repaired thither and fed himself.

Immediate occupation alone could save the survivors. Taking advantage of Balboa's plans, Pedrarias determined to appropriate to himself the benefits of his discovery. Luckily, on hearing of the late discovery, the king had written to establish a line of posts from sea to sea,[14] to make settlements, selecting therefor healthy sites, where was good water; also to build a town on the shore of San Miguel Gulf, and three or four caravels likewise, giving them in charge of skilful captains for the prosecution of new discoveries in that direction. Accordingly, at once to plant the line of posts and circumvent any efforts of Vasco Nuñez in that direction, Juan de Ayora with four hun-

[14] *Capitulo de casta escrita por el Rey-Católico á Pedrarias Dávila, sobre los medios de facilitar la comunicacion entre la costa del Darien y la mar del sur, y que para continuar en él los descubrimientos se hagan alli tres ó cuatro carabelas,* in *Navarrete, Col. de Viages,* iii. 355–7.

dred men was despatched across the mountains from Careta.

We have found Balboa's policy in his treatment of the natives severe enough, but that which was now to be inaugurated makes his conduct seem humane in comparison. Whatever harsh measures circumstances at times seemed to him to render necessary, the fact remains that on his return from the South Sea expedition he left the nations friendly.[15] In all their bloody pacifyings, probably not one of the New World commanders so nearly observed the wishes of their Catholic majesties as Vasco Nuñez.

Among the rules respecting the natives was one directing how war should be made, and what the savages must do in order to save themselves and their lands. The formula drawn at an earlier date by a conclave of Spanish jurists and divines, by which Nicuesa, Ojeda, and others were to take possession of territories, was superseded by a Requirement of the Indians furnished Pedrarias by his sovereign, a translation of which I give in full below.[16] This require-

[15] *Carta de Vasco Nuñez*, in *Navarrete, Col. de Viages*, iii. 375. Oviedo enumerates the following chiefs with whom Balboa had made peace: Careta, Ponca, Careca, Chiapes, Cuquera, Juanaga, Bonanimana, Tecra, Comagre, Pocorosa, Buquebuca, Chuyrica, Otoque, Chorita, Pacra, Thenoca, Tubanamá, Teaoca, Tamaca, Tamao and others. The Licenciado Zuazo says, *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, i. 315, that Vasco Nuñez with his judicious policy had won over about thirty caciques.

[16] From the most high and mighty Catholic defender of the Church, always triumphant and never vanquished, the great King Don Fernando, the fifth of that name, King of the Spains, of the two Sicilies, and of Jerusalem, and of the Indies, isles and firm land of the ocean sea, tamer of barbarous peoples; and from the very high and puissant lady, the Queen Doña Juana, his dearest and most beloved daughter, our sovereigns; I, Pedrarias Dávila, their servant, messenger, and captain, notify and make known to you as best I can, that God, our Lord, one and triune, created the heavens and the earth, and one man and one woman, from whom you and we and all mankind were and are descended and procreated, and all those who shall come after us. But from the multitudes issuing out of that generation during the five thousand and more years since the world was made, it became necessary that some should go one way and some another, dispersing over many kingdoms and provinces, as in one alone they could not sustain nor preserve themselves.

All these peoples God, our Lord, gave in charge to one person, called Saint Peter, that he should be prince, lord, and superior over all men in the world, whom all should obey, and that he should be the head of all the human lineage, wheresoever man might live or be, and of whatever law, sect, or belief; and to him is given the whole world for his kingdom and lordship and jurisdiction. And although he was ordered to place his chair in Rome, as the

ment, which heralded to the heathen the name of Christ and European civilization in terms ridiculous

most suitable spot whence to rule the world, yet was he also permitted to be and place his chair in any other part of the world, and judge and govern all peoples, Christians, and Moors, and Jews, and Gentiles, of whatever sect or belief they might be. And him they called Pope, that is to say, Admirable, Supreme, Father, and Keeper, because he is father and keeper of all men. And this Saint Peter was obeyed and held in reverence as lord, and king, supreme in the universe, by those who lived in that time, likewise others who after him were elected to the pontificate were so esteemed, and so it has continued until now and will continue to the end of the world.

One of the pontiffs who succeded as prince and lord of the world, to the chair and dignity aforesaid, made a donation of these isles and firm land of the ocean sea to the said King and Queen, our sovereigns, and to their successors, with all therein contained, as it appears in certain writings made therefor, which you can see if desirable. So that by virtue of said donation their highnesses are kings and lords of these isles and firm land, and as such have been recognized, and obeyed, and served by the inhabitants of almost all the islands to whom notification has been made, who still obey and serve them as subjects should; and of their free will, without resistance, immediately, without delay, as soon as informed of the aforesaid, they obeyed and recognized the learned men and friars who were sent by their highnesses to preach and teach our holy Catholic faith; doing this of their free and spontaneous will, without pressure or condition of any kind; and they became Christians and are now, and their highnesses received them gladly and benignantly, and ordered that they should be treated in every respect as their own subjects and vassals; and you are held and obliged to do likewise. Therefore, as best I may, I pray and require you well to understand what I have told you; to take the time which may be necessary to comprehend it and to deliberate upon it; and to recognize the Church as Supreme Mistress of the Universe, and the Supreme Pontiff, called Pope, and the King and Queen in his place as monarchs and supreme sovereigns of these isles and firm land, by virtue of the donation aforesaid, and to consent and allow these religious fathers to explain and preach to you as aforesaid. If thus you do, you will do well, and do that which you are held and bound to do, and their highnesses, and I in their name, will receive you with all love and charity; and your wives, and children, and property will be freely left to you without lien, that you may do with them and with yourselves, whatever you may please. You will not be compelled to turn Christians, except when informed of the truth you desire to be converted to our holy Catholic faith, like almost all the inhabitants of the other isles. And besides this their highnesses will grant you many privileges and exemptions, and do you many favors. But if you do not thus, or maliciously delay to do it, I certify to you that with the help of God I will invade your lands with a powerful force, and will make war upon you in all parts, and in every manner in my power, and will subject you to the yoke and obedience of the Church and their highnesses; and I will take your persons, and those of your wives and children, and will make them slaves, and as such will sell them and dispose of them as their highnesses shall order; and I will take your property, and I will do you all possible harm and evil, as to vassals who do not obey or recognize their lord, but who resist and oppose him. And I protest that the deaths and damage which from such conduct may result will be at your charge and not at that of their highnesses, nor at mine, nor at that of the gentlemen who come with me. And now to that which I have said I require the notary here present to give me a certificate. Episcopus Palentinus, comes; F. Bernardus, Trinopolitanus episcopus; F. Thomas de Matienzo; F. Al. Bustillo, magister; Licenciatus de Sanctiago; El Doctor Palacios Rubios; Licenciatus de Sosa; Gregorius, licenciatus. The original in *Oviedo*, iii. 28-9. To the astute Enciso belongs the honor of first reading this *requeri-*

and distasteful enough, was mild and logical in its intention as compared with the horrors attending its execution. In the instructions accompanying the *requerimiento*, Pedrarias had been charged never to wage war unless the Indians were the aggressors, nor until they had been summoned to obedience once, twice, three times. This the governor told his lieutenant, but Pedrarias likewise told Ayora to send him food and gold without delay. It was seldom difficult to excite savages to acts of aggression, and as for reading to the natives the requerimiento, as required by law, that might be done by the notary at his convenience, but never so as to interfere with the advantages of a sudden surprise or preliminary butchery. In a word, the requirement was no less void in practice than absurd in theory.

The first action of Ayora was evidence of this. Ever since the union of Vasco Nuñez and Careta's daughter, equivalent with the natives to a marriage, the most friendly relations had existed between the Spaniards and Careta's people. Not only did the cacique present his respects in person to Pedrarias, but many times he sent food to the famishing colonists. It seems incredible that creatures in human form, to say nothing of European or Christian men, should repay such kindness by sudden, unprovoked attack, such as surprising peaceful villages by night, firing the

miento to the savages in America. The place was the port of Cenú; and when the lawyer had finished, the chief, whose name was Catarapa, and his people laughed at him; these benighted barbarians laughed at the learned bachiller, and said that the Pope must have been drunk when he did it, for he was giving what was not his; and that the King who asked and took such a grant must be a crazy one, since he asked for what was another's. 'Dixeron q̃ el papa deuiera estar borracho quãdo lo hizo; pues daualo q̃ no era suyo, y q̃ el rey q̃ pedia & tomaua tal merced deuia ser algun loco pues pedia lo que era & otros.' *Enciso, Suma de Geografia*, 56. A copy of this precious document was filed in the *Casa de Contratacion*, at Seville. *Memorial que dió el bachiller Enciso*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, i. 442–7. Herrera, i. vii. xiv., gives the text of the *requerimiento* made for Ojeda and others in 1508. See also *Real Cédula*, in *Doc. Inéd.*, i. 111–2; *Zamora y Coronado, Bib. Leg. Ult.*, iii. 21–31; *Juan y Ulloa, Voy.*, i. 114–20; *Acosta, Hist. Compend. Nueva Granada*, 23–6, where is also given the text of Nicuesa's requisition; *Las Casas, Hist. Ind.*, iv. 154–6; *Helps' Span. Conq.*, i. 242; *Carta dirigida al Rey por Vasco Nuñez*, in *Navarrete, Col. de Viages*, iii. 375–86.

houses, and murdering some of the slumberers while taking captive others, all being attended by wanton cruelty and pillage. Yet such was the fate of Careta, Panciaco, and other friends and allies of Vasco Nuñez. From the accident of conquest, captives for slaves had become one of the objects of conquest.

After this brilliant achievement at Careta, Ayora passed on to a small port which he named Santa Cruz,[17] where he planted the initial settlement of the line which was to extend from sea to sea. Leaving there eighty men, he marched southward, robbing

[17] I follow the *Novus Orbis* of De Laet, who places Pocorosa and S. X. (Santa Cruz) north and west of Comagre; although Oviedo, iii. 37, says, 'el puerto de Sancta Cruz que es en tierra del caçique Comogre.' It is often impossible to reconcile the self-contradictions of a writer, to say nothing of the conflicting statements of the several chroniclers. Oviedo usually places the native towns and provinces where most convenient for his narrative.

and murdering as he went. "The caciques were tortured to make them disclose their gold," writes Oviedo. "Some they roasted, others they threw to the dogs, others were hanged."[18]

If not for the church, then for himself the good bishop of Darien was interested in the spoils of God's enemies everywhere. In Ayora's maraudings he had special interest; and no intelligence reaching Antigua for some time concerning them, Quevedo suggested to Pedrarias that a messenger be sent to ascertain his lieutenant's progress. Bartolomé Hurtado, once the friend of Vasco Nuñez, but anxious now before the new powers to wipe out that stain, was accordingly sent to bring in the plunder.

On the way, to please Pedrarias, Hurtado sought to excel Ayora in rapine; but that was impossible. In returning with the plunder, however, he stopped at Careta's village and asked for men to carry burdens to Antigua, and this was readily granted by the chief, anxious as he still was for the friendship of the Spaniards. After honorably discharging his trust with regard to Ayora and Pedrarias, in manner becoming a Christian and a cavalier, he selected from Careta's men six of the finest specimens and presented them as slaves to the governor; to the worthy bishop he gave other six; and to Espinosa four. After thus going the rounds among the high officials, the remainder were branded and sold into slavery at public sale.[19] Hurtado was forgiven his former humanity.

[18] I do not know that it is necessary here to catalogue Ayora's crimes. One which the Licenciado Zuazo mentions, *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, i. 315–16, if sufficiently pluralized, will answer for all. Met one day, on approaching a village, by natives bearing presents of venison, fowl and fish, wine and maize, who thought the white tiba to be their friend, Vasco Nuñez, Ayora seized the cacique and his chief men, tortured them with fire and dogs until all their gold was given up, and then burned them alive. 'This infernal hunt lasted several months,' says Oviedo.

[19] 'Los quales luego fueron vendidos en almoneda é herrados, é los mas dellos se sacaron de la tierra por mar, é los llevaron á otras partes.' *Oviedo*, iii. 39. 'Poi mandò ancora lui altri Capitani per quella Costa, come fu Bartolomeo Vrtado in Achla, e saltato in terra, sotto colore di pace, pigliò tutti gl'Indiani, che potè, e gli vendè per ischiaui.' *Benzoni, Hist. Nvovo Mondo*, 49.

Entering the dominions of Tubanamá, Juan de Ayora planted there another fortress which he left in charge of Meneses. But instead of continuing his labors across the Isthmus, as ordered, he determined to give himself wholly up to robbery, and escape the country before his offences should be fully known. Following this plan he soon found himself overloaded with booty; and, leaving his captains to overrun the land at pleasure, he returned with his captives, gold, and provisions to Antigua. The gold, he said, must remain untouched, for future division. The provisions were deposited with the governor, and the captives distributed among the royal officers, who had been sent hither at the king's cost, to see among other things that the natives were not enslaved. Yet Ayora was ill at ease. His dreams and meditations were not pleasant; he knew that there must be a day of reckoning when his atrocities became known. The villain determined to escape before the return of the captains. Making ready with his men, he watched his opportunity, and seizing one of the ships lying at the anchorage, not unknown to the governor however, as many think, he escaped with his booty. Peter Martyr, while acknowledging a long acquaintance with Ayora, says that "in all the turmoyles and tragicall affayres of the Ocean, nothing hath so muche displeased me, as the couetousnesse of this man, who hath so disturbed the pacified minds of the Kinges." And "if Juan de Ayora had been punished for his many injuries to the peaceable caciques," wrote Vasco Nuñez subsequently to the king, "the other captains would not have dared to commit like excesses."[20]

The chronicles continue in about the same strain. Shortly after Ayora, Francisco Becerra came in from the hunt with gold to the value of seven thousand pesos

[20] *Carta al Rey*, in *Navarrete, Col. de Viages*, iii. 376. Oviedo states that Pedrarias sent a ship after Ayora to Santo Domingo, but before it reached that port Ayora had sailed for Spain, where, soon afterward, he died, leaving the bishop, the alcalde mayor, and the governor responsible for his crimes. Even if this were true, these functionaries may have winked at Ayora's escape.

de oro, and with over one hundred captives, by the judicious distribution of which official inquiry was not only quieted, but Becerra obtained a new commission. He was sent with one hundred and eighty men and three pieces of artillery to Cenú, to avenge the death of forty-eight men lost by Francisco de Vallejo some time before. It was here that Encisco once attempted to violate the native sepulchres in search of golden ornaments. Becerra went with the determination to spare neither age nor sex; but, on landing, the party was decoyed into ambush and every man of them slain by the poisoned arrows of the enemy, a native servant-boy of Becerra alone escaping to carry the news to Antigua.

Since the whole region was in arms the eighty men at Santa Cruz found it every day more difficult to sustain life by stealing. Wherever the savages could catch them they repaid their cruelties in kind, cutting off the limbs with sharp stones, or pouring melted gold down their throats, crying "Eat! Eat gold, Christians! take your fill of gold!"[21]

Growing yet bolder, Pocorosa collected a large force and captured the fort, five Spaniards only escaping to Antigua.[22] Thus within six months after establishing Santa Cruz, not a vestige of the settlement remained.

Antonio Tello de Guzman was sent with one hundred men to continue the work abandoned by Ayora. Departing from Antigua early in November, 1515, he

[21] Theodore de Bry and Benzoni give graphic engravings of the cutting and roasting and eating of Spaniards. Says the latter, 'Quegli, che pigliauano vini, spetialmente il Capitani, legategli le mani e i piedi, gettatigli in terra, colauano loro dell'oro in bocca, dicendo, mangia, mangia oro Cristiano.' *Hist. Nvovo Mondo*, 49. Nor has Las Casas failed to improve the subject, as may be seen in the curious illustrations and extreme denunciations of his *Regionvm Indicarum devastatorum*, 18–22 et seq.

[22] *Herrera*, ii. i. ii.; *Peter Martyr*, iii. 6. Oviedo, iii. 46, asserts that Panciaco joined Pocorosa in the attack on Santa Cruz, and that not a single Spaniard escaped. Andagoya, in *Nar.*, 12, says that all were killed save one woman, whom Pocorosa kept several years as his wife. She was finally killed through jealousy by an Indian woman who reported her to have been eaten by a crocodile while bathing.

proceeded to the province of Tubanamá[23] and found the fortress, in command of Captain Meneses, besieged by the savages, and the garrison reduced to the last extremity. The place was abandoned, and Meneses marched southward with Guzman into the provinces of Chepo and Chepauri. There they were met by several caciques combined to oppose them; but the savages were persuaded to think better of it. Chepo presented his visitors with a large amount of gold and feasted them. While seated at dinner a young cacique rushed in greatly excited and denounced the host as a usurper, who had defrauded him of his inheritance. "Reinstate me," he urged, "and I will give you twice the gold Chepo has given." The argument was irresistible. Chepo was hanged; seven of his principal men were given to the dogs, and the adjudicators received gold to the value of six thousand pesos. Then they went their way.

As they approached the seaboard they heard a place much spoken of which the natives called Panamá. It must be that gold or pearls were there, the Spaniards thought; for how otherwise could any place be famous? On reaching it, however, they were disappointed to find only a collection of fishermen's huts, the word *panamá*, in the aboriginal tongue, signifying "a place where many fish are taken."[24] Resting here with part of his company, Tello de Guzman despatched Diego de Albites with eighty men to the rich province of Chagre, ten leagues distant; and this captain plumes

[23] Oviedo calls this place Tamao.

[24] This was the site of old Panamá. Aboriginally fish in large quantities were dried there. 'Que es provincia adonde los ayres son buenos quando vienen dela mar,' says Herrera, ii. ii. x., 'y malos quando procedē de tierra.' In *Purchas, His Pilgrimes*, iv. 883, is written, 'It might haue had a better seate, and more wholesome, and to the purpose for the trafficke of the South Sea, not going very farre from whence the Citie now stands.' See *Juan* and *Ulloa, Voy.*, i. 99; *Heylyn's Cosmog.*, 1085; *Lloyd*, in *London Geog. Soc., Jour.*, i. 85; *Findlay's Direct.*, i. 213; *Griswold's Panama*, 11; *Viagero Univ.*, xii. 303–30; *Andagoya's Nar.*, 23. Ambiguously Gomara writes, *Hist. Ind.*, 254, 'Deste golfo a Panama ay mas de cinquenta, que descubrio Gaspar de Morales Capitan de Pedrarias de Auila.' Still more indefinite is Benzoni, *Hist. Mondo Nvovo*, 81, 'Questa prouincia di Panama soleua essere habitata da molti popoli Indiani, e per tutti quei siu mi v'era abondanza d'oro; ma gli Spagnuoli hanno consumato ogni cosa.'

himself, and we permit him in God's name, that he did not murder the sleepy savages when, roused at dead of night, they gazed with stolid astonishment on their strange visitors, and promptly paid twelve hundred pesos for the privilege to be left alive. Acquiring so much so easily, Albites deemed it only proper to demand more, and handing another large sack to the cacique, he told him to fill it with gold. "I can fill your sack with stones from the brook," was the reply, "but I cannot make gold, neither have I any more."

Even for this the good Albites did not cast him to the dogs, but took his departure for Pacora,[25] where joined by Guzman the entire company returned to Tubanamá.

Thus far the expedition of Tello de Guzman had been prosperous, and more important than he himself imagined, for his was the first visit of Spaniards to the site of the afterwards renowned city of Panamá. Hence to Antigua, however, the march was distressing. Elated by his success at Santa Cruz, Pocorosa

[25] It may be the same as Poncra; from the authorities it is impossible with certainty to determine.

appeared at Tubanamá with an increased force. Hoisting as banners the bloody raiment of slain Christians, the savages brandished their gory pennons on every hillside, crying, "Behold the fate of the accursed, who leave their homes to mar the peace of unoffending nations." All along down the mountain and over the burning plain of Darien to the very threshold of Antigua, the Spaniards fought a hidden foe, who never offered pitched battle, but so harassed them that ofttimes they were on the point of throwing away their heavy plates of gold, and lying down to die from thirst, hunger, and exhaustion. Nevertheless they arrived at Antigua with many slaves and much treasure.

All this time Vasco Nuñez was left in the background; and while such dastardly doings were in order it was as well for every honorable man to remain unoccupied. It was hard, however, to remain idle; and in an evil moment, at the earnest solicitations of the old comrades who had no confidence in any other leader, he consented to take part in another expedition to Dabaiba, in search of the gold and the golden temple there. It was a desperate undertaking, as the former adventure had proved, but the colony was an Ixion's wheel that kept the government ever moving.

When two hundred men were ready, and the question of leadership arose, Pedrarias named Luis Carrillo; but there were those who would not go except under Vasco Nuñez. Then it occurred to the governor to divide the leadership in such a way that if the expedition proved successful his own captain should have the credit, and if a failure, the blame should fall upon his enemy. And so it was arranged, to the infinite disgust of Balboa, who plainly saw the governor's purpose, and would have declined could he have done so without prejudice to his friends. Embarking in June, 1515, and ascending the Atrato

for some distance, the expedition was suddenly surrounded by hostile canoes which darted simultaneously from beneath the foliage overhanging either bank. The Spaniards were taken at a disadvantage; for beside attacking them with wooden lances the savages, who were more expert upon the water than the Spaniards, dived under and overturned their canoes, to the destruction of one half the expedition. Among the lost was Luis Carrillo. The one hundred survivors found their way back to Antigua with no small difficulty.

One might think that this would be enough of the golden temple for the present. But not so. These men were not Castilians if danger and defeat acted otherwise than as stimulants to new adventure. Furthermore, like the honors of the arena which are magnified by the difficulties of their attainment, the mysterious dominion so stubbornly defended must hold great treasure, and in the inflamed minds of the Spaniards the savage pantheon of Dabaiba had risen into a lofty edifice glittering with gold and gems, and situated in a region rich and beautiful beyond comparison. And Juan de Tabira, the factor, was confident he could capture it, as likewise was Juan de Birues the inspector. They would build three light brigantines; and with these, and a small fleet of canoes, and, say one hundred and sixty men, bid defiance to the demon host of Dabaiba. This they did, Tabira commanding. The cost fell heavy on the factor, but the king's chest helped him out, if Herrera speaks truly.

As hitherto, the invaders were attacked, but the savages were easily beaten off. Not so the goddess of the golden temple, who sent such a flood as uprooted trees, overturned the factor's vessel, and drowned among others both Tabira and Birues. Francisco Pizarro being of the party was asked to assume command and continue up the river, but he declined, and further efforts in that direction were abandoned.[26]

[26] Peter Martyr speaks of four attempts to gain the golden temple. The

Rumors arriving from Spain of the recognition by the India Council of the services and merits of Vasco Nuñez, Pedrarias hastened to move men to the southern seaboard, lest he should see his enemy placed in power there. For this mission were chosen the governor's cousin, Gaspar de Morales, and Francisco Pizarro, to whom were given sixty men.[27] They were told to cross the mountains by the shortest route, and, taking possession of the Pearl Islands found and named by Vasco Nuñez, to gather the fruit thereof. The object of the Europeans in attacking the islanders was, of course, to extend the boundaries of their enlightened, just, and humane civilization, and bring the benighted heathen to a knowledge of the Christian religion. True, they might gather a little gold, or pick up such pearls as fell in their way, for the laborer is worthy of his hire.

On reaching the seashore, Morales quartered half of his men, under Peñalosa, on a cacique named Tutibrá, and the remainder on the neighboring chieftain, Tunaca. Chiapes and Tumaco, still loyal to the Spaniards, joined them there. Every requisite, food, boats, and men, was provided by the savages with alacrity, for they who should despoil their ancient enemy were welcome.

One day, just before dark, Morales and Pizarro with thirty Spaniards and a large company of natives embarked in a fleet of canoes, but so boisterous was the sea that they were unable to reach the islands before the next day. Landing on one of the smaller islands and meeting but slight resistance, the invaders passed over to Isla Rica, as it was called by Vasco Nuñez, the largest of the group, where dwelt the terrible king, who made the caciques of the mainland

first attained a distance up the river of forty leagues, the second of fifty leagues, and the third of eighty leagues. Again they crossed the river and proceeded by land, 'but oh! wonderful mischance, the unarmed and naked people always overcame the armed and armored.' Jacobo Alvarez Osorio, a friar of the priory of Darien, spent many years in search of the province of Dabaiba.

[27] Balboa says eighty. *Carta*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, ii. 530.

tremble, and who now, nothing daunted, came forward at the head of his warriors and fought the strangers bravely. And notwithstanding Castilian gunpowder, steel, and bloodhounds heaping in lifeless masses before his eyes his best and bravest, the stubborn king fought on as if he knew not how to yield. Finally Chiapes and Tumaco spoke to him, and showed how vain resistance was, how valuable the friendship of the strangers. Believing this, the island monarch submitted, and brought the Spaniards to the spacious palace, as the old chroniclers called his house, and set before them a basket of large and lustrous pearls to satisfy their avaricious souls. In return the king was made passing rich by a present of a few cheap hand-mirrors, some hawk-bells and hatchets, and exhibited almost as foolish a delight over his trinkets as did the Europeans over theirs. "Commend me to the friendship of these gods," cried the king, as he sought his swarthy other self behind the mirror, and jingled the hawk-bells, so much more beautiful than pearls, and tried the keen edge of his hatchet on the skull of a slave standing by. Embracing Morales he led him to a tower which crowned the dwelling, and commanded a view of the isle-dotted ocean on every side. "Behold," he said, "the infinite sea extending beyond the sunbeams; behold these islands on the right hand and on the left. All are mine; all abound in pearls, whereof you shall have as many as desired if you continue my friend." He also spoke of the nations of the distant mainland whose mighty power was evidenced by the ships which he had sometimes seen.

Morales readily promised eternal friendship, stipulating only that one hundred marks of pearls should be annually paid the king of Castile, and to this assented the king of Dites,[28] as the natives called Isla Rica. In order, so far as possible, to render insig-

[28] Gomara, *Hist. Ind.*, 84, gives the island or the chieftain yet another name, 'y diose buena mañia enla ysla de Terarequi a rescatar perlas.' Oviedo, iii. 16, calls the island Toe.

nificant the achievement of Vasco Nunez, Morales had been instructed to take possession of the South Sea for the king of Spain in the name of Pedrarias. This was now done. The name of Isla de Flores was substituted for that of Isla Rica, and the holy rite of baptism was administered to the king, who received the name Pedro Arias.[29]

The good fortune of Morales now forsook him. On returning to the mainland he found that the country was in arms, owing to the excesses of Peñalosa, who was a relative of Isabel, wife of Pedrarias. The villain had repaid the hospitality of Tutibrá by outrages on his women, and the chieftains had in consequence confederated for the protection of their homes. In revenge for this Morales spread fire and sword throughout that region. On one occasion eighteen caciques, called to a friendly council, were treacherously seized and given to the dogs; at another time seven hundred savages are said to have been slain within an hour. But in burning the village of a cacique named Birù,[30] on the eastern side of the gulf, the Spaniards were repulsed, and in attempting to cross the mountains to Darien they lost their way, and after considerable wandering and suffering found themselves back at the starting-point. Again they essayed the transit, a handful of men amidst infuriated hosts. In retaliation for night attacks, and darts showered by day from cliffs and thickets, the Europeans strewed their path with murdered and mutilated captives to the

[29] Writing the king, Vasco Nuñez tells the tale somewhat differently. 'No sooner had they arrived at Isla Rica,' he says, 'than entering a village they captured all the Indians they could. The cacique prepared for war, but retired for several days, during which time the Christians burned half the houses with all the provisions. Afterward the cacique peaceably returned with fifteen or sixteen marks of pearls and four thousand pesos in gold. Then he took the Spaniards to the place where they obtained the pearls, and made his people gather them, and remain at peace. Notwithstanding all this the captain without conscience gave away as slaves all the men and all the women whom he brought away from the Rich Island.' The statement may be taken with allowance as from a man smarting under wrong; and it is not a little amusing to see how suddenly tender becomes the conscience of the ingenuous Vasco, who never stole anything from the natives, or burned their houses, or made them slaves!

[30] Erroneously supposed by some to be the origin of the word Peru.

number of one hundred, hoping to intimidate the enemy, who was only the more maddened thereby. Thus, midst this bloody disturbance, which in ferocity far exceeded anything of which wild beasts are capable, this band of Spanish marauders escaping their just deserts, managed with great tribulation to reach their settlement, still clinging to the gold and pearls.[31]

To Gaspar de Morales Vasco Nuñez pays the same encomiums as to the other captains of Pedrarias. "Be it known to your Majesty," he writes, "that during this excursion was perpetrated the greatest cruelty ever heard of in Arabian or Christian country, in any generation. And this it is. This captain and the surviving Christians while on their journey took nearly one hundred Indians of both sexes, mostly women and children, fastened them with chains, and afterward ordered them to be decapitated and scalped." But "being cousin and servant of the governor," adds Oviedo, he suffers "neither pain nor punishment."

[31] Some of the pearls were of extraordinary size and beauty. One, in particular, attained no small celebrity. It was pear-shaped, one inch in length, and nine lines in its largest diameter. Vasco Nuñez describes it as weighing 'ten tomines'—a *tomin* is about one third of a drachm—'very perfect, without a scratch or stain and of a very pretty color and lustre and make; which, in truth,' artlessly intimating what would be his course under the circumstances, 'is a jewel well worthy of presentation to your Majesty, more particularly as coming from these parts. It was put up at auction and sold for 1,200 pesos de oro to a merchant, and finally fell into the hands of the governor.' Oviedo, iii. 49, says it weighed 31 carats. Subsequently it was presented through Doña Isabel to the queen, and was valued in Spain at 4,000 ducats. Pedrarias is further charged with divers misdemeanors. *Carta del Adelantado Vasco Nuñez de Balboa*, October 16, 1515, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, ii. 526, and *Navarrete, Col. de Viages*, iii. 375; *Ovalle, Hist. Rel. Chile*, in *Pinkerton's Voy.*, xiv. 146–7.

CHAPTER XI.

DARIEN EXPEDITIONS UNDER PEDRARIAS.

1515–1517.

GONZALO DE BADAJOZ VISITS THE SOUTH SEA—WHAT HE SEES AT NOMBRE DE DIOS—HIS DEALINGS WITH TOTONAGUA—AND WITH TATARACHERUBI—ARRIVES AT NATÁ—THE SPANIARDS GATHER MUCH GOLD—THEY ENCOUNTER THE REDOUBTABLE PARIS—A DESPERATE FIGHT—BADAJOZ LOSES HIS GOLD AND RETURNS TO DARIEN—PEDRARIAS ON THE WARPATH—HE STRIKES CENÚ A BLOW OF REVENGE—ACLA FOUNDED—THE GOVERNOR RETURNS ILL TO ANTIGUA—EXPEDITION OF GASPAR DE ESPINOSA TO THE SOUTH SEA—THE LICENTIATE'S ASS—ROBBERY BY LAW—ESPINOSA'S RELATION—A BLOODY-HANDED PRIEST—ESPINOSA AT NATÁ—HE COURTS THE ACQUAINTANCE OF PARIS—WHO KILLS THE AMBASSADORS—HURTADO SURVEYS THE SOUTHERN SEABOARD TO NICOYA—PANAMÁ FOUNDED—AN ABORIGINAL TARTARUS—RETURN OF ESPINOSA'S EXPEDITION.

WHILE these expeditions were directed to the east side of Panamá Bay, other captains were equally active on the west side.

Gonzalo de Badajoz embarked at Antigua for the South Sea in March, 1515, with one hundred and thirty men.[1] Landing at Nombre de Dios, where no white man had touched since Nicuesa's departure, a dismal spectacle was there presented. The dismantled fort stood surrounded by tenantless dwellings, whose walls were once the silent witnesses of despair; while crosses, heaps of stone, and dead men's scattered bones, seemed to tell how restless were these adventurers even in their last resting. The most impassive of all that callous company was struck by a momentary shudder as he gazed on these ghastly

[1] Peter Martyr, dec. iii. cap. x., says he set out in May with 80 men, and was afterward joined by Mercado with 50 men.

portents of his own probable fate; and they would have turned back on the spot had not their leader hurried the ships away beyond their reach.

The versatile adventurer quickly recovers himself, however, and what is more wonderful is the indifference with which sanguinary recitals often repeated are soon received. The homely adage that familiarity breeds contempt is nowhere more strikingly true than in our own intercourse with danger, pain, and death. It is not altogether a Hibernicism to say that men get used to these things, even to hanging. And when the oft-repeated disasters are distant, and only the survivors with their prizes are present, the terrible tale makes still less impression. That colony after colony in the New World occupation should be swept away or divided by death, and divided yet again, ten times, or twenty times cut in twain; or that expedition after expedition should return to Antigua, leaving half or two thirds of its number rotting on the heated plain, or scattered in the mountains furnishing food for carrion-birds, and yet new colonists continue to come out, and new expeditions continue to be organized by those willing to take the same even chances of never returning, shows an ignorance, or indifference, or both, to which fear of consequences is as inaccessible as ever was the feeling of love to Narcissus.

The mission of Badajoz was the usual one. He was to cross the Isthmus at its narrowest part, take possession of the country, and gather in its treasures. We all know what this implied. Were any but civilized Christians so to do it would be called murder, robbery, treachery, violation, and the rest.

Totonagua was the first victim on this occasion. His dominions were of great extent and thickly peopled, the village where he resided standing on the mountains opposite Nombre de Dios. Surprised by night he surrendered gold to the value of six thousand pesos. Tatarachcrubi, a wealthy cacique on the

southern side, was similarly relieved of gold to the value of eight thousand pesos. Seeing the Spaniards so deeply in love with gold, Tataracherubi told them of a chief named Natá, some distance to the south-west, very rich and with few fighting men. Thirty men under Alonso Perez de la Rua were deemed ample for the adventure, but after a night's march the Spaniards found themselves, as morning broke, in the midst of a cluster of villages belonging to a numerous and warlike people. Retreat was impossible, and not a moment was to be lost. Rushing for the principal village they seized the leading cacique, Natá,[2] and were masters of the situation. For when the savages pressed them hard in the fight that followed, and would have slain them all, they threatened Natá with instant death if he did not cause his men to lay down their arms. Natá obeyed. Presently Badajoz joined Perez, and the chief was released to collect for his captors gold in value to fifteen thousand castellanos. After remaining at Natá two months the conquerors surprised the village of Escoria, ten leagues to the southward, and secured gold[3] to the value of nine thousand pesos. Westward from Escoria lived Biruquete[4] and a blind neighbor, who were relieved of six thousand pesos worth of gold. In the vicinity were the villages of Taracuri, Pananome, Tabor, and Chirú, where the Spaniards obtained another considerable quantity of gold.

Gonzalo de Badajoz was gathering a rich harvest. Thus far his accumulations reached eighty thousand castellanos, equivalent to more than half a million of

[2] On Mercator's atlas there is a town and river south-west from Panamá named *Nata*. Hondius, Dampier, Jefferys, and De Laet give *Nata; West-Indische Spieghel, Nato; Kiepert, Nata de los Caballeros*, and thence eastward, *R. Aguablanca*, and opposite this river, *I Chiru*.

[3] Nearly all the gold found here was wrought into plates and various kinds of utensils.

[4] It is groundless speculation on the part of Herrera to find in this word, as many do in others, the origin of the term Peru. 'Y prosiguiendo su descubrimiento hàzia el Ocidente, llegaron a la tierra del Cazique dicho Birùquete, de quien se dize que ha deriuado el nombre de Piru.' *Hist. Ind.*, ii. i. xiv.

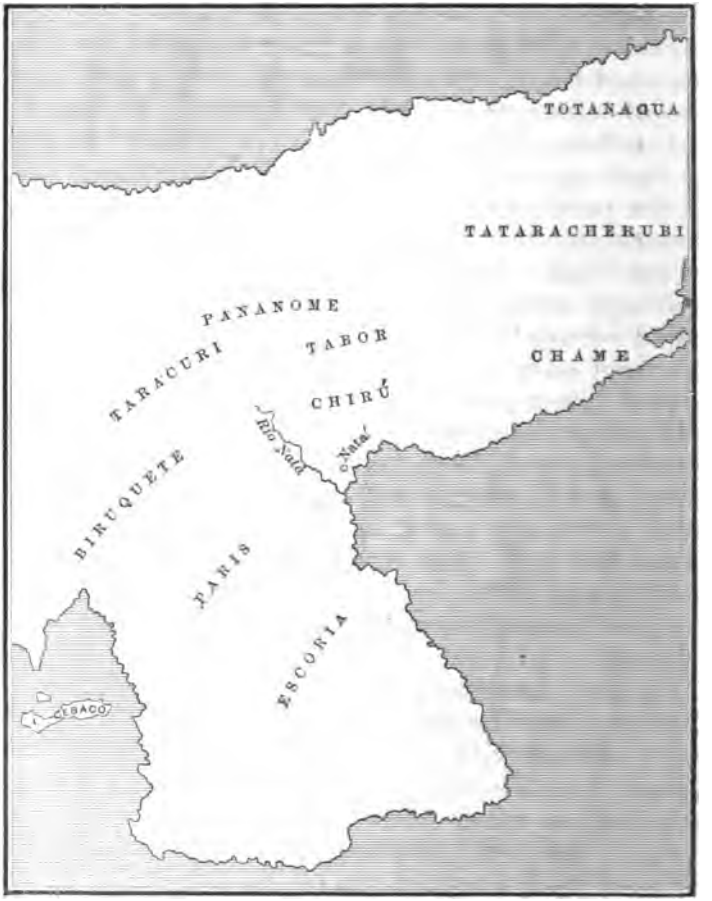
dollars at the present day. It was not a disagreeable way of making money. It was quite honorable stealing in the eyes of the plunderers themselves, although the stupid savages never could wholly make out the right of it. In addition to gold there were always plenty of women for slavery, and so the adventurers who for these benefits had staked their lives were happy.

Elated by their successes, the conquerors continued the good work. Not far from Chirú were the dominions of a cacique called by the Spaniards Parizao Pariba, subsequently abbreviated into Paris.[5] Advised of their approach Paris fled to the mountains with all his people and treasure. Badajoz sent a message threatening to put the dogs upon his track unless he returned. Paris returned word that he was exceedingly occupied and hoped the Spanish captain would excuse his coming. He begged him, however, to accept an accompanying gift from his women, and wished him a prosperous journey out of the country. The gift so carelessly presented was carried by four principal men in baskets made of the withes of palm-leaves and lined with deerskins. In dimensions they were about one and a half by two feet, and three inches in depth. The contents consisted of fabricated gold, breast-plates, bracelets and ear-rings, valued, as the Spaniards affirmed, at forty or fifty thousand castellanos.

So much treasure so royally presented only excited their cupidity the more. Thanking the savages, Badajoz retired with his men, but as soon as Paris returned to the village, he surprised it at night and obtained as much more gold as had already been sent. This greediness resulted in their ruin. Paris sent out upon the road one of his principal men who

[5] Paris was an Indian province and gulf twelve leagues from Natá. Oviedo authorizes us to write, *Pariza* or *Parita*. The large square peninsula which forms the western bound to the gulf of Panamá, is sometimes called by modern writers *Parita*, and the gulf which cuts into the peninsula *Gulfo de Parita*. See Humboldt's *Atlas of New Spain*. Ribero gives *G. de Paris*, Vaz Dourado, *G:. de Paris naca* and *b:. de Paris naqua;* De Laet, *Golfo de Parita*, as well as the city Parita, south of which is *Iubraua*, and north, *Escoria*.

was instructed, when captured, to pass himself off as belonging to an adjoining village, three leagues distant, and to say that it was well stocked with gold. He was on his way to the river to fish, but would show them his town. The strategy succeeded. Badajoz sent a portion of the men under his guidance to



bring in the treasure. Meanwhile Paris had raised an army of four thousand warriors, and the invaders being now divided, as had been designed, he fiercely attacked and almost exterminated one part before the other could join it. The Spaniards fought until

seventy of their number were slain, whereupon they abandoned the treasure, cut their way through the savages, and fled to the territory of Chame.[6] Thence they crossed to an island occupied by Tabor, and afterward to Taboga Island, where they remained for thirty days recruiting their strength for the desperate attempt to reach Darien. This they finally accomplished, but Perez de la Rua lost his life immediately on returning to the mainland. Since they failed to bring home the gold of which their stories were full, we may each of us believe them according to our faith.

The year 1515 was now drawing toward its close. It had been clouded with more than one disaster, and Pedrarias was anything but pleased. Himself a fighting man as well as civil officer, he determined to show his young captains what an old man could do in the field; for whatever his general character, and it was detestable enough, Pedrarias was not a coward. His first blow was to be directed against the Cenú people, toward whom he had not felt kindly since the slaughter of the two companies under Vallejo and Becerra. What right had these savages to kill Spaniards? And yet were his purpose known of entering within range of those poisoned arrows he would have few followers to the wars. An expedition of three hundred men was therefore organized ostensibly against Pocorosa, and with this he coasted westward until after night-fall, when he ordered the pilots to turn back and make for Cenú, whose tristful shore the next morning saw them close approaching. Anchoring, Hurtado was sent with two hundred men to fire the village and do what killing was convenient. He managed to cut in pieces a few women and children as they escaped the flames, and secure some captives for slaves, but the poisoned arrows soon terminated

[6] Town and province, beside being the name of the first prominent point west of Panamá. Colon and Ribero have it, *p de Chame;* Vaz Dourado writes it the same once, and again, *p:. de Cane;* Colom gives *P de Chane;* De Laet, and others after him, *Chame*, with *Otoque* east of it.

the sport, and the expedition turned again toward the province of Pocorosa.

The purpose of the governor was to found at least two posts of the line ordained by the king, but which his captains had failed to establish. Pedrarias resolved that the termini of the intended line on either ocean should be at once selected and town-building begun. Coasting westward in search of a site he came to a pleasant port, northward of Careta, beyond which extended a dry and fertile plain with timber suitable for ship-building, and from which led a now well-known route across the Isthmus. The natives called the place Acla,[7] that is to say, 'Bones of Men.' There the governor began to build a wooden fort with such enthusiasm as not only to direct the laborers, but to assist them with his hands, until excess of zeal brought on a fever which rendered it necessary for him to be carried bedridden to Antigua. Gabriel de Rojas was left in command of the unfinished enterprise, and Gaspar de Espinosa with a stout force was permitted to try the fortunes of war on that permanent object of the spoiler, Pocorosa.

It seems that the youthful magistrate on finding his official duties spiritless without the mellow growl and inane wit of pettifogger or pundit, had laid aside the long-robe and buckled on the sword, this being in his opinion the more significant emblem in the arbitra-

[7] 'Donde despues Pedrarias pobló un pueblo de cristianos que se dice Acla, y ántes que hobiese esta batalla tenia otro nombre, porque Acla en la lengua de aquella tierra quiere decir huesos de hombres ó canillas de hombres.' *Andagoya, Relacion*, in *Navarrete, Col. de Viages*, iii. 397. See also *Carta de Alonso de la Puente y Diego Marquez*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, ii. 538–49; Robert FitzRoy, in *London Geog. Soc., Jour.*, xxiii. 179, gives us a fair specimen of historical writing by an intelligent gentleman, who knows nothing of what he is saying when he describes 'Acla, or Agla,' as settled 'in 1514, a few miles inland from that port or bay now famed in history and romance, called by Patterson Caledonian Harbour.' Acla was on the coast, three or four leagues north of Caledonian Bay, as we find in *Purchas, His Pilgrimes*, iv. 883, 'right against the Iland of *Pinos*, whereof at this present there is no more memory than that there was the death of that famous Captaine, whose name will last eternally, the President *Basco Nunnez* of *Balnoa*, and of his company.' Fernando Colon, 1527, calls the town *ocara;* Diego de Ribero, *acra;* Vaz Dourado, 1571, *Munich Atlas*, No. x., *axca*, and on No. xi., *axca;* De Laet, Colom, and others, *Acla*.

tion of Indian affairs. And as the highest wisdom is that which adapts learning to the duties of the day, the licentiate would not be bound by the mechanical restrictions which governed the illiterate cavaliers in their encounters with the natives. There are some whom travel improves but little, though like Haddad Ben Ahab, they should climb to the top of the world's wall and look down the other side. Our juvenile judge was not one of these. *Bonum est fugienda adspicere in alieno malo*, was his motto. It is good to note in the misfortunes of others what we should avoid, for so Publius Syrus has said. He would go to the wars as a warrior, not plodding his way wearily over mountain and through morass, like a common foot-soldier, but he would enter the domain of the enemy mounted, and in a manner becoming a general and a judge. Athena went to war mounted on a lion, Alexander on a horse, Espinosa on—an ass. History gives the licentiate this honor, and as an honest man I cannot deny it him; he was the first to cross the Isthmus on an ass. Some horses had of late been brought to Antigua, which were employed to a very limited extent in the wars of Tierra Firme and also on the present occasion; but the alcalde mayor preferred to bestride an ass; it was a more judicial beast, not say surer-footed or more safe. Moreover, it was staid, and not liable to rush recklessly into battle. There was another advance. Several pieces of artillery were dragged across the Isthmus in this expedition.

When the savages first beheld the conquering hero borne triumphantly through crowds of admiring spectators, they fell back dumfounded. They knew the force of Spanish steel; bloodhounds they knew, and arquebuses vomiting fire and hurling thunderbolts. But what was this? Its eyes were not fiery, nor its nostrils distended, nor its teeth flesh-tearing. Its countenance betokened mildness, and mind-absence, such as attend benevolent contemplation; there was in it

nothing of that refined lust or voracious piety which characterized the faces of the Spaniards. And surely Apollo was in error when he gave Midas such ears because he could not appreciate music. For listen to its notes. Ah, that voice! When Sir Balaam lifted up his voice the savages fled in terror. Tremblingly they returned and enquired for what the creature was asking. The Spaniards replied that he was asking for gold; and during the campaign his musical beast brought the licentiate more gold than did ever Leoncico earn for Vasco Nuñez. And throughout that region the learned licentiate became known to the natives by the noble animal that he bestrode, so much so that those who entered the Spaniard's camp to see the general used to announce their object by braying like an ass, an appeal to which the chief officer ever obligingly responded.

As alcalde mayor it was the duty of Espinosa at all times and in all places to administer the law. For so God and the king had commanded; so he had sworn to do. Now it was often somewhat inconvenient to rob and murder at pleasure, even under the liberal provisions of the king's Requirement, according to the governor's ideas of business. Therefore it was deemed wise and prudent to issue an edict from the imperial city of Antigua declaring all Americans in arms against the Europeans to be outlaws, doomed to slavery, mutilation, or death. Those who had taken part in the destruction of Santa Cruz should be burned; and it was quite remarkable in so young a jurist how quickly he determined, no matter how distant the evidence, whenever the destruction of a people, while promoting the sovereignty of law, would at the same time yield profit to the lawgiver.

The judge had not proceeded far upon his new circuit before he met Badajoz, who was returning dejectedly to Antigua, suffering from the effects of excessive cupidity. Informed of the immense treas-

ure Badajoz had failed to bring back, Espinosa wrote Pedrarias for more men that he might go and gather it. Badajoz claimed the command as a right; but Pedrarias said, "Not so; Espinosa is alcalde mayor; furthermore, Captain Badajoz brings back neither slaves nor gold wherewith to purchase favor." With this the licentiate received one hundred and thirty additional men under Gerónimo Valenzuela. So great was becoming the abhorrence of the colonists for these hazardous and unholy adventures that this captain, in conformity to his instructions, scuttled his ship on reaching Acla, in order to deprive the men of the means for returning to Antigua.

Cæsar's Commentaries on the Gallic wars are not more minute in detail than the narration[8] of incidents during this expedition as given by Espinosa to the governor. The licentiate was exceedingly careful in every instance, first of all to propitiate the law by observing its smallest letter, such as reading and expounding the king's Requirement, and never to rob or kill the natives except in the name of the king of Spain, and the rights of man. His judicial conscience thus quieted, he went to work with a will.

The provinces of Pocorosa and Comagre were at this time almost depopulated, and the licentiate could with difficulty obtain food for the men or exercise for his arms. On the approach of the Spaniards, the poor remnants of these once happy nations fled affrighted to their hiding-places. This the learned licentiate ruled *ipso jure* a declaration of hostilities;

[8] *Relacion hecha por Gaspar de Espinosa, alcalde mayor de Castilla del Oro, dada á Pedrárias de Avila, lugar teniente general de aquellas provincias, de todo lo que le sucedió en la entrada que hizo en ellas, de órden de Pedrarias*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, ii. 467–522. The licentiate begins his verbose narrative with a flourish of trumpets before the king and queen, in a lengthy saying of Quintilian, and an apology, saying that had he sufficient time he would give the particulars of his raid. The document is signed, El Licenciado Espinosa; Gerónimo Valenzuela; Pablo Mexia; Pedro de Gamez; Bartolomé Hurtado, capitan; Gabriel de Roxas, Por su mandado, Martin Salcedo. The editors of the collection in which the paper appears complain of its errors in regard to places, which they have endeavored to rectify whenever possible. The truth of its incidents they of course could not dispute.

in a word, if the law could not be twisted to fit the occasion, the chief guardian of the law, himself turned law-breaker and spoiler, was as ready to throw overboard the law as was the most lawless cavalier. Whole nations, I say, were declared outlaws by the honorable chief judge, because they would not come forward and embrace slavery of their own free will. If any fugitives were particularly hard to catch, that was proof of participation in the Santa Cruz affair, and they were burned according to law.

The caprice of the law, however, does not exhibit the pretensions of civilization and Christianity in these parts in their grossest absurdity. In the outrageous raids under Pedrarias, the most revolting crimes were committed in the name of religion. The itching palm of Quevedo, the bishop, has been more than once referred to; and now we see his dean actually enter the field of inhumanity in person against the unhappy natives. The licentiate writes: "We proceeded on our way about one league and a half to Poquina's land, where the Indians set fire to their huts and ran away. I sent the dean with one squad, and Ojeda with another, and they brought back some Indians, the number whereof will appear in the distribution. I gave Chiarna some of these Indians, and that overpaid him for the provisions he had furnished us." Unfortunately this is not the only instance we are doomed to encounter in this history, of a priest disgracing the faith by placing himself beside bloodhounds and bloody-minded men, and joining a hunt, in Christ's name, to bring innocent men and women and children to slavery and death.

After sending to Santa Cruz in the hope of finding provisions from Antigua, "we went to the province of Tamame," continues Espinosa, "whence I sent all the captains to explore the Rio Grande,[9] on both banks, as I had been informed that Pocorosa's people were there hiding. Some Indians were caught, as

[9] Probably the Rio Chepo, or Bayano.

will appear in the distribution, five of whom were burnt to ashes, on confessing their participation in the murders of Santa Cruz." Indeed, "I used to send men after the Indians, and justice was done upon all those who had participated in the Santa Cruz outrage, either by hanging or burning, and two were shot off from the cannon's mouth the more to frighten them."

Crossing the cordillera by way of Tubanamá and Chepo to Panamá, where he hoped to obtain food, but found only some huts and one woman, Espinosa passed on to Chirú, sending out his captains in every direction for plunder. At Chame the Spaniards found only four Indians; and as the chief had furnished corn to Badajoz, they did not molest him. The cacique of Chirú was captured with his women and gold, by Hurtado, but appearing peaceable he was liberated, and made the custodian of some slaves, and ornaments for the mass, for a church was to be organized on the shores of Pacific. Chirú sent Espinosa iguanas to eat, and *chicha*, fish, deer, and salt, and was given some hammocks in return.

After this the Spaniards charged on Natá one night, securing one hundred captives, and gold to the value of fifteen hundred castellanos. The cacique escaped, and rallying his warriors prepared to attack the Spaniards; but when the natives saw the horses they fled in terror, fearing that they would be torn in pieces by them. As it was, the horsemen pursued the fugitives and hewed them down in great numbers. Espinosa marvelled at the multitudes of people he here encountered, and at the number of their villages. He found also an abundance of maize, fish, and deer, and there were geese and turkeys. Four months' supply of corn was at once secured for the army; and for better protection during the sojourn palisades were erected.

One morning while the licentiate was reposing in his lodge, Natá with one attendant rushed unceremoniously into his presence, desperation depicted in

their countenances, and with empty quivers in their hands. "You are too strong for me," cried the chief. "You have taken my warriors, my wives, my children; do with me as you please." Espinosa received him kindly, returned him his wives and children, and told him to bring his people from their hiding-places and fear nothing. The gold which had been taken from Badajoz was then demanded of him, but Natá denied having any of it, saying that Paris had kept it all. Being well established here the Spaniards proceeded against the neighboring provinces. The people fled, but were compelled by hunger to return. Among the captives taken some were employed in planting, and if any became unruly they were hanged. Others assisted in building a little chapel, for the zealous dean had now sheathed his bloody sword to preach through an interpreter the glad tidings of good-will to man, and many were baptized.

Meanwhile a deputation composed of the natives of Natá was sent to the cacique Paris, demanding his allegiance to the king of Spain, and the restoration of the gold taken from Badajoz. Paris replied by hanging all the ambassadors, save two, by whom he sent back word that every Christian caught within his territories would be treated in like manner. The licentiate prepared immediately to march against the redoubtable chieftain.

On the 29th of July, 1516, every member of the army was confessed by the priest. Vows were made to Our Lady of Antigua, "and in the name of God," says the licentiate, "we began our journey." Hurtado had been sent with fifty men to Escoria, and the ruler of that province together with Chirú and Natá was forced to accompany the expedition against Paris.[10]

[10] The licentiate's narrative here becomes as confused as his sense of justice. The names of towns, provinces, and chiefs are now brought together and then scattered as if flung at random from the hand, making it in no wise difficult to imagine either that the licentiate never made the journey, or that he did not write the relation. There is no doubt, however, on either of these points. There is this to say; language was not then what it is now, and there were men who knew how best to use it even in those days.

The inhabitants melted before the invaders, and it was with difficulty that men could be captured for guides. The Spaniards had not advanced far before they learned that a council had been held by the chiefs confederated for self-protection, to determine whether the gold taken from Badajoz should be returned. Some were in favor of restoring it; but others objected that, this being given up, as much more would be demanded, and since fight they must in either case, it was agreed to do so before surrendering the treasure. It so happened that Diego Albites with eighty men was marching in advance, and coming to a rivulet he espied some Indians hidden under the bank and undertook to capture them. Instantly the country was alive with savages; Albites found himself surrounded by four thousand of the enemy, wholly cut off from the main body. The Spaniards fought desperately for six hours, and would have been destroyed had not Espinosa appeared and let loose upon the assailants the bloodhounds and the horsemen. Twenty caciques and a host of warriors were slain, and many of the Spaniards were badly wounded. "That night we slept upon the battle-field," says Espinosa, "and next day I threw up a protection of palisades and sent out in search of the cacique Paris." The cunning chief had burned his village and fled, thus leaving the invaders neither gold nor provisions. Albites went out to forage, with instructions to fire a cannon in case of danger. Nine times that night the licentiate heard the report of a gun, and was not a little alarmed for the safety of the captain. Great was his joy, therefore, when early in the morning Valenzuela appeared with reinforcement of one hundred men from Antigua and informed the licentiate that it was he who had fired the guns while in search of the commander's camp.

Espinosa having now three hundred men felt himself strong enough to prosecute discovery according

to the full tenor of his instructions, which were to explore the coast westward as far as practicable. As a first step he sent a detachment of eighty men under Valenzuela into the province of Guararí, near the seashore, in search of trees for canoes. Meanwhile the treasure lost by Badajoz must if possible be found before abandoning these parts. Companies were sent out in various directions under Albites, Hurtado, and Pedro de Gamez, between whom arose no small rivalry for securing the honor of the capture. Their purpose was to seize the caciques and wring from them the secret by torture. At length Gamez came upon the scent, and followed it into the province of Quema. He was even so fortunate as to capture the chief, but for want of an interpreter nothing definite could be learned. He nevertheless reported favorably to Espinosa, who ordered Albites and Hurtado to go to his assistance. Under the gentle persuasion of the rack Quema disclosed the place where part of the gold, some thirty thousand castellanos, was hidden, but denied any knowledge of the remainder. With this gold and other plunder, the three captains rejoined their commander, who had passed on to Guararí.

Two canoes being completed, each capable of carrying seventy men, and three smaller ones having been brought by Pablo Mejía from Chirú, they were placed in charge of Bartolomé Hurtado, who with eighty or ninety men coasted south and westward, while Espinosa with the remainder of the company followed by land. The rain fell in torrents, and the worthy licentiate was soon tired of wading through the thick mud; and so, after four days' march to a small port called Huera,[11] in the province of Vera, a council was held which arranged that Hurtado should continue the survey with one hundred men, in boats, while the land party should return to Quema and search for the remainder of the Badajoz treasure.

The first province at which Hurtado landed was

[11] Named by Espinosa, Puerto de las Agujas.

called Guanata, whence the inhabitants had fled, and where by reason of continuous rains the Spaniards rested seven days. Securing guides they then passed on to an island, called by the natives Caubaco, or Cebaco,[12] three days distant. Hurtado was acquiring

experience, and found it better to treat these wild people gently. This policy succeeded, and, although his landing was at first opposed, he and the islanders soon became the best of friends. Their ruler was absent on the mainland, fighting; and when he returned his subjects introduced the strangers with such warmth that he at once extended his good-will, giving Hurtado a golden armor valued at one thousand castellanos. Indeed, he proved most affable and accommodating, willing to acknowledge the king of Spain, accept Christianity, or any thing they desired; so much so that the Spaniards called him Cacique Amigo. An expedition was organized against the inhabitants of a neighboring island, named by the Spaniards Isla de Varones, in which they were joined by Pequeari, brother of Cebaco, with nine canoes. These islanders were found entrenched in a log fortress, surrounded by a ditch, and so difficult to carry that the assailants were repeatedly thrown back

[12] Colon and Ribero both write *y^a de Cebaco;* Mercator places a town on the mainland opposite, *Sebaco;* Ogilby, *I. de S. Maria;* De Laet, *Isles del Zebaco;* Colom and Jefferys, *Zebaco;* Kiepert, *I. Cebaco,* and near it *I. del Gobernador.*

and must have failed but for their artillery. Seven leagues to the westward was an island called Cabo,[13] where the Spaniards found a little gold. Thence they kept along the mainland, but the inhabitants were so fierce they dared not land. Some boatmen told them, however, that through the lands of the adjoining provinces, Torra and Tabraba, the distance to the North Sea was but three days' journey. And here they met with rumors of a rich and powerful nation to the westward, with double faces and rounded feet—an allusion probably to the table-land civilization. There are people with the former characteristic even to-day, and among our superior European culture.

Hurtado explored the coast as far as the gulf of Nicoya,[14] about one hundred and forty leagues from Natá. In the vicinity of the Golfo Dulce,[15] the people were called Chiuchires. The beauty and fruitfulness of the country proved a constant temptation to the Spaniards to land and dispute possession with the owners, who appeared along the shore with drum and trumpet to frighten the visitation. But such was not Hurtado's purpose, nor his ability; from Nicoya he returned to join Espinosa.

After due deliberation it was determined at Antigua that the fishing station of Panamá[16] should be

[13] If Coiba was meant we find connected the ancient name of *Gatos, ya gatos, y de gatos*, etc. Then the name changes, and we have by Vaz Dourado *I:. de quofõque;* Mercator, *Quicare;* Dampier, *Keys of Quicara* or *Quibo;* I. de Laet gives, *Coboya, Quicaro*, and *La Montuosa;* Colom, *Coyba, Quicaro*, and *Lamatuosa;* Jefferys, *Coyba, Quicaro*, and opposite Coiba, *Pt. Bianco*, and west *Coco*, and *Honda.* Herrera calls the island *Cobayos.*

[14] Not so called at the time, however. According to Herrera the native name was Chira. The gulf was first known to civilization as San Lúcar, and San Lázaro; before this, even, we have by Colon, *G. de S. Vicente.* Vaz Dourado gives *Sao llucar;* Mercator, in 1574, places in the interior the town *Nicoia*, and on the eastern shore of the gulf the town *Pari.* Ogilby gives on the *Golfo de Salinas*, as well as on the land, perhaps town and province, *Nicoya*, and a little to the west, *Paro.* Dampier gives *G. of Nicoya*, and the town of *nicoya.* De Laet locates the town of *Nicoya*, east of which is *Paro. West-Indische Spieghel, G. Goca;* and Jefferys, *Nicova*, and near it emptying into the gulf, *R. Dispensa, R. Taminsco, R. de Costarica, R. de las Canas*, and *R. Solano.*

[15] Called the bay of *Osa* by Herrera; *baia de oqua* by Vaz Dourado; *Munich Atlas*, no. xi., *b:. deoqua;* De Laet, *Golfo de Salinas;* and by Dampier, and Jefferys, *G. Dulce*, and *Gulfe Dulce.*

[16] With singular fidelity to its original, this name has retained its proper

the site of the chief city, the terminal post of the transcontinental line on the shore of the South Sea. And after the return of Hurtado, which was early in 1517, Espinosa proceeded, under present instructions from Pedrarias, to place an establishment there. Its first commander was Hernan Ponce, who had just returned with Hurtado from the Nicoya expedition.[17]

During the absence of Hurtado, Espinosa had proceeded to Quema in his search for Paris, and the gold that Badajoz had lost, but he was soon obliged to leave that province on account of the scarcity of provisions. Two days' journey inland brought the Spaniards to a village governed by a cacique called Chiracona, who was accused of having been instrumental in the defeat of Badajoz, and who now held in his possession two of the baskets of gold. Into this province, famous for the bravery of its men and the beauty of its women, and also as being haunted by *tuyraes*, or devils, Diego de Albites was sent forward with sixty men, the remainder of the company following at a slower march while feeding on reed roots. "By God's will," says the pious licentiate, "the cacique was captured with his women and children." Chiracona at first denied the impeachment, but when tortured he promised to produce the gold.

The poor fellow really knew nothing of the treasure, but he saw that it was necessary for him to confess something if he would live. And under the pressure his wits quickened. According to tradition the rendezvous of devils was a mountain fastness, ten leagues distant, into which Tartarean retreat no man

orthography without regard to time or place. The chart-makers of every name and nation give only *Panamá*. Fernando Colon applies the word as to a province, but usually it is given as to a town. Dampier gives the *Bay of Panama* as well as the city. De Laet sends flowing into this bay *R. Chiepo*, *R. Pacora*, *R. Tubanama*, *R. de la balsa*, while to the north are *R. Pequi*, *Venta de Cruzes*, and *Limaret*.

[17] Herrera, dec. ii. lib. ii. cap. x., places Ponce at Panamá in 1516. Although the chronicles and relations are all exceedingly confused, yet I am satisfied that the establishment of a post at Panamá was not effected before January, 1517, since Espinosa was hunting for Paris in January, during the absence of Hurtado and Ponce upon the coast toward the north-west.

had ever ventured. "If," thought the sadly battered Chiracona, "these infernal Christians can be enticed thither, there will be a happy end of them." But when he told them of the beauty and fertility of the place, and of the vast stores of wealth the ages had garnered there, a woman of Escoria, whom the chaste licentiate regarded with tender favor, besought her master not to enter that dangerous recess, for she had heard say that Chiracona sought only the destruction of the Spaniards, confident that the earth would open to swallow them. But the licentiate replied, "Have no misgivings, amiga mia; Christians fear not devils; devils fear Christians, and fly before them." And so Pedro de Gamez was sent with seventy men to the abode of the devils. The night following there was a terrible earthquake: both heathen and Christian believed his hour had come; and as Chiracona rode in his house the oscillating earth, as in a canoe he rode the billowy ocean, he smiled to think how well his plan was working.

Next day Gamez returned without the gold; whereat both white men and red were disappointed, the former because the treasure was not forthcoming, the latter because the Spanish had returned unharmed, since this would beside require Chiracona to invent some new pastime for their greedy avarice. The Spaniards remained at this place two months, living on supplies forced from Chiracona, and urging upon him Christianity, allegiance to Spain, and the delivery of the gold. Finding him obdurate on all these points, they gave him to the dogs and went their way. Paris being heard of at Quema, Diego de Albites was sent thither, but was unsuccessful in the primary object of his mission. The 2d of January, 1517, all passed into Escoria, whence Albites was despatched on a three days' journey to the northward to capture a cacique named Tabraba. He was successful, and secured gold to the value of four thousand castellanos.

Espinosa now made ready for returning to the

North Sea. It filled him with indignation to witness the ingratitude of the few caciques whose lives he had spared. Natá apostatized, burned the Spaniards' palisades, destroyed their growing grain, and joined a hostile confederacy. The people of Chirú and elsewhere retired, thus adding insult to the failure to supply articles for plunder. While passing through Tubanamá, Espinosa overthrew a chief named Chamna, who had been hostile to Vasco Nuñez. In Comagre he found Serrano, sent again to scourge that almost desolate province. Half famished the Spaniards arrived at Acla, and were overjoyed to find Vasco Nuñez, who gave them food and provided them a vessel in which to return to Antigua.

The alcalde mayor's were the mightiest stealings of them all. Herrera estimates the returns of gold at eighty thousand pesos, and two thousand captives for slaves. After giving the king his fifth, and the governor and officials each a liberal share, there was enough distributed among the soldiers to make each esteem himself rich. Then followed days and nights of glorious debauch, in which, beside women and wine, gambling was conspicuous. A second distribution of capital was speedily effected under the auspices of the goddess unfathomable. It was paltry to bet less than a peso on any game, while a slave was a common wager. The governor, his council, and the soldiers took jovial parts in the exercise, and it is said that Pedrarias at one sitting played away a hundred slaves. It was of great avail, indeed, with such servants and subjects, for the king to forbid playing-cards to be sent to the New World, and for the Council of the Indies to restrict a twenty-four hours' loss at play to ten castellanos.

CHAPTER XII.

THE FATE OF VASCO NUÑEZ DE BALBOA.

1516–1517.

AFFAIRS AT ANTIGUA—DIFFERENT QUALITIES OF PACIFICATION—COMPLAINTS OF VASCO NUÑEZ TO THE KING—A NEW EXPEDITION PLANNED—VASCO NUÑEZ MADE ADELANTADO AND CAPTAIN-GENERAL OF THE SOUTH SEA—PEDRARIAS KEEPS SECRET THE APPOINTMENT—RECONCILIATION OF BALBOA AND PEDRARIAS—BETROTHAL OF DOÑA MARÍA—VASCO NUÑEZ GOES TO ACLA—MASSACRE OF OLANO—THE MUNICIPALITY OF ACLA ESTABLISHED—MATERIALS FOR SHIPS CARRIED ACROSS THE MOUNTAINS—DIFFICULTIES, PERILS, AND MORTALITY—BALBOA AT THE PEARL ISLANDS—PREDICTION OF MICER CODRO, THE ASTROLOGER—RUMORED ARRIVAL OF A NEW GOVERNOR AT ANTIGUA—MEDITATED EVASION OF NEW AUTHORITY—THE INFAMY OF GARABITO—VASCO NUÑEZ SUMMONED BY PEDRARIAS TO ACLA—HIS JOURNEY THITHER—TRIAL AND EXECUTION.

DURING Espinosa's absence in the south, affairs at Antigua were exceptionally dull. The illness of the governor, unfortunately, was not fatal. Business had approached its end, for the fighting men were away, and the thrifty arts offered few attractions to piratical adventurers. So low was the colony at one time reduced that the Casa de la Fundicion, or melting-house, was closed and public fasts were appointed—a homœopathic policy, in truth, for a starving community. But for the feud between Pedrarias and Vasco Nuñez, which in that infamous environment was easily kept alive, little would have occurred worthy of record.

It should be no fault of the governor if the cavalier was not ruined. His choicest schemes were marred by incompetent and evil-minded men. He was vili-

fied at court, and in the colony every indignity possible was laid upon him. The observant reader must already have drawn a contrast in the respective quality of enterprise pursued by these men. Whatever may have been the immediate results, whatever the wrongs and cruelties inflicted by either, in the one case there was the lofty aim of discovery and peaceful occupation; in the other, no higher object than plunder was apparent. Balboa had not time for much gold-gathering; the captains of Pedrarias had time for nothing else.

Excepting the raid of the alcalde mayor, the expeditions planned by Pedrarias were not remarkable for their success. Nor did Balboa scruple to rail at the old governor in consequence. "All the enterprises of Pedrarias met with such ill success," says Benzoni, "that Balboa laughed at him and mocked him, whereat the governor became irate, and serious contentions resulted."

Balboa was now in the prime of manhood, approaching forty, and had during the past few years developed from a careless rambler into a thoughtful ruler, with a New World fame second only to its first discoverer. "Behold," says Peter Martyr, "this rash royster turned into a politic captain, a violent Goliah transformed to Heliseus, and from Anteus to Hercules the conqueror of monsters." And of all monsters he might encounter by sea or land, old man Pedrarias was the most monstrous. It was exasperating beyond endurance to an ardent and chivalrous nature like Balboa's, thus to have his glories reaped and his energies placed in circumscription by a superlatively selfish person of far inferior natural abilities, made by mistake his political superior. And he never ceased to strike back with all the force at his command. By every departure he appealed to the royal authorities in Spain, laying before them vivid accounts of outrages on the natives, perversion of the laws, and

gross mismanagement of the colony. "Most powerful sovereign," he wrote the king, "I, a true and law-abiding servant, sensible of the many obligations I am under to do loyal service for benefits bestowed—and may your Majesty live long to grant me more—humbly desire to undeceive your Majesty regarding the governor, Pedrarias Dávila, that your Majesty may order such provisions as may be deemed best." He urged Oviedo, when about to depart for Spain, to place before the Council of the Indies the true condition of things. And again he writes, "I beseech your Majesty not to regard me as a calumniator, or as stating aught in malice, but that you will order an investigation, that you may know all I have said is true." He still entertained hopes that the report of Arbolancha, accompanied by the presents, would be graciously received, and that his successes would atone for past irregularities.

While awaiting the results of these endeavors, he determined to make an expedition to the South Sea, without permission or aid from Pedrarias, and to extend his discoveries there in either direction. In pursuance of this purpose, and with the coöperation of the small remnant of those who had sworn fealty on the heights of Quarequá, he secretly despatched to Cuba for men and arms, a small vessel in charge of Andrés Garabito. Having thus set in motion the wheels of his fate, he awaited developments.

We have seen how King Ferdinand received Arbolancha, how the royal heart was touched by the discoveries and pearls of the generous cavalier. And we must confess the monarch's dilemma. The establishing of Pedrarias' government had cost him much money, and the very qualities which achieved desperate adventure tended to loösen the bonds of allegiance. But Vasco Nuñez had manifested no disposition to throw off royal authority; furthermore, it

had become a principle of colonial economics, that the services of successful commanders should be paid for out of their future gains. How then could any sovereign expect the extension of his dominions, if successful adventure was defrauded of its right? It was therefore determined that the reward of Vasco Nuñez should be the title of adelantado of the Southern Sea, and captain-general of the provinces of Coiba and Panamá, but subject to the supervision of Pedrarias as superior officer.

The royal despatches conferring this appointment reached Antigua early in 1515, prior to the departure of Espinosa. Pedrarias, of course, was at the same time informed of the fact. His mortification was only exceeded by his dastardly resolve. Take from Castilla del Oro its southern seaboard and the government was not worth the having, even though the jurisdiction of Antigua did extend nominally over the whole. The north coast was already stripped, and the climate was such as no European could long endure; while in the south wealth and dominion awaited romantic adventure. All despatches arriving at Antigua had to pass through the governor's hands. Those for Vasco Nuñez on this occasion were withheld.

Pedrarias well knew that some excuse would be necessary for his conduct; and he began to look about for one. It was unlawful in the provinces for any governor or captain-general to exercise the functions of office while undergoing his residencia. New charges against the former governor of the colony must therefore be invented, and litigious persecution renewed. By collusion with the judge this investigation, as the law then required, could be continued indefinitely. Still better, the alcalde mayor, who was the person most proper in this instance to take the residencia, might be allured from his friendship for the discoverer by the offer of a military command after proceedings had been instituted, for it was well

known that the licentiate's vanity was not less than his cupidity.

Believing himself prepared, the governor summoned his council, revealed the secret, and urged that the commission should be withheld. All agreed save Bishop Quevedo, who had real friendship for Vasco Nuñez, and who saw more honor for Spain and for the Church in the elevation of the free-handed cavalier, than in the military raid of the alcalde mayor. And so seeing, he grew zealously virtuous, and began to storm about it. Outnumbered in the council, he mounted his pulpit and hurled invectives at his opponents. "Can it be," he cried, "that the execrable passions of envious and designing men may thus subvert the royal design, and withhold the just reward of eminent service?" Furthermore, he threatened to spread the bare facts before the authorities in Spain.

Pedrarias quailed. He had not anticipated the violent opposition of the prelate, and he feared the rising strength of his adversary, now that the royal favor and a royal commission were known to have been granted him. Vasco Nuñez might have his office, but the old man swore it should be the death of him. For he would lay around him such snares and pitfalls as would surely prove his destruction in the end. Pedrarias would be the power; and play upon this braggart as he would upon a pipe for devils to dance by.

The public acknowledgment of dignities, attended by the congratulations of friends and the discussion of southern projects in which alone interest now centred, raised in popularity and importance the new governor, to the overshadowing of the old one. But once more the destiny of Vasco Nuñez is to turn on the bad advice of a friend. Thrown upon himself, his own sound judgment had ever been sufficient, but the counsels of piety or erudition were as quicksand under

his feet. Quevedo induced him, for the sake of peace and in order to enter without delay upon his South Sea schemes, to waive in favor of Pedrarias some portion of the rights the king had granted him. Espinosa and others were accordingly permitted to overrun the southern provinces at pleasure. This was a mistake.

Thus reconciled, in appearance at least, Pedrarias himself would fain have had rest, if it had been permitted by his evil nature, which still demanded its daily bitter pabulum.

Scarcely were these pacific fictions consummated when the vessel of Andrés Garabito returned from Cuba with men and supplies for the projected expedition of Vasco Nuñez. Arriving off the coast of Darien Garabito despatched a messenger to Balboa, informing him of his return, and asking orders. It soon reached the ears of Pedrarias that a suspicious-looking craft, armed and equipped as if on some illicit mission, lay hidden in a small bay some six leagues distant. He was furthermore informed that the captain of this vessel was in secret communication with Vasco Nuñez, and that preparations were being made for some mysterious undertaking. Pedrarias became both frightened and furious. He called to mind the fate of Nicuesa. Alarm for his own safety was mingled with ire and envious regrets for ever having yielded even in appearance to any recognition of this upstart's titles and honors. He ordered the instant arrest of Balboa, and even threatened to confine him for safe keeping in the large wooden cage stationed in the middle of the plaza.

The fears of Pedrarias were calmed, however, by the cooler heads; the nature and purpose of the intended expedition were explained; no lurking treason was discovered, no plot against the peace of Antigua or sinister designs upon the person of its governor were found; and having bound himself to new and more stringent restrictions, Vasco Nunez was

set at liberty, and the precarious friendship ostensibly renewed.[1]

About this time the bishop of Darien was seized with a luminous idea. Through his pertinacious devotedness the worthy prelate had twice rescued his friend from a life of independence and honor, and had twice consigned him to the mercies of an insidious enemy. He had prevented Pedrarias from sending him in chains to Spain, which would have sounded his renown and enlisted for him sympathy throughout Christendom; he had persuaded him to relinquish his rights to such an extent as to place his fortune at the disposal of an inveterate foe. I do not say Quevedo was an Ahithophel; yet the machinations of all his enemies could not bring upon Vasco Nuñez the evils consummated by this one friend. Nevertheless, the present conception happily brought forth, and malice and suspicion will forever give place to confiding affection.

Four blooming daughters Pedrarias had left in Spain. The health of the governor seemed to be yielding before the combined influence of temper and climate. Who could be a more fitting successor in the government, and who a more suitable son-in-law? Let Balboa take to wife Doña María, eldest daughter of Pedrarias, and so bind the North Sea to the South

[1] Authorities thus far for this chapter are for the most part the same as those last quoted. *Las Casas, Hist. Ind.*, iv. 169–248, who, I think, gives the best account of any by contemporary writers; *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. i. cap. iii.; *Oviedo*, iii. 6–8; *Peter Martyr*, dec. iii. cap. iii. and dec. iv. cap. ix.; *Benzoni, Hist. Mondo Nvovo*, 50. For Balboa's complaints to the king, see *Carta dirigida al Rey*, in *Navarrete, Col. de Viages*, iii. 375. Brief or extended general accounts may be found in *Voyages, Curious and Entertaining*, 470–1; *Panamá, Descr.*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, ix. 80; *Morelli, Fasti Novi Orbis*, 16; *Andagoya's Nar.*, ii.–iii.; *Galvano's Discov.*, 125–8; *Ovalle, Hist. Rel. Chile*, in *Pinkerton's Voy.*, xiv. 151; *Acosta, Hist. Compend. Nuevo Granada*, 62; *March y Labores, Marina Española*, i. 400, portrait; *Du Perrier, Gen. Hist. Voy.*, 166; *Martire, Summario*, in *Ramusio, Viaggi*, iii. 349; *Dic. Enc. de la Lengua Esp.*, i. 308; *Carta*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, iii. 526; *Puente, Carta*, in *id.*, 538–49; *Maglianos, St. Francis and Franciscans*, 537–8; *Pedrarias, Reys-Togten*, 3–175, and *Cordua, Scheeps-Togt*, 26–35, in *Aa*, vii.; *Hesperian Mag.*, ii. 32–3; *Gomara, Hist. Ind.*, 83–5; *Irving's Columbus*, iii. 262–86; *Uitvoerige, Reys-Togten*, 33–50, in *Gottfried, Reysen*, iii.; *Remesal, Hist. Chyapa*, 163; *Gonzalez Dávila, Carta al Rey, Squier's MS.*, i. 16.

by cords of love. Such was the plan of the prelate. Vasco Nuñez, nothing loath, assented, for the daughter was as amiable as the father was malicious. Doña Isabel was not the mother to look coldly on so gallant a proposal; as for the daughter, then dreaming her maiden days away in a convent at Seville, her own consent to the betrothal was a question which gave parents little concern in those days; the chief difficulty was the splenetic father. Approaching the governor, not without misgivings, Quevedo said: "Time passes, Señor Pedrarias, and with time, all flesh. Those who shall take our places follow close at our heels. A powerful rival converted into a firm ally is double compensation, and the father of four daughters has not the opportunity every day to refuse a governor for a son-in-law. Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, a man of no mean parts, well-born and famous, asks your daughter in marriage. Grant him his desire, and so heal discord and fortify your declining years."

Notwithstanding the obvious advantages, Pedrarias hesitated. It was no easy matter at once to purify the poisoned stream of thought. But the offer was too tempting to be declined, although Pedrarias would have much preferred for his adviser a Thrasybulus, who counselled Periander to cut off the tallest heads if he would maintain his power. The old man, still hugging his suspicions, signed the marriage contract, and ordered fair Doña María to appear and accept marital honors. But even the gift of the daughter was like the gifts of Medea—envenomed.

Now surely might Vasco Nuñez walk the firm earth, his fortune ascendant. Adelantado, captain-general of the Southern Sea, son-in-law of Pedrarias, and in favor with the royal authorities, though Ferdinand, poor king, was dead. The clouds which had so long obscured Balboa's rising fame were by this masterly invocation of the bishop forever dissipated. There was no longer any fear from the unclean ghosts of

entombed mistakes, while his good deeds would shine with steadier and ever-increasing lustre. He might now prosecute adventure to the uttermost of his ambition, while his friend and counsellor, the bishop, carried the happy tidings of reconciliation to court.[2]

The year 1516 was advancing toward its middle term. Vasco Nuñez craved permission from his father-in-law—for betrothal was equivalent to marriage so far as the political aspect of the case was concerned—to proceed to Acla and continue the business there begun, which was indeed none other than part of his original scheme. Pedrarias assented, placing every requisite at the command of his dear son. The South Sea expeditions had drained the

[2] 'La llegada del obispo á Castilla no se verificó hasta en 1518; y por cierto que no guardó aquí á su amigo los respetos y consecuencia que le debia. En su disputa con Casas delante del emperador aseguró que el primer gobernador del Darien habia sido malo, y el segundo muy peor.' *Quintana, Vidas,* 'Balboa,' 35. In the matter of definite dates for the events of this chapter, authorities differ. All are more or less vague. Most of them end the career of Vasco Nuñez with the end of 1517; which, if correct, would fix the time of his departure from Antigua about May, 1516, for in his agreement with Pedrarias it was arranged that the time of absence on the South Sea expedition should be limited to eighteen months, and one of the principal charges of the governor was that Balboa had failed in this. Among the collection of documents in the royal archives of the Indies appears a petition presented by Fernando de Argüello to Pedrarias and his council, in behalf of Vasco Nuñez, requesting an extension of the time. At the foot of the petition is a decree, dated January 13, 1518, granting an extension of four months. Either the document is fictitious, or its date erroneous, or contemporary writers are in error. I am quite sure that Pedrarias never gave any extension, since the authorities are clear and positive on that point, and the incidents of the narrative hinge upon it. Compare copy of this document in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, ii. 556–8; *Carta de Alonso de la Puente y Diego de Marquez,* in *id.*, 538–49; Moreri and Miravel y Casadevante in *El Gran. Dic.; Burney's Discov. South Sea,* i. 12; *Naharro, Relacion,* in *Doc. Inéd. para Hist. Esp.*, xxvi. 232. As to the date of Quevedo's leaving Darien and his arrival in Spain there are grave differences. Herrera sends the bishop to Spain in 1518, to report the misgovernment of Pedrarias. Oviedo states that Quevedo left Darien soon after the reconciliation of Vasco Nuñez and Pedrarias, and yet does not speak of his being in Spain until 1519, 'era llegado.' It is known that Quevedo spent some time in Cuba, urging Diego Velazquez to apply for the governorship of Castilla del Oro. The petition of Argüello for the extension of the time of absence of Vasco Nuñez, before mentioned, contains the name of Quevedo as one of those who acted upon it, which only the more conclusively proves that document fictitious. Stranger than all this, however, is the statement in the royal cédula, dated June 18, 1519, ordering the ships of Balboa to be delivered to Gil Gonzalez, that Vasco Nuñez was then a prisoner. So singular is this culpable ignorance, or carelessness, or deception, regarding the death of Vasco Nuñez, on the part of the royal officials, as at first to raise grave doubts regarding the date of his death, were it not proved by many collateral incidents.

colony of most of its available men, yet so esteemed was Vasco Nuñez that all who were at Antigua eagerly flocked to his standard. Fernando de Argüello, a notary, formerly the opponent of Nicuesa, but always a partisan of Vasco Nuñez, having accumulated wealth placed it at the disposal of his friend, and soon after Balboa embarked with eighty men.

Arrived at Acla he found the post destroyed and the comandante Olano, the successor of Gabriel de Rojas, together with twelve soldiers, had been massacred by the men of Careta, in retaliation for the act of Hurtado which consigned one hundred of their number to slavery. For this outrage the people of the province were declared outlaws. Balboa immediately organized a municipality, appointed an alcalde and a regidor, laid out a new town, and began to build. Each citizen, either in person or by slaves, was required to plant sufficient for his sustenance. Requiring more men, Balboa accompanied Espinosa to Antigua, early in 1517, and returned with two hundred recruits. The restoration of Acla was intended only as preliminary to further South Sea discoveries; but this accomplished, an obstacle interposed itself, at first glance insurmountable. In order to navigate the new ocean ships were necessary. The short voyages hitherto undertaken in native canoes had been perilous in the extreme. Herein lay the difficulty. The cordillera here rises abruptly from the northern side of the Isthmus, undulating gently on the opposite side toward the Southern Sea. On the northern slope grew trees suitable for ship-building; on the southern side vegetation was more diminutive. But of what avail were trees on the border of one ocean, for the purposes of navigation on the other?

The true standard of greatness is in the application of means to ends. The magnitude of the means has no more to do with it than the results, which may or may not prove successful. With a few hundred Spaniards, and such savages as could be whipped

into the service, Vasco Nuñez dared conceive and execute the project of building ships on one side of a chain of mountains for use on the other side; to navigate his vessels in pieces or sections, on the backs of Indians, over hills and swamps, and that under a sun so hot, in an atmosphere so poisoned, and through vegetation so rank and tangled as successfully to have defied the efforts of science for centuries thereafter. "No living man in all the Indies," testifies the moderate Herrera, "dared attempt such an enterprise, or would have succeeded in it, save Vasco Nuñez de Balboa."

The plan of Vasco Nuñez was to prepare his timber as near as possible to some navigable point on one of the many streams flowing into the South Sea, which are generally torrents on the mountain-side, but which become broad and calm before reaching the ocean. The stream chosen for the purpose was called the Rio de las Balsas,[3] or River of the Rafts. Carpenters and builders are sent out in search of trees suitable for the purpose, and the preparation of the timber is begun. With fifty men Francisco Compañon

[3] There are several streams of this name between the Atrato and the Colorado, but none of them suit the occasion. Modern maps give a Rio Balsas flowing into the gulf of San Miguel from the south, its source turned the farthest possible away from Acla. On a map of Joannis de Laet, 1633, *Nov. Orb.*, 347, midway between the gulf of San Miguel and Panamá, are the words *R de la balsa*. They are placed opposite Acla; the mouth of a river only is given, the stream not being laid down. The same may be said of the *R. de la balse* of Montanus, *Nieuwe Weereld*, 1671, which is in about the same locality. The Rio Chepo is the only stream approaching the description in that vicinity. In my opinion both of these map-makers were wrong; neither the Rio Chepo nor any other stream in that neighborhood was the Rio Balsas of Vasco Nuñez. The head-waters of the Rio Chucunaque are nearer the old site of Acla than those of the Rio Chepo, or of any other southward flowing stream; and yet I do not think the Chucunaque the Balsas of Vasco Nuñez. Says Pascual de Andagoya, *Navarrete, Col. de Viages*, iii. 404, 'Le envió á la provincia de Acla á poblar un pueblo, que es el que agora está que se dice Acla, y de allí le dió gente que fuese al rio de la Balsa, y hiciese dos navíos para bajar por él á la mar del sur... y bajados al golfo de S. Miguel se anegaban,' etc.; from which, and from the objects and incidents of the enterprise, as given by various authors, I am inclined to believe the Rio de las Balsas of Vasco Nuñez to be the stream now known as the Rio Sabana. The fact of distance alone, commonly estimated at 22 leagues, but which Las Casas makes '24 y 25 leguas de sierras altísimas,' inclines me to this opinion, not to mention several others pointing in the same direction, which will clearly appear in the text.

passes over the cordillera and selects a place upon the river, twenty-two leagues from Acla, from which to launch the ships. Likewise on the summit of the sierra, twelve leagues from Acla, he builds a fort, to serve as a half-way house for rest and protection, beside stations established at other points. All is bustle and activity at Acla and in the neighboring forests; some are felling trees, some measuring and hewing timber; some preparing anchors, rigging, and stores. "In all labors," says Las Casas, "Vasco Nuñez took the foremost part, working with his own hands and giving aid and encouragement everywhere."

Materials for four brigantines being at length prepared, the herculean task of transportation across the mountains is next to be performed. Thirty negroes have been secured from Antigua, but these are not a tenth part of the force required. Squads of soldiers are therefore sent out in every direction, and natives are driven in to the number of several thousand. Upon their naked backs the heavy timbers are laid, and goaded forward by merciless overseers, among whom is the black African as well as the white European, they are forced through the marshy thicket and up the rocky steep until they sink exhausted beneath their burden. Unused to labor, ill-fed, made desperate by their distress, some attempt escape, but the bloodhound is quickly on their track; some kill themselves, but more sink lifeless under their heavy loads. All along those terrible leagues the newly cut path is strewed with dead savages, and soon the air is rank from putrid carcasses. "More than five hundred Indians perished in the transportation of these ships," affirmed Bishop Quevedo before the court of Spain, and Las Casas says the deaths were nearer two thousand in number.[4] To take the places

[4] "Yo ví firmado de su nombre del mismo Obispo, en una relacion que hizo al Emperador en Barcelona el año de 1519, cuando él de la tierra firme vino, como más largo adelante, placiendo á Dios, será referido, que habia muerto el Vasco Nuñez, por hacer los bergantines, 500 indios, y el secretario del mismo Obispo me dijo que no quiso poner más número porque no

of the dead, recruits are caught in the forest; the work goes bravely on, and the stupendous feat is finally accomplished. The wild bank of the Balsas was strewed with materials for this new sea navigation. But on putting the pieces together it is found that after all the toil there is timber enough for only two vessels instead of four; the rest has been lost by the way. And this is not the worst of it. That which has been brought over at such cruel cost, cut near the coast and hewed green as it was, is so full of worms that it cannot be used. All must be thrown away and the work begun anew.[5]

Timber is sought nearer at hand this time, and with fair success. Vasco Nuñez now divides his force into three parties, and sends one to hew timber, one to bring supplies from Acla, and a third to forage on the natives. Again they are ready with new materials to begin construction, when the heavens suddenly darken and drop such a deluge on them that they are obliged to take refuge in trees. Part of the timber is swept away, and part buried in mud. To add to their misfortunes, foraging fails; hunger pinches; and "when Vasco Nuñez himself was forced to feed on roots," says Las Casas, always with an eye to his protégés, "it may well be imagined to what extremity six hundred Indian captives were reduced."

It now looks very dark to Vasco Nuñez, and he begins to consider if it were not better to move on, one way or the other, than to die there. But these misgivings are only for a moment. No, it is not better. Throwing a bridge of floating withe-tied logs across the river he sends over Compañon with a

pareciese cosa increible, pero que la verdad era que llegaban ó pasaban de 2,000.' *Las Casas, Hist. Ind.*, iv. 233–4. 'No se hallo que Castellano ninguno muriesse, ni negro, aunque de los Indios fueron muchos los que perecieron.' *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. ii. cap. xi.

[5] Pascual de Andagoya asserts that the worm-eaten timber was put together on the Balsas and navigated, though with great difficulty, to the gulf of San Miguel, and thence to the Pearl Islands; and that there they soon foundered. *Relacion de los sucesos de Pedrarias Dávila*, in *Navarrete, Col. de Viages*, iii. 404. This statement, though entitled to great weight, is not sustained by the other authorities.

strong company, and tells him never to return except with food. Hurtado he despatches to Antigua for more men, and goes himself to Acla for necessary effects. In all which he is successful; and he is successful finally in floating two brigantines upon the Balsas. There is no such thing as failure this side of death.

What a bright vision it is that greets him as he drops down into the sea, his own sea that he had found and well-nigh lost again! Heaven is indeed beautiful if it be anything fairer. Silver and gold and pearl are the sunshine, land, and sky; while the sea, the murmuring, gladdening, majestic sea; it would inspire a brute with nobility, one sight of it!

Dreams and realities! Wild as had been the dreams of these ignorant and voracious men, dreams with their Indies and Araby isles, they fell far short of reality. How could they dream of a Montezuma empire waiting expectantly to welcome the destroyer, or of an Inca faction so evenly balanced that so light a hell-flake as a Pizarro might turn it?

Selecting Isla Rica, the largest of the Pearl Islands, as a rendezvous and place of settlement, Balboa discharged his vessels there and sent them back to bring from the Balsas the remainder of the company, together with materials for two more ships, which were in due time completed, making four in all. More supplies were brought from Acla, and journeys between the two seas were from this time frequent. Meanwhile, after pacifying the Pearl Islands, he embarked with one hundred men for a cruise eastward. After sailing twenty leagues a shoal of whales so frightened the sailors that they anchored for the night near the shore, and embraced the opportunity to kill a village of Indians for having put to death Bernardo Morales and his men in a former expedition. The wind being contrary the fleet next morning returned to the Pearl Islands.

Thus haply launched upon the tide of glorious ad-

venture, with full freedom in the south, and in harmony with superior powers, what could fortune offer more satisfactory or secure? But fickle the goddess, and malignant the while, keeping alive suspicion and envy where only honor and good-will should be. It happened about this time that as one of Balboa's captains was setting out on his return to the South Sea, rumor reached Acla that Lope de Sosa, a native of Córdova, then acting governor of the Canary Islands, had been appointed to supersede Pedrarias. At one time such a prospect would have been hailed with delight by Vasco Nuñez, but now that his fortunes were so happily linked with those of his ancient enemy he could desire no change.

One evening while in friendly conversation with the vicar, Rodrigo Perez, and the notary, Valderrábano—for on these Pearl Islands now were all the paraphernalia of spiritual and temporal rulership—upon the probable effect of a change of governors on South Sea affairs Vasco Nuñez remarked, "It may be possible that Lope de Sosa has ere this received his commission, and that even now he is at Antigua, in which case my lord Pedrarias is no longer governor, and all our toilsome undertakings will profit us nothing. In order therefore to know best how to proceed in this emergency I am of opinion that it would be well to send some faithful messenger to Acla for our further necessities; and if the new governor has come, we will furnish our ships, and pursue our enterprise as best we can, trusting to his future approval. But if my lord Pedrarias is still in power, he will allay our fears, and we will then set out upon our voyage, which I trust in God will succeed according to our wishes." I beg the reader to remember these words, and say if in them is hidden the venom of treason to the father-governor when morbid acrimony decides them criminal. I do not say that at this juncture Vasco Nuñez would not have disregarded any whimsical malevolence on the part of his future father-in-law which might stand

in the way of his high purposes. I think he would have done so. But that he saw no necessity for so doing, and never dreamed of disobedience or disloyalty, I am very sure.

As his ill-fate would have it, just when Vasco Nuñez was concluding his remarks on this subject, a sentinel on guard in front of the general's quarters stepped up under the awning to shelter himself from a passing shower. This fellow, whose sense of smell was so acute that he could detect disloyalty though hidden in a barrel of salt, found here at once a mare's nest. Of course his general was talking treason; he had often been suspected, and now he openly admitted that if affairs planned in Spain or at Antigua did not suit him, he would sail away and leave all emperors and governors in the lurch. And if he alone might have the disclosing of this villainy his fortune was made.

A story is told of one Micer Codro, a Venetian astrologer, who followed his stars to the Indies and there interpreted nature for a consideration. For up and down the world the devil used to lead him with the faintest thread of comet-light. While at the height of his power in Darien, the horoscope of Vasco Nuñez was cast by this philosopher, and his fate foretold with all the precision characterizing the profession. Directing the attention of his auditor to a particular star he said: "When you behold that star at yonder point, know that your fate approaches; your fortune then will be in jeopardy, and your life in peril. But if you escape that danger, wealth and renown such as have fallen to the lot of no captain in all the Indies will be yours." Amidst the bustling activities of life Vasco Nuñez had well-nigh forgotten the words of the soothsayer. But while waiting the progress of his plans at the Pearl Islands, he chanced to take a stroll upon the beach one night in company with his friends. The air was clear of moisture, and the heavens ablaze with stars which seemed by their own light multiplied. Nor was this gorgeous firmament more glorious than

the hopes which then thrilled the breast of the cavalier. While in careless conversation his eye was suddenly arrested by the star of his destiny which hung portentous in the exact spot designated by Micer Codro. The prediction of the astrologer at once flashed upon him. "But surely," he thought, "the worthy fellow read carelessly, or else possesses little knowledge of his art, for my time of peril has passed. I will, however, accept the saving clause of his prediction, and now achieve the fame and wealth whereof he spake." Then with a smile he turned to his companions. "Have a care of soothsayers," he said gayly. "You all know Micer Codro. According to his prediction I stand this moment on the verge of demolition. But I defy thee, fate! See there those ships, and this wealth-bordered sea; see here this good right arm, this stout heart, and you, my friends, three hundred faithful men. Does this look like collapse?"

Notwithstanding the rumor of a new governor at Antigua, this South Sea enterprise ought to be prosecuted at all hazard. By authority both of the king and of his representative in Darien the expedition had been undertaken. Money had been spent and infinite toil; life had been adventured—the lives of Spaniards, that is to say, for a thousand or two dead savages were scarcely to be regarded in the account. And now it behooved them to give no new king or new governor the opportunity of ruining their hopes by countermanding the expedition.

It was finally arranged that Andrés Garabito, Luis Botello, Andrés de Valderrábano, and Fernando Muñoz should proceed to Acla, and as they drew near the town the party should halt; one of them should enter at night alone, and, proceeding to the house of Vasco Nuñez, should ascertain from the servant to be found there if Pedrarias was superseded; and if the new governor had arrived the party would withdraw unobserved, return to the South Sea, and proclaim Vasco Nuñez governor of Tierra Firme, at the same

time giving him a paper purporting to be his commission. Thus would his command be deceived into the belief that he was legal ruler, and so follow his bidding without question. This was a glance toward treason; it was as bad as treason; but neither now nor ever was it treason. The projected stratagem was dangerous, and wholly useless, and most unfortunate, as the result proved; complicating affairs and aiding his enemies in casting over him that cloud of suspicion which ultimately involved him in ruin.

Likewise the agents for this errand were unhappily chosen. Garabito was the deadly enemy of Balboa, though the latter did not know it. Worse than that, far more dastardly and damnable than enemy, he was a treacherous friend. Balboa had often shown him favors, and placed implicit confidence in him, as the prominence given him in this delicate mission plainly indicated. Within a friendly, even fawning exterior, lurked deadly hate. It originated thus: While Vasco Nuñez was yet under the cloud of the governor's displeasure, Garabito had attempted improper intimacy with Careta's daughter, Balboa's wife after the Indian fashion. One word from her protector, one glance from his eye—for the miscreant saw perdition in it—was sufficient to check his presumption; but Garabito never forgot it, and awaited only his revenge. While on the Balsas he had even written Pedrarias that it was Balboa's purpose, on reaching the ocean, to throw off allegiance to him, and to every one but the king. He further affirmed that Vasco Nuñez cared nothing for his daughter, loved only the Indian girl, and never intended to ratify his betrothal obligation. Though Garabito knew well enough he deserved hanging for this, and might even achieve that infamy, yet he understood both himself and Pedrarias, and he knew these lies would fatten on the old man's soul.

When Garabito arrived at Acla, instead of doing as he had been told, he set about to perform a little

drama which should at once precipitate revenge and free him from the odium of traitorous friendship. Mingling with the gossips of the town, he talked mysteriously about South Sea affairs, threw out insinuations, and dropped dark hints concerning Vasco Nuñez and the government. By such means he succeeded in causing himself to be arrested; and when brought before the magistrate for examination, no torture was required to draw from him all he knew, and more. An abstract of the evidence taken in this investigation, together with the letters and papers of Garabito, was forwarded to Pedrarias.

When Vasco Nuñez embarked from Antigua on this enterprise, it was stipulated that he should return at the expiration of eighteen months. The time having expired, he wrote Pedrarias requesting its extension, giving as a reason for requiring it the extraordinary difficulties under which he had labored, and the attendant delays. He requested Fernando de Argüello, who had a large pecuniary interest at stake, to gain further time, if possible, as otherwise their expenditure and toil would all be lost. In answer to the application of Argüello, Pedrarias said little; but within the caldron the black stuff simmered.

This inopportune revival of the ancient feud between the governors excited no small stir at Antigua. And when tidings of Garabito's arrest were received, and the character of his testimony was made known, the friends of Vasco Nuñez entertained fears for his safety. It made little difference whether what this villain had said was true or false—though no one believed that Vasco Nuñez contemplated anything criminal—old man Pedrarias with his malignity aroused was a fiend incarnate. Argüello wrote Balboa that the governor would neither grant nor deny an extension of time, and the notary advised him to put to sea at once, and place himself beyond the rancorous caprice of Pedrarias. He further informed him that in the

event of a rupture he could appeal to the Jeronimite Fathers, at Santo Domingo, who would see justice done him. Unfortunately, this letter was intercepted and sent to Pedrarias.

The conflagration which sweeps a city is often kindled by a spark. The South Sea discoverer entertained a harmless ruse, justifiable, in his opinion, as tending to settle the minds of his men and ensure their more perfect obedience in hazardous enterprise; he harbored at the most the intention of placing himself for no unlawful purpose beyond the call of the new governor until he had consummated his long cherished schemes, and not of deceiving the old governor, to whom, if still in power, his messengers were to disclose all his fears, in the belief that his necessities would certainly be relieved. These trivial thoughts, flung distorted by Garabito into the inflammable breast of Pedrarias, were more than sufficient to light a flame beyond the power of man to extinguish. On former occasions the enmity had been rather of a political than a personal nature; now it enters the private chambers of the affections, and beside crimes plotted against the ruler, the father is to be wounded and insulted. And his hate becomes unto death, murderous.

With the several pretended disclosures of Garabito before him, his mind ran quickly back over the career of Vasco Nuñez, his ill treatment of Enciso, his expulsion of Nicuesa, his irregularities while in office, the king's order to call him to a reckoning, the brilliant discoveries intervening, the failure to convict him of crimes, the king's favor, and at last the nearer and to be hoped final reconciliation. Warmer yet within him glowed the thought of these things, as his mind dwelt upon the letters disparaging to himself which Vasco Nuñez had sent the king, and recalled once more what Garabito had said concerning the repudiation of both himself and his daughter. He talked with Bachiller Corral, who had been

once arrested by Vasco Nuñez for improper conduct, and to the royal treasurer, Alonso de la Puente, whom Vasco Nuñez had once offended by demanding the payment of a debt, he read the letter of Fernando de Argüello, and then ordered the arrest of the writer.

He communed with his heart in his rage and was glad. And he wrote his son-in-law a letter, his dear son-in-law, a friendly, fatherly letter, requesting his presence at Acla for the purpose of consultation over affairs affecting their mutual interests. This letter was despatched by messengers urged to the greatest haste, that the friends of Vasco Nuñez might not have time to warn him of his danger. "Once within my grasp," muttered the old man, "he never shall escape me." That he might not embark on some lengthy voyage or otherwise delay his coming, Pedrarias ordered Francisco Pizarro to place himself at the head of as large a force as he could muster, and immediately to find and arrest his former comrade and commander, Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, and bring him under safe guard to Acla.

Now the dissembling letter of Pedrarias, so the chroniclers tell us, was placed in the hands of Vasco Nuñez while yet the star of his destiny hovered, impatient of flight, about the spot whereon it was to determine his fate; which proves to any reasonable mind, beyond peradventure, several things; *item*, that the heavenly lights are fingered by Omnipotence for individual import; *item*, that Micer Codro knows the stars; *item*, that the stars know Micer Codro; *item*, *parva momenta in spem metumque impellere animos.*

Conscious of no wrong, Vasco Nuñez suspected no treachery, and on receipt of the letter he set out at once with the returning messengers to grant his father-in-law the desired interview, leaving his command at the Pearl Islands in charge of Francisco Compañon. As they journeyed toward Acla he interrogated his companions concerning the affairs of the colony. At

first they were cautious in their replies, and made evasive answers; but the prompt and cordial manner in which Vasco Nuñez responded to the summons of Pedrarias carried conviction of his integrity. Further than this, they had long known Vasco Nuñez as a gallant cavalier and a genial friend, and they resolved, come what might, he should not fall into the clutches of his enemy without a word of warning from them. Enjoining secrecy, they told him all; that current opinion considered not only his liberty but that his life was in jeopardy.

Balboa would not believe it. Pedrarias might be very angry, though he had written in so friendly a strain; it was his nature to be suspicious and treacherous; he could not help it; he was martyr to a hate wherein he was created, and not unlike that of Acrisius who quarrelled with his twin brother Proetus before they were born. There might be some difficulty in pacifying Pedrarias, but as for fearing him, the idea was preposterous. Even though he had meditated treason against the governor, which he had not, he was not guilty of any criminal act; and surely a man cannot be hanged for his meditations. Of course he would go forward.

As he descended the mountains and drew near Acla, Vasco Nuñez was met by the force sent out by the governor. As the leader advanced to make the arrest, his old friend and patron cast on him a reproachful look and exclaimed, "How is this, Francisco Pizarro? You were not wont to come out in this manner to receive me!" He offered no opposition, however, and made no remonstrance when the irons were put upon him and he was led away to prison at Acla.

History presents few sadder pictures than the closing scenes in the career of Vasco Nuñez de Balboa. And as we look at it, our sorrow waxes hot with indignation over the triumph of wrong. Occasionally, in the hostile encounters of men, justice seems to

abandon the arena, leaving iniquity master of the field; at which times the spectator burns for the power which Omnipotence declines to exercise.

The game here played was for a valuable life. On one side was a singularly morbid hate, envenomed and pitiless, united with unscrupulous treachery and hypocrisy, which in an old man of ability, breeding, and position, was hideous beyond expression. On the other side were recognized talents of so exceptional an order as to make the possessor the most popular man in the colony. This is what kept his irascible adversary on nettles. Vasco Nuñez was the hero of this conquest. He was to Pedrarias as Loki to Baldur, or as Hyperion to a satyr; and in their strangely assorted friendship they were more unequally yoked than in their enmity they were divided. He was the mirror in which by comparison the governor most clearly saw his own infirmities. Like Othello he was of that free and open nature which thinks men honest that but seem so. His faults were those of the times rather than of the man. He was as ambitious as Achilles, but it was a laudable ambition as times went. He was neither voracious nor avaricious; cruel he unquestionably was, but not wantonly so; he gathered gold, but he scattered it open-handedly. He coveted fame; and in those days neither equity nor humanity were essential to greatness. I do not regard him as greedy of office; he loved power, but he loved adventure more. Of course, in principle, the robber life he led was wrong, though sanctioned by philosophers and divines, and Vasco Nuñez aspired to belong to neither class. He was an illiterate cavalier, honest and religious, ready to accept the theories of the day if they did not too greatly interfere with his desires. Neither his loyalty nor his religion was sufficient to be of great injury to him; although, if we may credit Peter Martyr, he never attempted any adventure without the invocation of the deity and all the saints. Among his comrades he had ever

at command a light artillery of wit; in logical argument he was not equal to his archenemy, but in action he was the inferior of no man. A natural and perfect leader, he was out of place as second. Conception and execution were one with him; he could not be bound by another's ideas. Latent in him were inexhaustible resources, known to exist, even by himself, only as occasion required them. Only with emotions of pride might any Spaniard regard his frank intrepidity, chivalrous bearing, and affable, generous disposition. In cruelty, subtlety, and base cunning Pedrarias was his superior, but not in war, or statesmanship, not to mention honorable enterprise. Throughout his entire career, whatever Vasco Nuñez touched by himself was a success; there was no chance about it, but simply energy and ability, temperate courage and common sense. His final overthrow was accomplished not by fair and open opposition, but by means most foul and damnable. Some might say that in this contemplated assumption of authority he was, like Icarus, flying too near the sun; yet, in truth, it was no sun, but fires infernal that melted the wax of his wings. His trial, to which let us now pass, was a judicial assassination.

Old man Pedrarias could scarcely conceal his exultation in thus having, as he imagined, outwitted his prisoner. He could with difficulty refrain from feasting his eyes upon him; nay, he would not, and arraying his features in fatherly concern, he repaired to the prison. Gently he accosted Balboa, assuring him that he had been forced to this step against his will, that the treasurer, Puente, was the accuser, and that he, the governor, was in duty bound to investigate all charges, particularly accusations made by a royal officer. "But be not cast down, my son," said the venerable hypocrite, "neither give way to fear; for the more clearly your actions are brought to light, the brighter will shine your eminent and loyal services."

Going his way, Pedrarias threw himself with all his strength into the prosecution, or rather, I should say, persecution. The laws of Spain, transported to the colonies and administered by passionate and unprincipled men, were capable of almost any construction desired, and hence were as often used to cloak villainy as to punish crime. The law was ever on the side of him who possessed the power to enforce it. All the accusations of former trials were in this instance brought together, and old charges, long since obliterated by royal forgiveness, were renewed. To the oft-told tales of Enciso's imprisonment and Nicuesa's death, were added misdeeds conjectured or invented by the listening sentinel, Garabito, and the rest. Argüello's letter was offered in evidence, and all his enemies had their fling at him. The licentiate, Espinosa, before whom the case was brought, was now a firm adherent of the governor. He had been paid his price in the South Sea command, and the downfall of Balboa would open for him further empire in that quarter.

All is going well; Pedrarias is content. The prisoner's chains are doubled. A little torture now applied might be pleasing in effect. Dropping the mask, Pedrarias enters the prison. "So, villain! you thought to escape me," he cried. "Your governor has become your tool, your plaything; his daughter an idle jest, jilted for a savage strumpet. Thank God! your days are numbered."

Balboa at first made no reply, did not even manifest surprise. He had seen, soon after the trial began, that his judges thirsted for his blood, and that he was foredoomed. Finally he spake. "I am here at your bidding. Since last we pledged friendship I have toiled faithfully in your behalf, and mine. I have suffered many hardships, and have overcome obstacles deemed insurmountable by most men. Never for a moment have I entertained one thought disloyal to my betrothed or you. For the truth of this I refer

you to my actions, and call God to witness. If I am guilty, as you say, why am I here? Think you, with four good ships and three hundred devoted men at my command, with fortune beckoning me from every direction, that had I harbored treason I would not have spread my sails and sought a land unknown, beyond all fear of capture? You know, my lord Pedrarias, that I am innocent."

It was patent to all that Vasco Nuñez was to be sacrificed to the insatiable hate of the hoary-headed governor. Even Espinosa was becoming tired of it, and would have discharged the accused, had it not been for Pedrarias and Puente, who insisted on what they called a verdict in accordance with the law and evidence. Under such pressure Espinosa was forced to adjudge the prisoner guilty. The penalty was death. Vasco Nuñez claimed the right of appeal to the Council of the Indies, which was denied him; to the Jeronimite Fathers, which was also denied. Espinosa became alarmed; he shrank from having on his soul the blood of this man, so gallant a cavalier, so eminent a discoverer; he never really desired more than to drive him into obscurity, and he begged the governor that the petition for appeal might be granted. "No," said Pedrarias, "if he has sinned, let him suffer."

With horror the colonists heard that Vasco Nuñez was condemned to be beheaded. Four of his friends were to suffer with him, Andrés de Valderrábano, Luis Botello, Fernando Muñoz, and Fernando de Argüello.

It was a dismal day at Acla, the chroniclers tell us, that on which five brave men were doomed to die, not for any crime, but as victims of a ferocious, savage-hearted old man. At an early hour the dull strokes of the carpenter's hammer were heard in the plaza where the scaffold rose. Troops of men gathered on the streets and talked of the coming execution, wondering if there would be an attempt at rescue. But

Pedrarias had taken care of that. Were the heavenly powers a-dreaming that they should without interference permit this horrible crime? Alas! these very men had just as iniquitously slain their innocent thousands. Why should we pity them? And the same oft-invoked Omnipotence had permitted the ghastly work to be done in his name. Of what avail is it to wonder?

Heavily chained, and surrounded by a strong guard, the men were brought forth. First came Vasco Nuñez. His step and bearing were not those of a malefactor. Fire flashed from his eye and indignation flushed his cheek as he beheld the preparations for his ignominy. But this renowned and honored chieftain, even while marching to the scaffold, was less to be pitied than Pedrarias, who from behind a screened window was this moment feasting his eyes upon the victim. Before the prisoner walked the town-crier, who, as he approached the middle of the square, exclaimed in a loud voice, "Behold the usurper, a man recreant to his trust, and disloyal to his king. Let death be ever the doom of traitors." "'Tis false!" cried Vasco Nuñez. "Never have I been disloyal or untrue. To infamous treachery and wrong I yield my life, and not to justice."[6]

[6] If I have applied strong terms of denunciation to Pedrarias Dávila, it is because he unquestionably deserves it. He is by far the worst man who came officially to the New World during its early government. In this all authorities agree. And all agree that Vasco Nuñez was not deserving of death. Andagoya, *Relacion*, in *Navarrete, Col. de Viages*, iii. 403–5, is an excellent authority. Says Las Casas, *Hist. Ind.*, iv. 240, 'Dijeron que esta falsedad ó testimonio falso, ó quizá verdad, escribió Garabito á Pedrarias porque Vasco Nunez, por una india que tenia por amiga, le habia de palabra maltratado.' Some of the more knowing among the chroniclers say that God punished Vasco Nuñez with this death for his treatment of Nicuesa. Will they at the same time tell us for what God permitted Pedrarias to live? 'Desta manera acabó el adelantamiento de Vasco Nuñez, descubridor de la mar del Sur, é pagó la muerte del capitan Diego de Nicuesa; por la qual ó por otras culpas permitió Dios que oviesse tal muerte, é no por lo quel pregon deçia, porque la que llamaban trayçion, ninguno la tuvo por tal.' *Oviedo*, iii. 60. Herrera everywhere speaks in the highest terms of Vasco Nuñez, and pronounces the character and conduct of Pedrarias detestable. Says Gomara, *Hist. Ind.*, 85, 'Ni pareciera delante del gouernador, aunque mas su suegro fuera. Junto se le con esto, la muerte de Diego de Nicuessa, y sus sesenta compañeros. La prision del bachiller Enciso, y que era vãdolero reboltoso, cruel, y malo para Indios.' Of Balboa's denial of guilt, in *Hist. Mondo Nvovo*, i. 51,

The sacrament having been previously administered, and having made confession, Vasco Nuñez, with his usual firm step and calm demeanor, mounted the scaffold. Raising his eyes to heaven he called on God to witness his innocence. Then with a rapid farewell glance at heaven's light and earth's beauty, at the eager upturned faces of his friends, he placed his head upon the block, and in a moment more it was rolling trunkless on the platform!

Valderrábano, Botello, and Muñoz each suffered in turn. Argüello remained. A last attempt was made to move Pedrarias. "It cannot be," was the reply. "Rather than one of them should live, I myself will die." It was dark before the last dull heavy stroke told the crowd that the sickening work was done. With the death of the offender justice is satisfied; not so vengeance. By order of Pedrarias the head of Vasco Nuñez was placed upon a pole, and displayed in the market-place.

Time, which throws a misty cloud between the present and the past, and strips the hideousness from many iniquitous deeds, drops no friendly mantle over the horrors of that day at Acla. One century after another rolls by, and the colors on the canvas deepen; the red gore dripping from the scaffold becomes redder, the black heart of Pedrarias blacker, and the generous qualities and brilliant achievements of Vasco Nuñez shine yet brighter.

Benzoni writes, 'Valboa con giuramento negò, dicendo, che inquanto toccaua alla informatione che contra lui s'era fatta di solleuargli la gente che l'era à torto, e falsamente accusato, e che considerasse bene quello che faceua, e se lui hauesse tal cosa tentata, non saria venuto alla presentia sua, e similmente del resto, si difese il meglio che puote ma dove regnano le forze, poco gioua defendersi con la ragione.' And Peter Martyr, dec. iv. cap. ix., testifies, 'Vaschum ab Austro accersit Petrus Arias: paret dicto Vaschus, in catenas conjicitur. Negat Vaschus tale consilium cogitasse. Testes quæruntur malefactorum, quæ patraverat: ab initio dicta colliguntur, morte dignus censetur, perimitur.' And 'what stomach' he further adds, 'Pedrarias Dávila may have, should he ever return to Spain, let good men judge.'

CHAPTER XIII.

DECLINE OF SPANISH SETTLEMENT ON THE NORTH COAST.

1517-1523.

DISHONESTY THE BEST POLICY—PEDRARIAS STIGMATIZED—HIS AUTHORITY CURTAILED—QUEVEDO IN SPAIN—HE ENCOUNTERS LAS CASAS—THE BATTLE OF THE PRIESTS—OVIEDO ENTERS THE ARENA—BUSINESS IN DARIEN—THE INTEROCEANIC ROAD AGAIN—ITS TERMINI—PEDRARIAS AND ESPINOSA AT PANAMÁ—THE LICENTIATE MAKES ANOTHER RAID—THE FRIARS OF ST JEROME HAVE THEIR EYE ON PEDRARIAS—THE CABILDO OF ANTIGUA SHAKES ITS FINGER AT HIM—CONTINUED ATTEMPTS TO DEPOPULATE THE NORTH COAST—ALBITES BUILDS NOMBRE DE DIOS—LUCKY LICENTIATE—ARRIVAL AND DEATH OF LOPE DE SOSA—OVIEDO RETURNS AND DOES BATTLE WITH THE DRAGON—AND IS BEATEN FROM THE FIELD.

FOR the villainous adjudging of Vasco Nuñez, Gaspar de Espinosa received his place on the South Sea. And when true tidings reached Pedrarias of the appointment of Lope de Sosa as his successor, the grizzly old governor did exactly that for which he pretended to have beheaded Vasco Nuñez. Striking corollaries from the historical propositions of the preceding chapter.

That Pedrarias was not at once deposed may seem strange to us. He was deposed, however; but slipping south he sought new fields, as we shall presently see; and by the intercession of powerful friends at court he managed to retain rulership for a term of years. Then, too, the changes. It was troublesome and expensive for royalty to establish subordinate governments in the Indies; and as nearly all of Spain's New World governors, and, indeed, officials and subjects, were wrong in some particular, there

was not always encouragement to make a change. Yet Spain and all Christendom were indignant over the infamous doings at Acla. The friars of St Jerome instantly clipped the wings of the cormorant, by ordering him in the king's name "to resolve upon nothing by himself, but to follow the advice of the *cabildo*[1] of Darien; and, moreover, to send to Española all the gold taken from Cacique Paris." This was of little practical avail, however. Royalty might issue edicts; but those appointed to enforce them seemed to turn to corruption on entering the atmosphere of the Indies.

Some said, if the good bishop had been there, Vasco Nuñez had not died. But according to Micer Codro it was scarcely among the possibilities for the inauspicious friend of Balboa to have been present at the right moment. Associated with the alcalde mayor and the governor in magisterial authority, the bishop could without doubt have diverted the quarrel from such gory channels; for there was always enough of the temporal in his spiritual polities to give his influence weight in balancing power. It was a wolfish flock. The bishop complained of it to the king; and on the other hand the royal officers complained of the bishop. Both were right. It was impossible too severely to censure such acts as were constantly perpetrated by the officials of Castilla del Oro, and although Quevedo had gone to Spain on the more pleasing errand of love and reconciliation, he found it convenient occasionally to say a word to the king in his own defense, and not without influence on the imperial ear. Once the royal officials wrote the king that the bishop neglected the conversion of the Indians, favored Vasco Nuñez against the government, and

[1] The city or town council, composed of the alcalde, regidores, and other officers having the administration or economical and political management of municipal affairs. The word *cabildo* has essentially the same signification as *ayuntamiento, regimiento, consejo, municipalidad,* and *consejo municipal.* A *cabildo eclesiástico* is a bishop's council or chapter. The authority invested in this body at Antigua at this time, to check Pedrarias, was wholly unusual and extraordinary.

discouraged colonization by speaking ill of the country; and again that the bishop was a source of constant disturbance, and praying that a *provisor*, talented and upright, be appointed to superintend sacred affairs.[2]

Before the sovereign, Quevedo spoke disparagingly of both Pedrarias and Vasco Nuñez; the prelate alone was perfect. But beside the genuine ring of Las Casas, the base metal of Quevedo's composition sounded flat. The protector-general was at this time busy at once with his colonization scheme and his impeachment of the Jeronimite Fathers, who, although meaning well, were slack in exacting the right as measured by apostolic zeal.

On one occasion, in the royal antechamber at Molin del Rey, while waiting for the bishop of Badajoz, one of the king's preachers, with whom he had an engagement to dine, Quevedo was bluntly accosted by Las Casas. "I understand, my lord, that you are the bishop of Darien. I too am interested in the Indies, and it is my duty to offer you fellowship." "Ah! Señor Casas," rudely replied Quevedo. "And from what text will you preach us a sermon to-day?" "I have ready two sermons," retorted the always armed Protector, "which, if you would listen to them, might prove to you of higher import than all the moneys which you bring from the Indies." "You are beside yourself! You are beside yourself!" was all the bishop could stammer as his host appeared and withdrew him from the merciless shots of Las Casas. But Quevedo was not to escape so easily. Presenting himself after dinner at the house of the king's preacher, Las Casas tortured his enemy into yet hotter dispute. Young Charles hearing of it ordered the battle of the priests to be continued before him. This was the first audience by the prince in matters relative to the Indies.

[2] First by the hand of Pedrarias de Ávila, the governor's nephew, February 16, 1515, and again January 28, 1516. See *Puente, Carta*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, ii. 541–8; *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro Eccles.*, ii. 57.

Brought into the royal presence Quevedo thanked God for the honor, pronounced the first governor of Darien a bad one, the second much worse, and the savages in a deplorable condition. Las Casas following charged the fault as much to royal officers and clergy as to hidalgos and lesser subjects.

Soon after this discussion Quevedo presented two memorials, one against Pedrarias Dávila, and the other for restricting the power of governors in general, and of the military, and for the better protection of the natives. He pledged himself to name a ruler for Castilla del Oro, meaning Diego Velazquez, then governor of Cuba, who would expend from his own private means fifteen thousand ducats in the service of the colony. Within a few days thereafter Quevedo was seized with an illness which terminated in his death; Charles was summoned to accept the imperial crown, and for a time little attention was paid to the affairs of the Indies.[3]

Another political agency appeared in Spain about this time. Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdés, first chronicler of the New World, who, as we have seen, came with Pedrarias to Tierra Firme as superintendent of gold-melting and acting notary-general, becoming disgusted with both the governor and the bishop departed from that shore in October, 1515. Scarcely had Oviedo arrived at Madrid when he received word of King Ferdinand's death, which was a severe blow, as he had hoped through the influence of his former patrons to reorganize the government of Castilla del Oro and place it on a better basis. Proceeding to Flanders he laid the matter before the ministers, and was referred to Cardinal Jimenez, who listened and did nothing. There the matter rested until the death of the cardinal, when Oviedo again

[3] Juan de Quevedo was a friar of the order of St Francis, a native of Bejori in Old Castile; was consecrated bishop by Leo X., and died December 24, 1519. He was a double-faced divine, mercenary, but with good-natured proclivities. Gonzalez Dávila who gives his biography, *Teatro Eccles.*, ii. 58, says that he was defeated in the discussions with Las Casas. See also *Remesal, Hist. Chyapa*, 73–6.

appeared at court and succeeded in obtaining the appointment of Lope de Sosa to succeed Pedrarias in the government of Castilla del Oro. Satisfied thus far in his attempts to benefit the colonists at Antigua, he solicited for himself the government of Santa Marta. The appointment was conferred; but being refused one hundred knights of Santiago, who were deemed indispensable to the subjugation of the country, he declined the office. Like Quevedo, he aroused the enmity of Las Casas, through his opposition to the schemes of the fiery philanthropist in the management of the natives. Nevertheless Oviedo obtained many beneficial decrees for Darien. The duties of the governor were defined anew; royal officials were forbidden to trade; the royal assayer was required to give bonds; orders were issued regulating the gold-melting house; duties were abolished for four years; the export duty on gold was reduced nearly one half for a term of five years.

A business paralysis succeeded the dark days at Acla. Little was done in 1518 in the way of new adventure, though Pedrarias had enough to occupy himself withal, in keeping his own head on his shoulders. More than one lofty scheme was cut short by the stroke that laid lifeless Vasco Nuñez. The young and hardy scarcely dared achieve prominence; the old and imbecile could not; even the ferocious genius of Francisco Pizarro lay dormant all through his fiery youth, and past early impatient manhood, unknown even to himself.

Made captain-general of the South Sea, not long after the catastrophe at Acla, Espinosa was unable at once to take command in person of the force at Isla Rica. Though the licentiate was of a mild, obedient disposition, it was not without misgivings that Pedrarias permitted him to assume so important a trust, the most dangerous for purposes of revolt of any within the government of Castilla del Oro; for instruments

employed in the accomplishment of base purposes are not apt to inspire the greatest confidence. But Espinosa was not a mere rover; he was an anchored judge already high in colonial office, whose robberies and murders, however unjust and lawless, were of a quasi judicial nature; moreover he was popular with the soldiers, for his legal decisions by no means interfered with popular rights in pillage and licentiousness. Indeed, when Pedrarias afterward contemplated absence, the people of Antigua begged that Espinosa might be left there to govern them, but this excited the jealousy of the governor, who refused the petition.[4]

The much talked of interoceanic chain of posts, with a commercial city at either end, was not yet an accomplished fact. As the breadth, coast-trends, and configuration of the country became better known, Acla was found situated too far to the eastward. The narrowest part of the Isthmus had been ascertained, as also the most practicable route for a road, requiring a north-coast seaport somewhere opposite Panamá, which had long since been decided upon as the best site for a city on the southern seaboard. Hernan Ponce de Leon, temporarily stationed there, had abandoned the place, so that both termini of the proposed road must be founded anew. The point selected on the north coast was Nombre de Dios.

Before Espinosa was ready for his South Sea command, positive information of the appointment of Lope de Sosa reached Antigua. It now behooved both Pedrarias and the licentiate to look to their footing, for it was not unlikely to fare hard with them in their coming residencias. It might be as well, after all, for these astute and subtle minds to fall back upon the idea of Vasco Nuñez—indeed, the cavalier's ideas seemed better than any of their own—of withdrawing beyond the possibly too restraining influences

[4] Herrera, *Hist. Gen.*, dec. ii. lib. iii. cap. iii., gives the erroneous impression that, when Pedrarias retired to Panamá, Espinosa was left to govern at Antigua as captain-general. Acosta, *Compend. Hist. Nueva Granada*, 75–6, copies the error.

of superior authority, and establishing themselves in freer latitudes. The north coast offered no further attractions in any event. Give them the South Sea, and Sosa might have the north, and die there at his convenience. For it was assuredly the abode of death.

Pedrarias accordingly determined to make the southern seaboard his future base of operations, and to convey thither as much as possible of what he esteemed valuable. To this end he embarked from Acla, and laid before the council at Antigua a proposal to abandon that site, and remove the capital to Panamá. The plan was not regarded with favor, as he neither expected nor desired it to be; for, if Panamá was made the capital, Sosa's government would be there, and might seriously interfere with his projects. Two advantages were, however, gained by making the proposal. By opening the question it unsettled the minds of residents at Antigua, and enabled Pedrarias with less difficulty to enlist recruits, and it could not afterward be said that he had sought to abandon the government, having offered to carry it with him. Nevertheless, he could not part with the people and their council without a fling at them; so, one night he summoned the cabildo to appear at his house, and took from them their insignia of office, leaving the municipality to manage as best it might during his absence. Returning to Acla, he ordered Espinosa to summon the forces stationed in the province of Pocorosa, and unite with them all the available troops of the colony. With these, and such provisions and articles of trade and use as they could lay their hands upon, the governor and the alcalde mayor set out across the cordillera for the Southern Sea.

Pedrarias was not altogether satisfied with the site of his proposed Pacific city. On either side of the old fish-drying station thick tangled woods rose from marshy bottoms; so that, while the spot called

Panamá was obviously malarious, there seemed at hand no better one.[5] At the Pearl Islands affairs were found as Vasco Nuñez had left them. Compañon had proved faithful to his trust. More acts of possession were now inflicted on this thrice-gulped wilderness, one on the mainland, January 27, 1519, and one two days after, on the Isla Rica of Vasco Nuñez, called by Pedrarias as Morales had christened it, Isla de las Flores.[6] Taking the ships Balboa had built, the governor and Espinosa embarked the forces, and proceeded to the island of Taboga,[7] where Badajoz had been three years before, opposite and some five leagues distant from the proposed settlement.

Pedrarias and Espinosa had now at their command about four hundred men, most of whom were opposed to city-building as detrimental to the nobler profession of plundering. But calming their fears in this regard, Pedrarias sought to secure their interest in his scheme by partitioning the lands adjacent to Panamá, and giving to each man a section. Foraging expeditions were sent out at once, and the soldiers were encouraged to make captures, and so secure laborers for their lands and means for the indulgence of their lusts. Thus every settler soon had from forty to ninety slaves, who did not live long, however. Nor were the colonists at Antigua forgotten in this division, to the end that by offering superior inducements here, the northern coast might the sooner be depopulated.

[5] In fact, neither Nombre de Dios nor Panamá, as at this time located, remained; the former, by order of Philip II., being removed five leagues to the westward, to Portobello, and the city of Panamá being refounded two leagues west of the original site, each port, at the time of its depopulation, claiming over 40,000 Spaniards as victims to the unwholesomeness of the climate, during a period of twenty-eight years. It was not until after these places had become the entrepôts for a large traffic with Peru and the northwestern coast that the changes were made.

[6] It was in the former instance that Pedrarias sought to pluralize his ownership by taking possession, quasi possession, and repossession, as fully related in that curious document by Mozolay, *Testimonio*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, ii. 549–56, of which I have made an abstract in a previous chapter.

[7] A better anchorage, owing to the wide stretch of shelving beach at Panamá, which was uncovered at low tide. Herrera says that in his day vessels in summer rode in the strand, and in the winter in the haven of Perico, two leagues from the port of Panamá.

The formal act of founding the city of Panamá was consummated August 15, 1519; the public notary certifying that Pedrarias Dávila founded then and there a city, the name whereof was Panamá, and that in the name of God, and of the queen, Doña Juana, and of Don Cárlos, her son, he would defend the same against all opposers.[8]

Not the least important or successful among the foraging expeditions at this time sent out from Panamá was one under Espinosa, who with a hundred and fifty men embarked in one of the brigantines in search of the gold that Badajoz had lost. Ah! that gold; the Spaniards could scarcely sleep for thinking of it. But now the licentiate should judicially recover it; then might Panamá have rest.

Dropping westward a few leagues, Espinosa anchored at the mouth of a small river flowing through the province of Cutara, called after the son of the late Paris who now ruled that province. Ascending the river in canoes the Spaniards surprised by night the village, and no opposition being offered, the robbers took such plate, provisions, cotton cloth, and Indian weapons as they could lay their hands on. It then occurred to the more ghoulish of the company to search the death-chamber of the cacique Paris, whose body was then lying in state. And there, to their unutterable joy and thankfulness, round the corpse were not only the golden plates before captured, but piles of vessels and ornaments of the same blessed

[8] As Pascual de Andagoya, *Relacion*, in *Navarrete, Col. de Viages*, iii. 406, says, 'Panamá se fundó el año de 19, dia de Ntra. Sra. de Agosto, y en fin de aquel año pobló al Nombre de Dios un capitan Diego Alvites por mandado de Pedrarias.' And Herrera writes, dec. ii. lib. iii. cap. iii., 'Concordandose todos en esto, llamò Pedrarias a un escrivano, y le pidio por testimonio como alli de positiva una villa q̃ se llamasse Panamà en nõbre de Dios y de la Reyna doña Iuana, y don Carlos su hijo, y protestava dela defender en el dicho nombres a qualesquier cõtrarios.' See further *Las Casas, Hist. Ind.*, v. 200–20; *Morelli, Fasti Novi Orbis*, 17; *Oviedo, Hist. Gen.*, iii. 61–4; *Gomara, Hist. Ind.*, 85; *Benzoni, Hist. Mondo Nvovo*, 51; *Du Perier, Gen. Hist. Voy.*, 167; *Panamá, Descrip.* in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, ix. 89–90; *Zuazo, Carta*, in *id.*, xi. 312-19; *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro Eccles.*, ii. 56; *Purchas, His Pilgrimes*, iv. 882.

metal. By this desecration, gold to the value of forty thousand castellanos was secured, which made glad the heart of the old governor at Panamá. And who shall say the learned licentiate was not an humane and pious man, a just judge and good Christian withal, when after taking the trouble to drive the inhabitants of that village captives to the sea, he liberated them all at the entreaty of the youthful cacique, who had followed them wildly wailing, and faithfully promising a ransom of as much more gold as had been already taken? On the way back the licentiate stopped at the landing of the cacique Biruquete, of whom he bought a cargo of maize, without paying for it. Lest the treasure should fall into improper hands, half of it was buried at Panamá by Pedrarias and Espinosa; with the remainder the worthy couple set out immediately for Antigua, where the latter paid over the king's share, and then made preparations for a voyage of discovery along the coast, toward the north-west.

It occurred to Pedrarias that while Espinosa was absent from Darien with the men and ships making discoveries, it would be well for him to visit Spain and place his declining power on a firmer basis. But in order to leave he must have permission from the chief authority, or else lay down his office and submit to a residencia. Since the Jeronimite Fathers had made the cabildo of Antigua their agent to watch Pedrarias, and if possible keep him within the bounds of humanity and decency, he applied to it for permission to leave the country, and was refused. It was very hard, he said, that the king's governor should be thus subject to check by a vulgar town council; but the friars at Santo Domingo must be obeyed.

Since he could not go to Spain Pedrarias wrote the royal authorities there, setting forth what he had done at Panamá, soliciting a South Sea government for himself, and the removal of the municipality and cathedral of Antigua to the new city. Again, midst

much storming, he applied for leave, saying he had been chosen *procurador* in Castile; and again he was refused permission. Then he dissembled, spoke softly, and said he loved the councilmen as his children, but nothing availed.

An act of this council, passed during his absence, greatly exasperated him, as tending to show a disregard for his authority. This was the granting of a request by Diego de Albites to plant a colony on the coast of Veragua. Fearing that the friars might impose upon him further restrictions he abruptly broke off all conference with the council of Antigua, and proceeded to Panamá.

There he found the soldiers and colonists more than ever dissatisfied. Provisions were scarce, and there was fever among them, and they said, Espinosa among the rest, if they were to become citizens, they would prefer the pure air of Spain to this pest-hole. "Very well," replied the governor," let the gold be unearthed, and that with all the rest returned to the people of Paris, as the Jeronimite Fathers have ordered, and let us return to Castile. I assuredly can live there without hunger." A threat from Pedrarias to do a righteous act was uncommon and terrifying. The disaffected were silenced; and while Pedrarias yielded so far as to agree to the search for a more favorable country to the westward, it was at the same time determined that the building of Panamá should be proceeded with.

Meanwhile the cabildo of Antigua proceeded as best it could with the establishing of a northern seaport. By several successful raids on the north coast, toward Veragua, Diego de Albites had accumulated wealth, and with wealth ambition more vaulting. During the war between Vasco Nuñez and Pedrarias he pictured to himself political dissolution, and sent to Spain Andres Niño, a pilot, and two thousand castellanos to purchase for him a South Sea government. Better skilled in navigation than in diplomacy Niño returned

without the office and without the money. At another time, while left in command at Acla during Vasco Nuñez' absence at the South Sea, Albites slipped cable and sailed for Española, where he applied for authority to build a town at Nombre de Dios or establish a colony on the coast of Veragua. Referred by the friars to Pedrarias, as an excuse for his absence he enlisted sixty men, loaded his ships with much-needed provisions, and returned to receive the thanks of the governor whom he had sought to circumvent. For this faithful service he received permission from Pedrarias to make an incursion into the province of Veragua, which greatly offended Vasco Nuñez; and when Albites returned successful from this raid the cabildo at Antigua granted him permission to establish a settlement not only in that province, but at Nombre de Dios, to Pedrarias' extreme annoyance.[9]

It was in 1517 that Albites returned to Antigua from Veragua, Chagre, and Nombre de Dios with much gold and many slaves. According to Herrera he attempted an expedition to Veragua in 1518, but was driven back to Nombre de Dios, where he founded a city. Andagoya is correct, however, when he places the settlement of Nombre de Dios in the latter part of 1519, though it was not by order of Pedrarias as he affirms. Embarking from Antigua in a brigantine and caravel, Albites touched at the isle of Bastimentos, and coasted westward a few leagues, raiding upon the natives for gold with meagre results. One of the ships becoming leaky he returned to Bastimentos, where it foundered. Thence he was conveyed by the cacique in canoes to Nombre de Dios, and at once set about building a town.

Two opposite posts being thus established, a road

[9] Morelli, *Fasti Novi Orbis*, 16, states that Albites entered the Rio Chagre in 1515. 'Didacus Albitez itidem Hispanus Chagre fluvium subiit.' In 1516 were put forward his pretensions to conquest in the direction of Veragua. *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. ii. cap. xi.; *Andagoya's Nar.*, 23; *Oviedo*, iii. 61–71; *Galvano's Discov.*, 31.

was constructed from sea to sea, "through the mountains overgrown with thick woods never touched from all eternity," as Peter Martyr expresses it. At great labor and cost both to the crown and to the colonists, a way wide enough for vehicles was cut through the thickets; trees were felled and thrown into the marshes, obstructing rocks torn from their beds, and bridges made where necessary.[10] Thus was opened through primeval shades a passage for the blessings and the curses of that Atlantic civilization which was to illuminate the Pacific.

This same year the lucky licentiate and alcalde mayor, Gaspar de Espinosa, was gaining further renown as discoverer and treasure-seeker. With Juan de Castañeda as pilot, he coasted one hundred and eighty leagues toward the north-west, touching at Huistá, Natá, Chirú, Chame, and other posts, and returned to Panamá well laden with maize and other provisions, and gold to the value of thirty-three thousand castellanos. During this exploration he entered a gulf to which he gave the name Culebras,[11] from the many snakes of various colors seen there.

A stroke of better fortune than he deserved likewise befell Pedrarias not long after. In May, 1520, Lope de Sosa, with three hundred men, arrived and anchored in the harbor of Antigua. Pedrarias, who was there at the time, immediately made preparations to receive him with becoming ceremony. Having given orders concerning his disembarkation, the new governor entered his cabin to dress. While there he was seized with a sudden illness, from which he shortly

[10] Peter Martyr says the road was wide enough to give passage for two carts side by side, 'to the intent that they might passe ouer with ease to search ye secrets of either spacious Sea;' but at the writing of his sixth decade the road was not completed.

[11] Lying north of Nicoya, and so called to-day, that is to say Puerto de Culebra. South of Lake Nicaragua, on Colon's and Ribero's maps we find *G. de S. tiago;* Vaz Dourado, *b:. de Samtiago.* By some chart-makers the results and names of one discovery were known, by others, those of another; the final appellation depended on circumstances.

after expired. With mournful pomp and outward demonstration of grief Pedrarias conveyed the body to the church and buried it before the altar. Juan Alonso de Sosa, the son, and all the followers of the late governor were treated with that show of distinction which the old courtier could so well assume. Juan Rodriguez de Alarconcillo, who came as alcalde mayor, and before whom the residencia of the outgoing governor would have been taken, was favored with marked consideration. By way of prudence, some time before the anticipated arrival of his judge Pedrarias had sent his wife to Spain with all his gold and pearls.

Sosa's appointment to supersede Pedrarias was one of the reformatory measures which the chronicler Oviedo claims to have effected while in Spain.[12] For himself he had obtained, besides the offices of veedor and escribano-general, those of collector of chamber penalties and *regidor perpetuo* of Antigua. Orders were issued, furthermore, to all New World governors to furnish him a truthful report of all their acts, so that he might complete the General History of the Indies already begun. He was also appointed receiver of the property of Vasco Nuñez and his accomplices which had been confiscated to the king. He arrived at Antigua with his wife and two children soon after Sosa.

But the heart of the scholar was not in the coarse cunning of Darien politics; he became discontented, irritable, and while commanding the respect of the colonists he was not popular with them. They did not want reform so much as plunder. Pedrarias was his enemy, as he was the enemy of every well-mean-

[12] Oviedo's statements concerning himself during this period of angry excitement must be taken with due allowance. The chronicler gives himself and his affairs at great length; but I will endeavor, in my curtailment of his account, not to forget that there were at this time, and before and after, twenty equally important issues of which there are less full records. See *Oviedo*, iii. 41–56 and 72–88; *José Amador de los Rios, Vida y Escritos de Oviedo*, in *id.*, i. pp. ix.–cvii.; *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. ii. cap. x.

ing man of ability. The deaths first of a boy and then of his wife did not tend to sweeten his disposition. "Many times would I have returned to Spain," he exclaims, "had not need and shame prevented me."

The powers of the governor having been enlarged by means of the veedor, Oviedo's was the first head on which they were visited. The principal quarrel was over the depopulation of the northern coast. The veedor protested in the king's name, but the governor, now lord of all, was determined to execute his cherished project while he possessed the power. There was no longer any need of a north-coast capital; Pedrarias would make Panamá his metropolis. Before introducing further changes, however, it was necessary that his residencia should be taken. But this, with his experience, need be nothing more than an arraignment and trial of himself. At his request the licentiate Alarconcillo published the residencia for thirty days, during which time the governor continued to exercise the functions of office; no one appeared against him, and a certificate of the proceeding was sent to Spain. Pedrarias then took up his permanent abode at Panamá.

Not long afterward the veedor and contador were obliged to visit Panamá to weigh some gold and receive the royal share, since the governor would no longer send the metal to Antigua. The contador took up his residence there, but Oviedo returned to Antigua, more than ever determined to stand by that city. Seeing which Pedrarias was satisfied he could no more effectually ruin his adversary than by permitting him to have his own way. Beside, it were as well to stop the tongue and pen of one who could make and unmake governors. So when next Oviedo complained Pedrarias answered, "Señor Veedor, since you know so well how to achieve such desirable results, accept from me what power I possess, and govern Antigua according to your pleasure."

After some hesitation Oviedo accepted the proposal,

and presented his credentials to the municipal council in November, 1521. Opening his administration with the enthusiasm of a novice, he straightway set about correcting abuses. He forbade blasphemy, keeping mistresses, and selling or eating meat on Saturday. He prohibited gambling, and burned all the cards in the public square. A dishonest notary was required to make restitution fourfold and be suspended from office for one year. Indian women must no longer be employed as beasts of burden, and Indian children must not be sold and bought as slaves. Certain more practicable provisions, however, saved Antigua, for a time, from the effects of a morality which standing alone would have killed any colony in the Indies. The new ruler bought for small sums the houses of those leaving, and sold them to new-comers at cost. He erected a market, opened mines, built ships, and sent out expeditions to smooth the ruffled plumage of the savage. He made of old iron five hundred hatchets, which were sold to the Indians; and when they became dulled, their owners not knowing how to sharpen them, he placed on board a vessel three large grindstones, covered so that the uncivilized might not steal the secret, and proceeded along the coast grinding such implements as the Indians brought, and charging therefor a sum equal to the original cost, which was cheerfully paid. It is claimed that more than seven thousand castellanos were thus secured during one voyage.

A greater prosperity followed these measures than pleased Pedrarias. But by revoking the many decisions of his deputy that came up on appeal from dissatisfied colonists, the governor was enabled to render Oviedo's position one of little power.

The staff of officials was increased by yet another alcalde mayor, the licentiate Sancho de Salaya, for the South Sea government particularly, who arrived at Antigua in a caravel from Spain, the 1st of July, 1522. With him came Rodrigo Perez, the friend of

Vasco Nuñez, vicar when sent in chains to Spain, but returned arch-deacon.[13]

About this time a rebellion broke out on the Rio Grande San Juan, caused by outrages perpetrated by the bachiller Corral and Martin Estete during a foraging expedition. Heedless of the warning of Oviedo, Martin de Murga, visitador of the Indians, in company with three Spaniards and ten friendly Indians, paid a visit to Bea, the cacique of this province, who slew the entire party. Juan de Escaray with forty men was sent against the revolted chieftain.

Soon after some christianized Indians came down from the mountains, eight leagues distant, and reported outrages on them by the cacique Corobari. Thirty-five men were sent to capture him, and when brought in, Salaya sentenced him to be burned; after which the licentiate proceeded to Panamá. Several spies caught near Antigua about the same time confessed under torture to an insurrection contemplated by the cacique Guaturo, who had joined Bea. It was his plan to fire the town and slay the inhabitants. Oviedo in person, with forty men, proceeded against the new rebel, who, with several of the conspirators, was captured and hanged. This was the last of the wars of Antigua.

At length it pleased Pedrarias to depose Oviedo, and appoint in his place the bachiller Corral, who had shortly before incurred the anger of the chronicler, and had by him been sent in chains to Spain, on the charge of having there a wife while living himself in the Indies. The ubiquitous bachiller re-appeared at Antigua, however, almost in a twinkling. Of course, the chronicler was very indignant. The revocation was read in council; whereupon Oviedo laid his staff of office on the chair which he had occupied as president, and took his seat among the members, saying, "This is my place, given me by the emperor; here

[13] 'From which it may be seen,' says Oviedo, 'with what justice Vasco Nuñez was condemned, when his chief accomplice comes back not only acquitted but with honors.'

will I henceforth serve their Majesties, as in duty bound, and here only." Accompanying the revocation was a decree from Pedrarias, authorizing the city of Antigua to elect a representative to a general assembly, to be convened at Panamá for the purpose of providing measures important to the province, and to elect *procuradores de córtes*, or members of Congress to send to Spain. Pedrarias preferred Espinosa to represent Antigua, for obvious reasons; but instead of sending a delegate to the junta at Panamá, the people of Antigua chose their own representative in the person of Oviedo. While waiting for a vessel Oviedo occupied himself by presenting charges against Pedrarias before the new alcalde mayor, Alarconcillo, who had ordered a second residencia of the governor, and also one of Espinosa. For this pastime he not only narrowly escaped paying with his life, at the hand of an assassin, but Pedrarias ordered his late lieutenant's own residencia to be taken, and even placed him in irons until bonds should be given. The trial was passed without further damage than a fine of twenty castellanos for sending Corral to Spain. Another attempt being made at murder, Oviedo on the 3d of July, 1523, stole away, embarking ostensibly for Nombre de Dios, but bearing off, he directed his course toward Cuba and Jamaica, and thence sailed to Spain. Verily, these were the days of dissimulation.

CHAPTER XIV.

GIL GONZALEZ IN COSTA RICA AND NICARAGUA.

1519–1523.

Andrés Niño and his Spice Islands—Fails to Obtain Authority to Discover—Applies to Gil Gonzalez Dávila—Agreement with the King—Royal Order for the Ships of Vasco Nuñez—Pedrarias Refuses to Deliver Them—Gil Gonzalez Transports Ships across the Mountains—Embarks from the Pearl Islands—Gil Gonzalez Proceeds by Land and Niño by Sea—Visit to Nicoya—And to Nicaragua—The Captain-general Converts many Souls—And Gathers much Gold—Fight with Diriangen—Nicaragua Apostatizes—The Spaniards Terminate the Discovery and Hasten to their Ships—Niño's Voyage to Fonseca Bay—Return to Panamá.

The pilot Andrés Niño was an enterprising fellow, not to be put down by any slight frown of fortune. He had lately seen service with Vasco Nuñez, and would, God willing, follow the fantasy thence engendered. If two thousand castellanos could not buy a small slice of dominion on the North Sea, he would try the South. And in the mind of Niño, as with other navigators of that day, the undiscovered South assumed fantastic shape. There was the originally created strait, actual though invisible, leading to the Spice Islands hard by. Why should not one pilot as well as another sail through that strait to those fragrant shores, even though the voyage must be begun by crossing a little strip of cordillera?

Such was New World geography in 1519, when the inspired pilot found himself in Spain, soliciting the Council of the Indies for the ships of Vasco Nuñez, in which to make his voyage to the Moluccas; for, if so

be he might get there for the asking, it would save him much trouble. Niño had come under the patronage of Alonso de la Puente, the royal treasurer, and accompanied by Andrés de Cereceda; but the persuasive eloquence of the worthy pilot was wanting in the soft, seductive tones that come from the ring of precious metals, and a second time Bellerophon fell to earth.

It happened that the contador of Española, Gil Gonzalez Dávila,[1] was then at the court of Spain; and it was suggested to Niño, who seemed to have exhausted all his resources, that if he could engage that gentleman's interest in the enterprise, it would be equivalent to its accomplishment. For he was a man of no small influence, springing from a good family of Ávila, and having been formerly attached to the household of the all-potential bishop of Búrgos. Possessed of exceptional ability and integrity, he had been sometimes sent by the government on missions of importance and trust, and was engaged in one of them when first we met him at Santo Domingo, investigating the affairs of the defaulting treasurer, Santa Clara. His energy was of the substantial cast, authoritative, robust, and direct. He seldom made mistakes, either in men or measures; and seemingly was strongest when standing at ease. Neither so bold as Vasco Nuñez, nor so cunning as Pedrarias, nor so cruel as Pizarro, nor so learned as Espinosa, he was a man of deeper and broader experience than any one of them, with a more evenly balanced mind, a cooler, sounder judgment, not always a warrant for greater success than with a more senseless recklessness, but on the whole much safer as a colleague, and more reliable as a friend. He was not a man easily diverted by hollow schemes, however brilliant or high-soaring; but when Niño laid before him his plans, he saw at once that they were

[1] There were three of this name whom we shall encounter, the contador of Española; the licenciado, who was alcalde mayor of the Spanish main under Diego de Ordaz, in 1530; *Simon, Conq. Tierra Firme*, 106–27; and the clergyman and chief chronicler, in 1655, of the Indies, and of both Castiles.

eminently practical. There were the ships, and there the undiscovered sea, of which was already known that its shores abounded in gold and pearls, guarded by naked and almost weaponless men—this, and little more. What more was wanted? It did not require a Periander to tell the accomplished contador that this was no ordinary opportunity. Fonseca, who had always retained a warm interest in his protégé, heartily approved the plan, and the details were soon arranged with Niño. Gil Gonzalez was to be captain-general of the expedition; to him was given the habit of Santiago, and he was recommended to the newly appointed governor of Castilla del Oro, Lope de Sosa. Niño was to be a partner in the enterprise, with the position of pilot. Cereceda was chosen contador of the discovery.[2]

A royal order[3] was issued at Barcelona the 18th of June, 1519, directing the governor of Castilla del Oro to deliver to Gil Gonzalez the vessels built by Vasco Nuñez, and authorizing an expedition for South Sea discovery, the expense of which was to be borne largely by the crown. With this cédula Lope de Sosa promised faithfully to comply.

During the year following the execution of these documents Andrés Niño so bestirred himself, that his

[2] The royal agreement was made specially with Niño, 'piloto de su magestad para el descubrimiento,' Gil Gonzalez being named captain-general. Niño was to explore 1,000 leagues to the westward for spices, gold, silver, pearls, and precious stones, in three ships, furnished half by the crown and half by the explorers, who were to receive for the purpose 4,000 castellanos de oro, from the sums to the credit of the crown in the hands of the factor of Castilla del Oro. One twentieth of what God might thus give them, after the king should have received his fifth, was to be devoted to pious purposes. The net proceeds to be divided equally between the crown and the discoverers, according to the amount contributed by each. Wages paid the crew to be counted in the costs; or if they went on shares, two thirds should go to the king and Niño, and one third to the captain, officers, and men. Supplies were to be exempt from duty, and the explorers should have an interest in the lands discovered by them. The crown agreed to furnish at Jamaica 2,000 loads of cassava-root, and 500 hogs; also ten negro slaves, the explorer to pay the owners for ten Indian slaves to serve as interpreters. For the faithful performance of these and other obligations, the explorer was required to give bonds in the sum of 2,000 ducats. Herrera, dec. ii. lib. iv. cap. i., gives only a part of the contract; in *Squier's MSS.*, i. 12–14, is the document in full.

[3] A copy of this cédula may be found in *Squier's MSS.*, i.

captain-general was enabled to land at Acla with two hundred men, prior to the arrival at Antigua of Lope de Sosa. Pedrarias was incensed that any one should presume to intermeddle in Tierra Firme affairs. Gil Gonzalez nevertheless despatched to him with the royal order Juan de Sauce, who duly delivered it in the presence of the notary Martin Estete.[4]

It is worth witnessing the reception by this arch-hypocrite of a royal command. "And forthwith the said lieutenant-general," writes the notary, "took the said cédula of his Highness in his hands, and kissed it, and placed it on his head, and said that he would obey it, and that he did obey it with the utmost reverence he could and ought, as a letter and commandment of his king and natural lord, whom may it please God our Lord to let live and reign during many and long years, with increase of kingdoms and seignories; and, as to the fulfilment thereof, that his lordship would see to it, and answer and provide thereupon as might be conducive to his Highness' service."

In which pathetic demonstration no one who knew Pedrarias could doubt that he never for a moment intended to do as he had said. Rather than tamely

[4] In the Expediente sobre el Cumplimiento de la Cédula—see *Los Navíos de Vasco Nuñez*, in *Squier's MSS.*—is given at wearisome length the ceremony and sayings at this delivery and the results. Briefly, on the 4th of February, 1520, Pedrarias humbled himself to the dust before the sacred cédula; February 5th, he talked much, saying that he had finished the ships begun by Vasco Nuñez; that they had cost more than 50,000 ducados, beside sweat and blood; that with them the great city of Panamá—'la cibdad de Panamá'—with its gold mines on one side and pearl fisheries on the other, had been founded and the country thereabout pacified, and that if the king knew all this he would not take the ships from those who had built them and give them to another: February 7th, Juan del Sauce declared that, unless the ships were surrendered, all the gold, pearls, or other property taken in them would belong, under the king's order, to the fleet of Gil Gonzalez; February 8th, Pedrarias replied that without the ships the city could neither be sustained nor labor be continued, and he called on the royal officers present, Puente, the treasurer, Marquez, the contador, and Juan de Rivas, factor, to say that these things were so; but the royal officers answered that Pedrarias must obey the king's command and give Gil Gonzalez the ships, keeping one, perhaps, with which to protect the city, and selling the others to Gil Gonzalez on such terms as he and the owners might arrange. In regard to withholding the ships Pedrarias was certainly in the right, though it was dangerous, and he claimed that he would obey and was obeying the king; but when, on February 9th, he demanded that Gil Gonzalez should appear in person and lay before him the instructions and plans of the expedition, he became most coolly impudent.

admit a new and dangerous rival, high in reputation and royal favor, some risk might be run. And so he at first agreed, then delayed, interposing technicalities and pretexts, and finally refused to deliver the ships, alleging as an excuse that they were private property, and claimed as such by individuals. In vain the captain-general urged that this was not a question of rights of property, but of royal command, which to disobey was dangerous. Pedrarias stood his ground; and fortune sustained him in the death of Sosa, who, had he lived, would have made all well for the expedition. But in Gil Gonzalez the old governor found his match; for the captain-general was no less decided than he, and far quicker in resources.

What Gil Gonzalez did was to copy the magnificent performance of Vasco Nuñez, under the circumstances scarcely less creditable in the imitation than in the original. After strengthening his command by recruits from the officers and men of the Pedrarias government, among whom were the treasurer Puente and the contador Diego Marquez, he dismantled his ships, packed up the sails and cordage, and taking from the hulls the iron, and such of the timbers as better suited the purpose than those freshly cut, which were also necessary, he secured the services of some Indians, and transported his vessels across the sierra to the same Rio Balsas used by Balboa. There he constructed and launched four vessels, but lost them all before reaching the mouth of the river.[5] The party, reduced in number more than one half since leaving Acla,[6] now crossed in canoes to the Pearl Islands.

A letter directed to Pedrarias in this emergency was productive of no results. Gil Gonzalez again requested possession of the vessels of Vasco Nuñez; his

[5] Squier, *Dis. Nic.*, MSS., 13, says the worms destroyed them, but Gil Gonzalez himself only remarks, *Carta al Rey*, MSS., 1, 'Despues de hechos otros navios en la Ysla de las perlas porque los 4 primeros que se hizieron en la tierra firme se perdieron.'

[6] Some say from 200 to 80. Both numbers, however, should be larger; for the expedition gained men at Acla, and 100 are mentioned as constituting one land party during the expedition. *Gil Gonzales, Carta al Rey*, MSS., 3.

messenger brought back a surly verbal refusal. The captain-general then presented himself in person before the governor and demanded at least men for the building of new ships. Pedrarias dared not offer further opposition; and in time four small and poorly equipped vessels lay at the Pearl Islands ready for sea.[7] "In all my experience while in the service of your Majesty," writes Gil Gonzalez to the king, "I have nowhere been handled so roughly as in crossing Tierra Firme with the men I had brought from Castile, having to support them for two years, and spend my goods and jewels on them, and build the ships twice over."[8]

Embarking the 21st of January, 1522, having on board a few horses, with arms and articles for traffic, Gil Gonzalez struck westward, and after sailing one hundred leagues he was obliged to beach three of his vessels to save them from the worms, while the fourth returned to Panamá for pitch and other articles for repairs. New water-casks had likewise to be made, as those on board were failing through the rotting of the hoops.[9] Leaving the ships in charge of Andrés

[7] Tararequi Island, Galvano, *Discov.*, 148, calls it; others, Terequeri Islands. Gil Gonzales writes plainly enough, *Carta al Rey*, MS., 2, 'Me bolbí á la dicha Ysla de las Perlas . . . i de aí me partí a hazer el descubrimiento que V M me mando hazer.' The same authority states that the second four vessels were built at the Pearl Islands, the others having been 'lost in the river 40 leagues distant.'

[8] For conflicting statements concerning this, compare *Gil Gonzalez, Carta al Rey*, MS., 16, 36; *Andagoya's Nar.*, 31–2; *Niño, Asiento*, MS., in *Squier's MSS.*, i. 14, and in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiv. 5–19; *Oviedo*, iii. 65–71; *Las Casas, Hist. Ind.*, v. 200–4; *Herrera*, dec. ii. lib. iii. cap. xv.; dec. ii. lib. iv. cap. i.; dec. iii. i. cap. xvi.; *Helps' Span. Conq.*, iii. 69, 70, 74–6; *Gordon's Anc. Mex.*, ii. 204–8; *Squier's Dis. Nic.*, MSS., 7–10.

[9] I follow the commander's own statement, made to the royal authorities from Santo Domingo, March 6, 1524. Of this, which I quote as *Carta de Gil Gonzalez Dávila al Rey*, I have several copies in manuscript, the best being a part of the first volume of the Squier Collection. This collection, consisting of twenty-three volumes of manuscripts, beside separate pieces on various early affairs in Central America and Mexico, fell into my hands at the sale of the library of the late E. G. Squier, so widely known as an antiquarian and historical writer, a review of whose works will appear in a subsequent volume. The opportunities afforded Mr Squier by his official position as *chargé d'affaires* to Central America, in 1849, and by his researches, combined with a natural bent as student and author, prompted the collection of books and manuscripts relative to Central America, a large proportion of which I

Niño, with orders to follow the coast for eighty or a hundred leagues, and there in some safe harbor to await him, Gil Gonzalez with one hundred men and four horses continued his way by land. Poor food, a hot sun, with heavy rains and softened ground, made the journey excessively irksome. The wading of rivers while the body was heated brought upon the commander a cramp, so that he had to be carried. Thus they trudged for many days, gathering gold, and christianizing the country, meeting no resistance.

Presently they came to what they called an island, ten leagues in length by six in breadth, "formed by the branches of a river," which was no island, however, but the peninsula which forms the western side of the Golfo Dulce.[10] Here in a huge wooden shed, as high as a tower, which the chroniclers please to call a palace, dwelt the ruler of that land, who was invited to retire while the strangers took possession in the upper part, the lower being flooded. For a fortnight they sheltered themselves from the falling waters. One night the palace posts began slowly to sink into the softened earth. The outlook was not encouraging. Their only shelter was sinking, and with it they were being submerged. They saved themselves, however, by cutting through the roof, and thus made their way out, bearing the commander on their shoulders. They

found useful in filling gaps in my own sixteenth-century material. It seems that Mr Squier intended the publication of a series of documents for history, of which the *Carta de Palacio* was printed at Albany, 1859, and numbered I. The first volume of the Squier Collection of Manuscripts contains, beside the *Carta de Gil Gonzalez*, several documents on Nicaraguan discovery certified by Navarrete, Buckingham Smith, and Squier, as true copies of the originals in the archives at Seville and in the Hydrographic Collection, notable among which are *Real Cedula de S. M. expedida en 18 de Junio de 1519, á Pedrarias Dávila, para que entregase los Navios de Basco Nuñez a Gil Gonzales de Avila y los requerimtos que pasaron sobre ello;* and *Relacion Del Asiento y Capitulacion que se tomó con Andres Niño, Piloto de su Magestad para el descubrimiento que prometió hazer en el Mar del Sur con 3 Navios, y por Capitan de ellos á Gil Gonzales Davila.*

[10] Peter Martyr states that they passed over a body of water to get to it; Herrera and Oviedo both testify to a large island, which we might believe were any such island there. The truth is, parts of the land were inundated at this time by the heavy rains, so that the peninsula being cut off from the mainland by the water made it appear an island.

were then obliged to take to trees, and to dwell in them for several days, the commander's quarters being a blanket stretched between two branches. During the flood were lost many weapons and much plunder.

After this they proceeded, sometimes going inland for food, but groping along the shore as best they might. Once when obliged to seek the ocean ten leagues away, they descended a river on rafts, one of which floated out to sea in the dark, but was brought to shore next morning by a lucky breeze and some expert swimming. Finally, after visiting and robbing a number of petty chieftains, and securing gold to the value of forty thousand pesos, they came to a gulf[11] which Gil Gonzalez called San Vicente, and where to his great joy he found Andrés Niño with the ships.

Owing to his lameness Gil Gonzalez would have embarked by sea, sending Niño with the land party; but the men lost courage at the prospect of remaining on shore without their leader, because the caciques were becoming more powerful. He accordingly bound Niño by oath to explore the coast with two ships, slowly and by day only, and reckon the distance sailed, leaving the other two vessels with the gold in San Vicente Gulf, while he himself plunged boldly inland, determined to subjugate the people, peaceably, if possible, otherwise by force.

Among the caciques whom Gil Gonzalez met was one most powerful living near the northern end of the gulf, named Nicoya, who gave a friendly reception as a friend, and presented him with gold to the value of fourteen thousand castellanos. When told of God, and of the bliss of heaven and the pains of hell, Nicoya very sensibly preferred the former place, and permitted himself, his wives and subjects, to the

[11] Later called Nicoya, from the cacique of that country, which name it bears to-day. This was the San Lúcar of Hurtado. See chap. xi., note 11, this volume. Kohl thinks it may have been the 5th of April, the day of San Vicente Ferrer, that the Spaniards arrived here. Gomara states that in early times it was also called Golfo de Ortiña, and Golfo de Guetares; *Goldschmidt's Cartography of the Pacific Coast*, MS., ii. 111–13.

number of over six thousand souls, to be baptized. Furthermore he gave up six golden idols, each of a span in length, "For being now a Christian," said he, "I shall have nothing more to do with them." Which emblems of perdition the Spaniards did by no means scruple to take.

Nicoya was a great chief, but there was a mightier than he, fifty leagues to the northward, whose name was Nicaragua, of whom Nicoya said: "He is wise as well as valiant, and your little army will quickly melt before his warrior host."

It will be observed that the peaceful policy adopted in this expedition had thus far proved successful beyond that of any other similar attempt in the Indies. The sword remained sheathed, and it was found profitable as well as humane to keep it so. Hence these gentle robbers walked the land triumphant. The truth is, for the times Gil Gonzalez was an honest man. He tells large stories about baptizing, as we shall see; but we are accustomed to some degree of exaggeration where proselyting is concerned, and Gil Gonzalez really believed that the Christianity he gave Nicoya paid him well for his gold. Beside being honest, Gil Gonzalez was humane; he did not delight in blood. Let us doublemark these traits, for they are rare hereabouts.

How different was this from the usual form with which the captains of Pedrarias introduced themselves to savagism, may be seen in the approach by Gil Gonzalez to a people of doubtful temper. When within one day's march of Nicaragua's town he despatched to that chieftain an embassy of six Indians and two interpreters to notify him of his proximity and character. "Tell him," said Gonzalez, "that a captain cometh, commissioned to these parts by the great king of the Christians, to tell all the lords of these lands that there is in the heavens, higher than the sun, one lord, maker of all things, and that those believing and obeying him shall at death ascend to

that loftiness, while disbelievers shall be driven into the fire beneath the earth. Tell him to be ready to hear and accept these truths, or else to prepare for battle."

Nicoya spoke the truth when he pronounced Nicaragua a wise man. There is great advantage in possessing an intellect unclouded by learning. He was both wise and honest enough to manifest amazement when messengers brought to him things amazing. "Tell those who sent you," said Nicaragua, "that I know not their king and therefore cannot do him homage; that I fear not their sharp swords, but love peace rather than war; gold has little value, they are welcome to what I have. In regard to the religion they teach I will talk with them, and if I like it I will adopt it." Of the two messages, that of the savage was far the more logical and sensible.

Next day when within one league of the town the Spaniards were met by four of Nicaragua's principal men, who told them that the king awaited their coming in peace. On entering the town they were received by Nicaragua, who assigned them lodgings in the public square, and placed all the surrounding houses at their disposal.

After the presentation of gifts, which, voluntary or forced, was always first in order, and which in this instance consisted on one side of gold to the value of fifteen thousand castellanos, and on the other of a shirt, a red cap, and a silken dress, attention was turned to spiritual affairs. To a lengthy harangue on what the savage must do and not do in order to attain Christian salvation, Nicaragua replied: "I see no harm in it. We cannot, however, give up our war-paint and weapons, our gay decorations and dances, and become women!"

Before accepting baptism[12] Nicaragua desired to

[12] Which was received by 9,017 natives, large and small, in one day, and with such enthusiasm that the Spaniards even wept. This is as much as one having only ordinary faith can be expected to believe at once, yet the strain on one's credulity becomes more severe when the right honorable Gil Gonzalez

ask Gil Gonzalez a few questions. "You who know so much of the maker and of the making of this world, tell me," said he, "of the great flood; and will there be another? In the universal end, will the earth be overturned, or will the sky fall and destroy us? Whence do the sun and moon obtain their light, and how will they lose it? How large are the stars; how are they held in the sky, and moved about? Why are the nights made dark, and the winters cold; why did not the Christian's God make a better world; what honor is due him; and what rights and duties has man, under whose dominion are the beasts? Whither goes the soul which you hold to be immortal when it leaves the body? Does the Pope never die; and is the great king of Spain a mortal; and why do the Christians so love gold?" These and other questions of like import the savage asked, and Gil Gonzalez answered them. There was no question that brave and pious Gil Gonzalez could not answer. And Peter Martyr says that "Cerceda, the king's treasurer, witnessed the manner in which Gonzalez answered the questions of Nicaragua." Strange to say, the savage was not satisfied. Doubtless Gil Gonzalez could have made himself better understood by a Christian. "Came these men hither from heaven?" whispered Nicaragua to the interpreter. "They came from heaven," was the reply. "But how?" asked Nicaragua, "directly down, like the flight of an arrow, or riding a cloud, or in a circuit like a bent bow?" The interpreter could not tell.

Nicaragua finally consented to have the idols in his temple removed, and the Christian's cross placed in their stead. A specimen of the worship they had adopted was then given them with great solemnity. Upon a high mound, whose summit was reached by steps, Gil Gonzalez had planted the cross on

calls heaven to witness that he told each man and woman, apart from the others, that God did not want unwilling service, and that each for himself expressed a desire for it. If we allow him 15 hours for his day's work, it makes 61 persons an hour, or one a minute, who were examined and baptized.

first entering the town. A procession headed by the Spanish and the native leaders now marched solemnly about the town, and ascended the steps of the mound[13] on their knees, chanting their hymns of praise the while. Proceeding to the temple, they erected there an altar, and jointly placed upon it the sacred emblem, in token the one of giving and the other of receiving the true faith. Such was the conquest and conversion of Nicaragua, unique and spiritual.

Nicaragua's town stood on a large fresh-water sea,[14] into which Gil Gonzalez rode his horse and took possession, drinking of the water. It was barely three leagues from the South Sea; but there was no connection, and a canoe sent out upon it could discover no current. "The pilots I had with me," writes the commander in his narrative of the expedition, "certify that it opens into the North Sea; and if so it is a great discovery, as the distance from one sea to the other is but two or three leagues of very level road."[15] One other matter claimed the attention of the discoverer at this juncture; which was to ascertain whether the invaders of Mexico, whose conquest was known at Panamá prior to the sailing of this expedition, had carried their operations so far south as this point. After close inquiry among the natives Gil Gonzalez was satisfied that they had not.[16]

[13] The Spaniards were at this time ignorant of the use to which these mounds were put. Had they known them to be great altars upon which were sacrificed human beings, the mild and philosophic Nicaragua might have had occasion to prove the valor of his warriors.

[14] 'I digo mar,' says Gil Gonzalez, *Carta al Rey*, MS., 'porque creze i mengua.'

[15] 'Los pilotos qve con migo llebaba certifican qve sale a la mar del norte; i si asi es, es mui grand nueba, porqve abra de vna mar a otra 2 o 3 legvas de camino mui llano.' Thus it will be seen that the question of interoceanic communication attracted the attention of the first Europeans who saw Lake Nicaragua, and this very naturally; for it must be remembered that Gil Gonzalez was in search of a strait or passage through the continent, and if perchance he should find the Moluccas thereabout, his whole object would be attained.

[16] The word Nicaragua was first heard spoken by Europeans at Nicoya, where Gil Gonzalez had been notified of the country and its ruler. In the earliest reports it is found written *Nicaragua*, *Micaragua*, *Nicorragua*, and *Nicarao*. Upon the return of Gil Gonzalez the name Nicaragua became famous, and beside being applied to the cacique and his town, was gradually given to the surrounding country, and to the lake. It was by some vaguely

April of this year, 1522, was now at hand, and Gil Gonzalez, well satisfied thus far, must determine what next to do. Before he was aware of it, baptism had become the rage in all that region. His stay at Nicaragua had been for eight days. Then he went forward north-westwardly six leagues into the next province, and found there a cluster of six towns, of two thousand inhabitants each, all the towns being less than two leagues apart. These people, jealous lest Nicaragua should secure to himself all the efficacies of the mysterious rite, came forward in multitudes to receive it, freely giving the Spaniards gold and food and slaves.

Yet farther before the visitors spread their fame, until a powerful cacique, called Diriangen, came in great state from some distance to meet them. To make the most imposing appearance possible, when within a short distance of the Spaniards Diriangen halted, and arranged his train. Five hundred unarmed men advanced, each carrying one or two turkeys, whose gay plumage made brilliant the spectacle. After them came ten banner-men, their flags yet furled. Then followed seventeen women nearly covered with plates of gold; after which were five trumpeters; and lastly, the chief men of the nation, bearing on their shoulders a palanquin richly adorned with colored cloths and feathers, in which sat the potentate. The cortége then moved forward and entered the village where the Spaniards were encamped, drawing up in perfect order before the commander's quarters. The

used to designate the whole region behind and between Hibueras and Veragua. Later there was the Provincia de Nicaragua, beside El Nuevo Reyno de Leon. Herrera and many others mention the Indian pueblo by the lake. For a time the lake was known as the *Mar Dulce*. Thus Colon lays it down on his map, in 1527, as the *mar duce*, and the town or province *micaragua*. Ribero, 1529, calls the lake *mar dulce* and the town *nicaragua*. Munich Atlas, No. vi., gives only *micaragua*, which No. vii. makes *nicaragua*. Ramusio, *Viaggi*, iii. 455, gives *Nicaragva* as a province. Mercator, in his Atlas of 1574, gives the town of *Nicaragua*. Iudocus Hondius, in *Drake's World Encomp.*, applies the term *Nicaragva* to a province or large extent of country. Ogilby, Dampier, De Laet, and other contemporary and later authorities extend the name to the lake.

litter was placed on the ground, the ten white banners were unfurled, and the trumpeters blew a shrill melody. Presently Diriangen ordered the musicians to cease, and approaching Gil Gonzalez he touched his hand. Then turning to the women, he ordered the gold to be presented, including two hundred golden hatchets, which amounted altogether in value to eighteen thousand castellanos. The five hundred Indians now came forward, and after severally touching the hand of the commander, presented the fowls to him. "For what purpose," asked Gil Gonzalez of the chieftain, "have you come so far to meet me?" Diriangen answered: "Having learned that a wonderful people, bearded and riding upon beasts, had arrived in this land, I come that with my own eyes I may behold them, and offer such hospitality as is in my power." Gil Gonzalez thanked the chieftain courteously, presented him some European articles, and after further conversation asked him if he did not wish to become a Christian, and a subject of the king of Spain. Diriangen intimated that it would give him great pleasure to accept both of these flattering proposals, but that he first desired to confer with his women and priests; he would return answer within three days.

Now Diriangen was a wily lord, who cared not a jot for the king of Spain, or for his religion. He wished to see this spectacle, and he was willing to pay royally for admission to it. The faith his fathers had held was sufficient for him, and he preferred ruling himself rather than being subject to another. He believed he could vanquish that little company; at all events he would try. With these reflections he bid the Spaniards a warm adieu, mounted his litter, and was carried away. This was on the 14th of April.

Three days after, while the clergyman of the expedition was absent at a neighboring town whither he had gone mounted on the best horse and attended by two valiant men, to preach, and the Spaniards were taking their mid-day siesta, Diriangen came down upon

them with three thousand[17] men, armed with flint-toothed swords, lances, and arrows, and mailed in coats of wadded cotton, and was within a cross-bow shot of them before the alarm was given. Gil Gonzalez sprang upon one of the three remaining horses, and shouted to his men to rally in front of his dwelling, which faced the square. He then placed one third of his force in the rear of the house, fearful lest the enemy should fire it, for it contained all their gold. By this time the square was filled with Diriangen's warriors, who gave immediate battle, hand to hand. The swift death-blows of the Spaniards seemed to carry no special terror with them, and for a time it was extremely doubtful how the fight would turn. The Indians brought six Spaniards to the ground, and captured one, whom, however, they manifested no disposition to kill. Finally, upon a charge of the commander and the two other horsemen with their lances, the enemy gave way and were driven out of the town. Gil Gonzalez recklessly pursued, until wearied with killing, and alone, he turned, when there fell on him a shower of stones and darts which hurried him back to his people. Diriangen had kept in the background during the battle, and disappeared immediately it was over. None of the Spaniards were lost. The captive was recovered; the priest returned in safety, and the Indians were finally permitted to carry off their dead. Luckily Gil Gonzalez had taken the precaution to increase the number of bearded men by cutting hair from the heads of Spaniards and fixing it to the chins of twenty-five young natives of his company.

After due consultation it was decided to terminate the exploration at this point and return to Panamá. They had obtained a large amount of gold, and had baptized many. The results from the conversions, however, would have been far more pleasing to the Spaniards had not so many of the Indians aposta-

[17] The narrative says 3,000 or 4,000; I name the lowest number, giving the reader the right of reducing at pleasure.

tized before their back was fairly turned. As the Spaniards entered the province of Nicaragua, on the way to their ships, a plan of that sapient ruler was revealed to Gil Gonzalez, none other than to repeat the experiment of Diriangen. Immediately sixty Spaniards, all who were at present sound, formed into a hollow square, so as to act defensively and offensively while marching, having the invalids and treasure in the centre, and at each corner a horseman and an arquebusier. As they passed by Nicaragua's town the natives cried out to the carriers, who had been lent the Spaniards by Nicaragua, to throw down their loads. To this the Spaniards made no reply; but when the natives attempted by force to accomplish their purpose, Gil Gonzalez hurried forward the weakest of his force, and placed himself with seventeen men in the rear. A desultory fight was kept up for some distance, during which the cargo-bearers managed to throw down their loads and escape, to the unutterable disgust of the Spaniards, who were thus obliged to carry them. Gaining nothing by this, but rather losing, the natives made peace. Nicaragua, by his messengers, disclaimed any agency in the attack, but the Spaniards had recognized some of his principal men among the assailants. At length they reached the gulf of San Vicente in safety, eight days after the return of the party discovering by sea. Niño had coasted three hundred and fifty leagues north-westerly, reaching, according to some estimates, the very southern limit of Cortés' conquests. Hardly any details, however, are given beyond the statement that he discovered a large bay which Gil Gonzalez named Fonseca, in honor of his friend and patron the bishop of Búrgos. To an island within this bay he gave the name of his own niece, Petronila.[18] Returning, the expedition reached Panamá June 25, 1523,

[18] The name of the bay remains; that of the island is lost. The early names of the islands in this bay were *S. Miguel la Possession*, *La Possession*, and *Esposescion; Amapalla*, *Amapala*, or *I del Tigre; y. de flecheros*, *Mangera*, or *Manguera*. Jefferys calls the bay *Fonseca* or *Amapalla*. East of

with gold in value to 112,000 pesos, half of which was of inferior quality. According to his reckoning Gil Gonzalez had coasted six hundred and fifty leagues, travelling by land three hundred and twenty-four leagues, and converting to Christianity thirty-two thousand souls.[19]

b: de fonsequa Vaz Dourado places the wood *monic*. Mercator locates the town *Canicol* on the southern shore. Ogilby places the town *Xeres*, De Laet *Xerez*, near *B. de Fonseca*. On one map there is *Xeres* or *Chuluteca*, on the eastern shore, and *El viejo las Salinas* river flowing into the bay.

[19] Further references to this voyage, unimportant, however, are made in *Galvano's Discov.*, 148–9, where it is stated that 'Nigno' reached 'Tecoantepec;' *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, i. 440; *Ogilby's Am.*, 238; *Crowe's Cent. Am.*, 58; *Gordon's Anc. Mex.*, ii. 204–8; *Peter Martyr*, dec. vi. cap. ii.–v.; *Conder's Mex. and Guat.*, ii. 301; *Juarros, Guat.*, passim; *Pim's Gate of Pacific*, 34; *Morelli, Fasti Novi Orbis*, 18; *Andagoya's Nar.*, 31–2.

CHAPTER XV.

SPANISH DEPREDATIONS ROUND PANAMÁ BAY.

1521-1526.

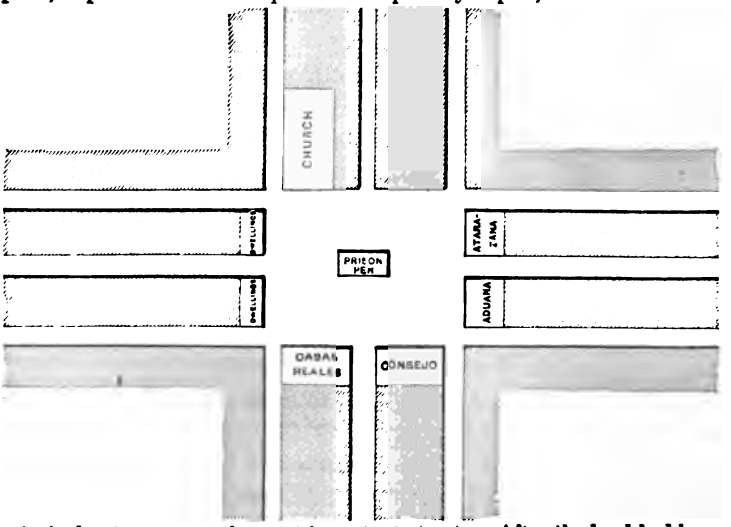
EUROPEAN SETTLEMENT ON THE WEST COAST OF AMERICA—PROGRESS OF PANAMÁ—LAWS RESPECTING SPANISH SETTLEMENTS IN AMERICA—FINAL ABANDONMENT OF ANTIGUA—ADMINISTRATION OF THE SOUTH SEA GOVERNMENT—PIRACY UPON PRINCIPLE—PASCUAL DE ANDAGOYA EXPLORES SOUTHWARD—CONQUERS BIRÚ—RETURN TO PANAMÁ—COLONIES OF VERAGUA AND CHIRIQUÍ—THE CHIEFTAIN URRACÁ TAKES UP HIS ABODE IN THE MOUNTAINS AND DEFIES THE SPANIARDS—PIZARRO, ESPINOSA, PEDRARIAS, AND COMPAÑON IN VAIN ATTEMPT HIS OVERTHROW—BUILDING OF NATÁ—COMPAÑON AS GOVERNOR—HURTADO COLONIZES CHIRIQUÍ—CONSPIRACY—CAPTURE AND ESCAPE OF URRACÁ—SEVERAL YEARS MORE OF WAR.

AT length we find on the Pacific seaboard a European settlement, in the aboriginal fishing-station of Panamá the germ of a Spanish city, the first on the western side of the American continent from Patagonia to Alaska, the first on the Isthmus which remains to the present day. And there was much about it which the befogged but in many respects far-seeing adventurers of the time could foretell. There was wealth on this shore, but to what extent they knew not, as Peru stood yet unrevealed. Unless some strait should be found, or some narrower thread of Tierra Firme offering superior advantages, Panamá would become the great entrepôt of South Sea traffic; but wild as were their speculations in some respects, in others the imagination was as far behind the facts. Even in their wildest dreams they had not seen resting on their broad-stretching beach ships from the north and the south, and the far western east, laden

with the wealth of half a world, and in the streets of their sun-beaten city gold and silver stacked in bricks; and spices, and precious merchandise waiting transportation over the cordillera to Nombre de Dios, where cargoes of European goods in like manner waited carriage southward.

To the importance of this city, even at this early day, the Council of the Indies was by no means blind; and beside the regulations[1] of a general nature regard-

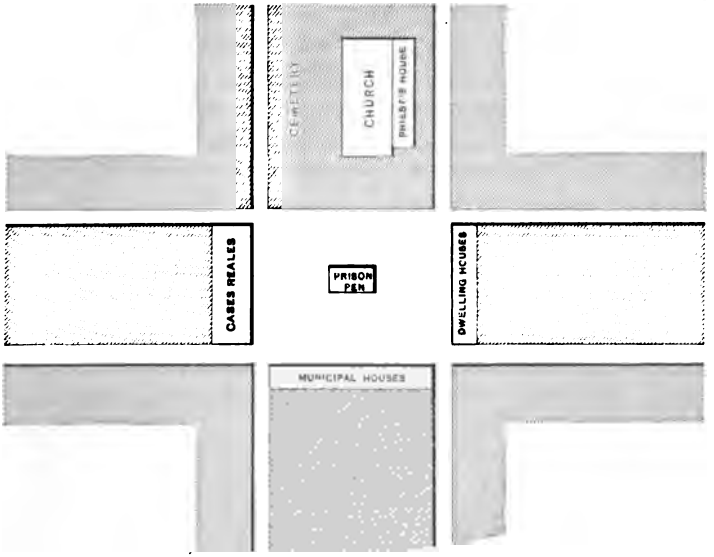
[1] In making settlements, as in all things relating to the New World, it was the aim of the Spanish government to reduce details to law. At p. 19, vol. ii. et seq., *Recop. de Indias*, we find the ordenanzas de la poblacion de ciudades y villas begun by Charles V., in 1523, and continued by Philip II., Felipe III., and Felipe IV., down to 1656. Therein it was ordered that in choosing a site for settlement, which always implied the building of a town or city, care must be taken that the place be suitable in every respect. It should be ascertained if it was a healthy locality, if the young natives were well and strong, if many of the people attained old age, if the country was favorable to agriculture or mining, and of easy access by land and sea; if by the sea, there should be a good harbor, and, if possible, the town must be placed by a river. Open pueblos must not be built on the seashore because of corsairs. The site being chosen, a plan of the place must be made, the squares formed, and the streets and lots laid out, and measured by cord and rule. The location of the plaza, or public and official square, was of primary import, since from it to the



principal entrances ran the most important streets. After the land had been set apart for town lots and ejidos, or commons, the country adjacent was to be divided into four parts, one of them for the person making the settlement, and the remainder to be assigned by lot to the settlers. In inland settlements, the church should be located at a distance from the plaza, and on the street running from the plaza to the church were to be placed the *casas reales*, or

ing settlement and city-building which began now to be enacted, Panamá was the recipient of special royal favors.

offices and dwelling of the crown officials, the *cabildo*, *consejo*, or the city-hall, the *aduana*, or custom-house, and the *atarazana*, or arsenal. Or the church was placed on one side of the plaza; the royal houses and the municipal house on another; the custom-house on the third; while the remaining side might be devoted to business houses or dwellings. Thus a stranger entering any Spanish town could find without direction all the principal places. Marketing-stalls, usually with an awning, were admitted in the plaza. If a seaboard town, the church must be so placed that it could be seen on entering the harbor, and so constructed as to serve for purposes of defence. In this case the plaza must be at the landing; if inland, in the centre of the town. In form it must be a parallelogram, the length to be at least one and a half times the width, as the best shape for feats of horsemanship; its size should be, according to population, not less than 200 by 300 feet, nor more than 800 by



532 feet, a good size being 600 by 400 feet. From the plaza, whose corners stood toward the four cardinal points, issued four principal streets, one from the middle of each side, and two smaller streets from each corner. In cold countries the streets had to be wide; in hot countries, narrow. Houses not to be built within 300 *pasos* or 750 feet, of the walls or stockade. Town lots and lands not distributed to settlers belonged to the king, and were reserved for future settlers. Then the law states how first settlers must hasten with their house-building, after having planted and assured themselves of food for the season, building with economy and strength, and throwing round the town palisades and intrenchments. The houses must be uniform, and with good accommodations for horses.

Any ten or more married men might unite to form a new settlement, and might elect annually from among themselves *alcaldes ordinarios* and other municipal officers. When it was possible to establish a *villa de Españoles* with a council of alcaldes ordinarios and regidores, and there was a responsible

We have seen how Pedrarias, by fair means and foul, labored to depopulate Antigua; and it was a good work, though at the time he was not fully aware

person with whom to make an agreement for settlement, the agreement was to be as follows: Within a time specified there must be from ten to thirty settlers, each with one horse, ten milch cows, four oxen, one brood mare, one sow, twenty ewes of Castile, six hens, and a cock. A clergyman must be provided, the first incumbent to be named by the chief of the colony, and his successors in accordance with the royal right of patronage. A church must be built, which the founder of the settlement supplied with ornaments, and to which were granted lands. Any one agreeing to form a settlement, and conforming to the regulations, had given him land equivalent to four square leagues, distant at least five leagues from any other Spanish settlement; and he was himself to enter into agreement with each enrolled settler to give a town lot, lands for pasturage and cultivation, and as many *peonías*, or shares of foot-soldiers, and *caballerías*, or shares of cavalrymen, as each would obligate himself to work, provided that to no one was to be given more than five peonías or three caballerías. The principal with whom an agreement for settling was made, to hold civil and criminal jurisdiction in first instance, during life, and for that of one son or heir, and from him appeal might lie to the alcalde mayor or the audiencia of the district. He might appoint alcaldes ordinarios, regidores, and other municipal officers. Those going from Spain as first settlers were exempted from the payment of *almojarifazgo*, or export duty, or other crown dues, on what they took for their household and maintenance during the first voyage to the Indies. Bachelors should be persuaded to marry.

When a colony was about to leave a city to make a settlement, the *justicia* and *regimiento* should file with the *escribano del consejo* a list of the persons migrating; and lest the mother city should be depopulated, those only were eligible who had no town lots or agricultural lands. The number of colonists being complete, they were to elect officers, and each colonist to register the sum he intended to employ in the enterprise. And even after the settlement had been begun, whether as *colonia*, that is, colonists in voluntary association, or *adelantamiento*, *alcaldía mayor*, *corregimiento*, enterprises headed respectively by an adelantado, alcalde mayor, or corregidor, or *villa*, or *lugar*, the fathers of it were forbidden to wholly leave the people to themselves.

Discoverers, pacificators, first settlers and their immediate descendants, possessed advantages over others. They were made *hijosdalgo de solar conocido*, with all the honors, according to law and custom, of hijosdalgo and gentlemen of Spain. They might bear arms, by giving bonds, before any justice, that they would use them solely in self-defence. And that it might be known who were entitled to reward, viceroys and presidents of audiencias were directed to examine into the merits of cases, and see that a book was kept by the *escribano de gobernacion*, in which were recorded the services and merits of every person seeking preferment.

For the government of the settlement, the governor in whose district it might be, had to declare whether it was to be *ciudad*, *villa*, or *lugar*, that is to say, a town less than a *villa*, and greater than *aldea*. A *ciudad metropolitana*, or capital of the province, to have a *juez* with the title of *adelantado*, that is to say, a military and political governor of a province; or *alcalde mayor*, governor of a pueblo not the capital of the province; or *corregidor*, a magistrate with criminal jurisdiction only; or *alcalde ordinario*, mayor with criminal jurisdiction. This *juez* was to have jurisdiction *in solidum*, and jointly with the *regimiento*. The administration of public affairs was vested in two or three treasury officials, twelve *regidores*, or members of the town council, appointed, not elected; two *fieles ejecutores*, or regidores having charge of

of it. Fortune had favored him in many ways of late, and the rewards of his rascalities were truly gratifying. Not to mention the deaths of Vasco Nuñez and Lope de Sosa, the successes of Espinosa and other gold-hunting captains, or the discomfiture of Gil Gonzalez, it was a fine stroke of policy making the licenciado Alarconcillo his lieutenant at Antigua; for the fraudulent residencias taken by him, under the artful management of the governor's wife in Spain, did Pedrarias and Espinosa good service at court. Nor was there any practical inconvenience to the governor in the royal orders prohibiting complex legal proceedings, that the truth might be simply and inexpensively arrived at in cases of dispute, and permitting appeals from Castilla del Oro to the audiencia of Santo Domingo; for the one gave his power a wider range, while the other could be easily regulated so as to work him no prejudice. Las Casas likewise had failed in his effort to displace Pedrarias, the privileges granted in Tierra Firme limiting him to territory outside of the jurisdiction of this governor.

The abandonment of Antigua began in 1521, and was consummated in September, 1524, Diego Ribero, the last survivor, being massacred with his entire family by his own Indians, who afterward burned the town. Thus the streets wherein had been acted so many stirring scenes were vacant, and the country, after a struggle of fifteen years and the loss of thousands of lives, lapsed into its original savagism. By royal decree issued at Búrgos September 15, 1521, Panamá was made a city, and received royal priv-

weights; in each parish two *jurados*, who saw that people were well provided, especially with provisions; a *procurador general*, attorney with general powers; a *mayordomo*, having charge of public property; an *escribano de consejo*, notary of the council; two *escribanos públicos;* one *escribano de minas y registros;* a *pregonero mayor*, official vendue-master; a *corredor de lonja*, merchants' broker, and two *porteros*, or janitors of the town council. If the city was *diocesana*, or *sufragánea*, it must have eight regidores, and the other officers in perpetuity; villas and lugares only to have an alcalde ordinario, say, four regidores, an alguacil, or bailiff, an *escribano de consejo y público*, and a mayordomo.

ileges and a coat of arms, in further ennoblement.[1] The regidores should enjoy the title of *veinticuatros*, as in Seville and Córdova. For the first ten years the city had to pay only a tithe on gold; the eleventh year, one ninth; the twelfth, one eighth, and so on to the fifteenth when the usual fifth would be due. Hitherto the currency consisted of pieces of gold cut into various weights; now silver and copper money were employed.

The first regidores of Panamá were Gonzalo de Badajoz, Rodrigo Enriquez de Colmenares, Rogel de Loris, Pascual de Andagoya, Martin Estete, Benito Hurtado, Luis de la Rocha, and Francisco Gonzalez. The alcalde mayor, Hernando de Salaya, was made lieutenant of Pedrarias in Panamá, with a salary of 150,000 maravedís, Espinosa having turned his attention almost exclusively to military matters. The royal officers formerly at Antigua as a rule held their places in Panamá. These were Alonso de la Puente, the treasurer; Diego Marquez, the contador; Miguel Juan de Ribas, factor. To some of these Pedrarias was obliged to give repartimientos as an inducement to move.

More difficulty was experienced in having the episcopal see transferred to Panamá, but it was

ARMS OF THE CITY OF PANAMÁ.

[1] The title was 'Nueva Ciudad de Panamá.' *Décadas*, in *Pacheco and Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, viii. 16. A second decree, dated from Lisbon December 3, 1581, added to the title 'muy noble y muy leal.' *Panamá, Descrip.*, in *id.*, ix. 80. A half-page representation of the arms is given in *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro Eccles.*, ii. 56—shield on golden field divided; on the right a handful of gray arrows with blue points and silvery feathers, and a yoke, the device of the Catholic kings. On the left three caravels, significant of Spice Island or other commerce, over which shines the north star. Above the golden field a crown, and round the field a border of castles and lions. 'Tambien le diò los Honores, y Titulos de muy Noble, y muy Leal, y que sus Regidores gozen del Titulo de Veintiquatros.'

finally accomplished; the royal order to move it, with the clergy and paraphernalia of the church as well as the vecinos and the hospital, bearing date the same as the order making Panamá a city, namely, September 15, 1521. On the death of the first bishop of Darien, Juan de Quevedo, a successor was appointed in the person of Fray Vicente de Peraza. Salaya and the Archdeacon Perez came out together in 1522; Peraza came later, Salaya being commissioned to superintend ecclesiastical affairs until the bishop's arrival. And when he did arrive he appeared in no haste to move, and was still at Antigua in 1524. There, finally, Pedrarias went and exercised upon him his softest blandishments. The governor could make himself quite pleasing to one who did not know him. The bishop had not been long in Panamá before his eyes were opened, and then, indeed, forever closed; for one day, while the bishop and the governor were at cards, they had a quarrel, during which the latter was treated badly with words, and soon after the bishop died. Then with Salaya the governor employed sharp words, saying, if he did not mind he would cut off his head. "More than one head you have wrongfully cut off," Salaya retorted, "but he who cuts off my head must have a better head than mine, and that you have not." Then they were friends again. Nevertheless Salaya died. Both these men were poisoned; suspicion pointed to Pedrarias, though he was never formally charged with the crime.

For the building of churches in Castilla del Oro, the king gave large alms; his annual donation to the hospital was three hundred pesos,[3] while the royal

[3] The prior of Lora, chaplain of the king in 1522, was proposed to the pope for the office of bishop of the country lying between Nombre de Dios and Higueras. 'Siruenla cinco Dignidades, y dos Canonigos, tres Capellanes: y ocho Colegiales del Colegio. Tiene Sacristan Mayor con carga de Sochantre en el Coro; y tiene vna sola Parroquia en ella, y su comarca.' *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro Eccles.*, ii. 56. This author, as well as Alcedo in *Dic. Univ.*, iv. 33, gives a list of bishops, but both are incorrect. It was somewhat later, the time of which is written in *Purchas, His Pilgrimes*, iv. 882. 'The limits of the Counsell of *Panama*, which was first called *Castilla del Oro*, and afterwards *Terra Firme*, are very small; for the Counsell is principally resident there, for the dispatch of the

treasury covered the cost of an organ and a clock for the Panamá cathedral. About the time of the removal, Francisco de Lizaur, procurador of the new settlement for providing the Indians as well as the Spaniards with food, procured an order requiring the governor to attend to planting; likewise barter must be opened with the natives, and negro slaves were not allowed to accompany expeditions. The boundaries of the municipality extended about forty-five leagues in every direction from the three leagues of city lands in the centre.

The natives of the New World, and they alone, were expected to support the new city, and through Panamá to send great wealth to Spain. The object of the Spaniards was not agriculture, except to save themselves from hunger; nor even mining, except as they could force the natives to dig; it was unadulterated robbery, with only the lame excuses of civilization and Christianity, and Panamá was but a pirates' nest.

By no means the worst of the band was Pascual de Andagoya, who but for the bad company he kept might have been pronounced an honest man. He assisted Pedrarias, and acted as the forerunner of Pizarro, but when it came to wholesale infamies he had no zeal for them.

A faithful retainer of the governor, he was in 1522 sent by him to explore the southern coast beyond the limits of the discovery of Vasco Nuñez. Landing at the gulf of San Miguel, Andagoya visited a province called Chochama, where he was informed that during the periods of the full moon, a fierce people infested its shore, driving the inhabitants from their fisheries, slaying them if they resisted, and spreading terror

Fleetes and Merchants, which goe and come to *Péru:* it hath in length East and West about ninetie leagues.' Further reference, *Morelli, Fasti Novi Orbis,* 96; *Oviedo,* iii. 57–117; *Herrera,* dec. iii. lib. i. cap. xvi.; *Carta de la Audiencia de Santo Domingo,* in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.,* i. 413; *Enciso, Suma de Geografia,* 57.

generally. This people came from a province called Birú, which name was corrupted by the Spaniards into Pirú, and finally into the Peru of Francisco Pizarro. Chochama begged Andagoya to protect his subjects from this scourge, and having obtained reinforcements from Panamá, Andagoya set out in company with his host and his warriors for the dreaded region. Ascending a large river for twenty leagues, the Spaniards found a number of villages and caciques, and on the outskirts of the province, near the junction of two rivers, they discovered a strong native fortress, well garrisoned, which on being attacked was defended with skill and bravery. But superior tactics soon prevailed, and after a struggle the stronghold was reduced and the inmates were brought to terms.

The subjugation of Birú being thus effected, Andagoya continued his voyage, the ships keeping well off shore, while the commander reconnoitred the coast in canoes navigated by friendly Indians. It happened one day, while thus employed, that his boat was caught in the surf and overturned. He was saved by the brave efforts of one of the natives whose cause he had espoused; but a rheumatic fever which followed determined him to abandon the discovery, and on the following day he turned his face toward Panamá, where he arrived in safety with a few captives.[4]

[4] As a discoverer, his talents were unequal to the attempt. As a writer, Andagoya figured with Oviedo, Enciso, and other noted men in the retinue of the unscrupulous Pedrarias. Born in Alava province, he came to the Isthmus in 1514, and took an active part in the various expeditions for its subjugation and settlement. Through the favor of Pedrarias, whose wife's maid he married, he rose to encomendero, to regidor of Panamá, and, in 1522, to inspector-general of the Isthmus Indians. The present expedition, which brought back wonderful reports of the Inca empire, might have gained him the glories of that conquest, or at least he might have shared them with Pizarro, had his health not broken down. As it was, he merely acquired wealth as agent for the Peruvian hero, and although he rose afterward to adelantado and governor of New Castile, his integrity and comparative want of audacity prevented him from reaping the benefits within reach of less scrupulous rivals. The original of his well-written narrative, relating the history of the Isthmus and adjoining region in connection with his career, was found by Navarrete in the Seville Archives, and published in his *Col. de Viages*, iii. 393–459, from which source Markham made the translation issued in 1865 by the Hakluyt Society. Oviedo's account of Andagoya's career, from a different source, iv. 126–32, con-

Permission was then given to Juan Basurto to continue the discovery of Andagoya; but his sudden death cut short the preparations, and there the matter rested until taken up by Francisco Pizarro.

Leaving for the moment affairs to the southward, let us return to the western side of Panamá Bay. There was a cacique named Urracá, whom the Spaniards sought to kill, whose domain was the sierra of Veragua, and whose crime was the love of liberty. Indeed so villainously depraved was this savage that he would not accept Spanish salvation and domination when offered him in return for his gold; he even thought to kill the good men who invaded his territory to kill him. Urracá was fierce and strong; his mountains were rugged, and his home almost inaccessible to the hostile invader. Therefore he must be approached with caution, and his capture intrusted only to picked men. As he was reported rich, and worth the trouble, two companies were fitted out against him, one by water under Espinosa, and one by land under Francisco Pizarro. The former embarked at Panamá in two vessels, and, after touching at the island of Cebaco, passed over to the mainland of Veragua and began his march on the redoubtable mountaineer. Urracá was not afraid of him, and after placing the women, the children, and the aged of his people in safety, with his warriors he marched boldly out against the enemy. He first encountered the Indian vanguard of Espinosa, and falling on them slew them to a man. Then he fiercely attacked the horsemen, of whom there were two or three, and the foot-soldiers, fighting with such determination that but for Hernando de Soto, who with thirty men had been sent forward by Pizarro to seek a pass, the licentiate would have been cut to pieces. Pizarro,

firms the general exactness of his narrative, although Acosta, *Comp. Hist. Nueva Granada*, 383, declares it colored with a view to advocate his claim to the governorship of New Castile. *Helps' Span. Conq.*, iii. 426, and *March y Labores, Marina Española*, ii. 121, give Andagoya's voyage.

who was near at hand, had not reached the place without hard fighting. And now Urracá defied them all. With every advantage of a rugged and well-known country on his side, he rallied his men and attacked the combined force with such desperate energy that when night came the Spaniards endeavored to withdraw secretly to the open plain. To this Urracá objected. He permitted them to break up camp, it is true, and to begin their march; but, when within the darkest pass, he was on them again like a trap, and from the black craggy defile they could not move, except against the lances and war-clubs that hemmed them in. With morning the question faced them, whether they should die there or escape? And thus the captains placed the matter before the men. Summoning all their strength, they threw their united force against the living obstructions at the opening toward the sea, and, treading down the enemy, escaped to their ships, and spreading sail directed their course toward Panamá. But it would not do to return empty-handed. So landing at Borrica they plundered the town, and took the inhabitants captive, though the licentiate finally released the women. While Espinosa with the main body of his troops proceeded to Natá, Francisco Compañon with fifty men surprised by night a peaceful village in the neighborhood. It was palisaded, and the Spaniards were repulsed. Hiding themselves, they waited until the inhabitants had come forth in the morning, and had scattered themselves about the fields. At a signal they sprang upon them. The poor natives ran for shelter from the merciless steel, and arriving at the gateway in a body they so blocked it as to be easily butchered. Those not killed were carried captives to Natá.

The native village of Natá was situated on an open plain, most beautiful, with a fertile soil and wholesome air. We have seen how on former occasions it had attracted the attention of the Spaniards. They

had long desired to found there a settlement, and, the present expedition having proved a failure, Espinosa sent messengers to Pedrarias asking permission to remain and form a colony. The governor acquiesced, but ordered Espinosa with the ships to Panamá, leaving at Natá only fifty men under Compañon.

The new seaport lay nearer to Urracá than the island of Cebaco, although Espinosa began his march against this province at a point on Azuero Peninsula, opposite the island, more than thirty leagues from Natá, by sea.

It was near enough, at all events, for the wary Urracá to follow the Spaniards with his vindictive eye. The chieftain, by his emissaries, knew when Espinosa landed there, what he and the others did, when they went away, and how many remained. Peeping in on Compañon he thought he could manage fifty men. He would try it. Collecting his forces he made preparations to attack the Spaniards by night. On approaching their quarters he came to a house at some distance from the others, in which three men were sleeping. One of them the savages killed with a spear; one they captured; the third eluded them until he had secured his arms, when he sprang up and shouted as if to some companions near. Single-handed he then attacked them and put them to flight; after which he released his captive comrade, and the two sought their commander. Compañon immediately sent messengers to Pedrarias, informing him of the attack.

It was not praiseworthy on the part of Urracá to allow his multitude of brave warriors to be defeated by a single Spaniard; probably he never knew how easily he was beaten; and now confederating with his neighbors he confined the Spaniards so closely in their quarters that they began to suffer for food. The opportune arrival of Hernando Ponce de Leon with forty men, and shortly afterward of the governor himself with one hundred and fifty men, placed Compañon at ease again.

It is true; the old governor is in the field again! War, at home or abroad, is his natural element. This bold mountain chieftain must be put down; and who so fitting to do it, who so capable, as the governor? Appointing Francisco Pizarro as second in command, with his entire available force, among which are some horses and small cannon, Pedrarias sallies forth.

Urracá is ready to receive him. He has joined forces with a neighbor named Exquegua, and awaits the Spanish governor just beyond the strongest pass. He hopes a second time to entangle the enemy amongst the craggy steeps to him so familiar. The fox enters the trap. The governor must choose either to fight at great disadvantage, or retire and leave the country to its aboriginal lord. Urracá is powerful, sagacious, and brave. Occupying in his retreat the most elevated part of the cordillera where it cuts Veragua, and being about midway between the two oceans, he can draw supplies and reinforcements from either side. So pernicious is the influence he exerts that he can prevent the pacification of western Castilla del Oro: hence the importance of his extermination.

The old governor harangues his army. After the stale fashion of Xerxes and the Scipios he sneers at the enemy, and praises his own men. It is not common to hear Pedrarias praise any one. "You see the necessity of this chieftain's death," he concludes; "let it never be said of Spaniards that they left alive a rich heathen." A charge is then ordered. The battle lasts till nightfall. It is renewed the next day and the day following. Before such unparalleled obstinacy the Spaniards grow faint. Even the fire-belching cannon, with its reverberating roar and its balls sweeping down men, splitting rocks and trees, and tearing up the earth, confounds them but for a moment. For five days the engagement continues, much of the time in a desultory manner, the Spaniards fighting from under cover like the Indians.

Urracá at length resorts to stratagem. Withdrawing his forces as if in abandonment of the fight, he retires toward the river Atra, the rendezvous of the confederates from both sides of the cordillera. Pedrarias follows, thinking in some open spot to scatter the foe and kill them. Seeing which, Urracá calls to him several wise warriors, and instructs them to play the part of men of the country, and when captured by the Spaniards to direct them to their ruin. Through this ruse Diego de Albites falls into ambush, at one time with forty men, at another with sixty, narrowly escaping destruction.

Determined never to abandon the country until his purpose is accomplished, Pedrarias sends out parties against the villages of the confederates individually. Two caciques, Bulaba and Musa, are captured, but on accepting terms of peace are set at liberty. Urracá avoids another general engagement, and Pedrarias returns to Natá. The lands and captives are divided among such soldiers as are willing to remain as colonists under Diego de Albites, who is left there as the governor's lieutenant. Sixty elect to remain, who begin to build and plant. Thus is established the town and settlement suggested by Espinosa, which is called Natá after the cacique, and which name it still retains, and next after Panamá on the Pacific seaboard, Natá assumes importance as a Spanish settlement.

All the same it is exceedingly hard on the poor aboriginal, drudgery or death. Those enslaved under the fatherly-protection system endeavor by every means to escape; failing in which, if they do not kill themselves, they soon die from hard treatment. Urracá never ceases narrowly to watch the Spaniards, attacking them as opportunity offers. Albites retaliates with frequent incursions; but unable to overthrow Urracá he finally makes peace with him. This displeases Pedrarias, who thereupon recalls Albites and appoints Francisco Compañon governor of Natá. Under the

new regime hostilities are yet more vigorously pressed, but in almost every instance to the discomfiture of the Spaniards.

Beyond the domain of Urracá, toward the west, in Veragua, was the province of Chiriquí. Thither Pedrarias sent Benito Hurtado to establish a colony. The country being thinly populated was easily taken and held. Indeed, the caciques of Chiriquí, Vareclas, and Burica, the chief rulers within an area of one hundred leagues, obeyed without resistance, and for two years the colony of Chiriquí was unmolested. But the more submissive the people, the more exacting the conquering race. The crushing weight of servitude becoming unbearable, the men of Chiriquí at length rose to arms. They were joined in a general revolt by Urracá. Unable to vanquish this chieftain, Compañon determined to capture him by fair means or foul. Overtures were begun by presents and fair promises, and at length, under the most solemn assurances of liberty and safety, Urracá was induced to visit the governor at Natá. No sooner had he entered the town than he was seized and ironed. I am disposed to praise the perfidious Compañon for not burning his captive, or giving him to the dogs; he only sent him, in violation of his sacred pledge, a prisoner to Nombre de Dios, with the intention of shipping him off to Spain. Before the sailing of a ship, however, the brave cacique managed to burst his fetters and escape. Breathing vengeance he roused the mountains, organized a yet more powerful confederation, and marched against Natá. Long and bloody warfare ensued, with alternate success. One of the most disastrous conflicts occurred early in 1527, in an expedition against a rebel chief named Trota, under Captain Alonso de Vargas, with forty soldiers, principally men newly arrived from Spain. The protestations of some of Trota's adherents, who entered the camp with humble mien but active eyes, induced

the captain, at the recommendation of a veteran comrade, to send Pocoa, an allied chief and guide, with offers of peace. The fellow was no sooner out of sight than he cast the olive branch to the winds, and joining cause with Trota, advised him to seize so advantageous an opportunity for glory and revenge, when the force before him was weak and inexperienced and the commander ailing. Four days later five hundred warriors fell upon the camp, led by Pocoa in a glittering breastplate of gold. Although taken by surprise, the soldiers fought desperately, but the numbers were overwhelming, and Vargas succumbed with half his men. This blow was one more incentive for the Spaniards to exert themselves in retaliation and conquest. The country adjacent to the settlement being open and level, horses and cannon could be used with advantage; while on the other hand, to make up for lack of skill, were numbers, drawn from a great distance around, with the protecting mountains in which to nurse declining energies. Thus for nine years the war continued, until the chieftain Urracá yielded up his life, though not, after all, to arquebuse or bloodhound: he died in bed, among his own people, but lamenting, with the last breath, his inability to drive out the detested Christians.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE WARS OF THE SPANIARDS.

1523-1524.

OVIEDO IN SPAIN—HE SECURES THE APPOINTMENT OF PEDRO DE LOS RIOS AS GOVERNOR OF CASTILLA DEL ORO—PEDRARIAS DETERMINES TO POSSESS NICARAGUA—HE SENDS THITHER CÓRDOBA, WHO FOUNDS BRUSÉLAS, GRANADA, AND LEON—AND CARRIES A SHIP ACROSS THE LAND FROM THE PACIFIC TO LAKE NICARAGUA—HE MAKES A SURVEY OF THE LAKE—INFORMED OF SPANIARDS LURKING THEREABOUT—DEVELOPMENT OF THE SPANISH COLONIAL SYSTEM—GIL GONZALEZ ESCAPES WITH HIS TREASURE TO ESPAÑOLA—DESPATCHES CERECEDA TO SPAIN WITH INTELLIGENCE OF HIS DISCOVERY—SAILS FROM SANTO DOMINGO TO THE COAST OF HONDURAS—ARRIVES AT PUERTO CABALLOS—FOUNDS SAN GIL DE BUENAVISTA—ENCOUNTERS HERNANDO DE SOTO—BATTLE—CRISTÓBAL DE OLID APPEARS—FOUNDS TRIUNFO DE LA CRUZ.

SCARCELY were the fair provinces of the Southern Sea brought under the yoke of the Spaniards, when the conquerors began contending among themselves. For it must be confessed that neither their culture nor their religion prevented them from behaving very much like the wild beasts and the wild men to whom they regarded themselves superior. In following these disputes we will now accompany, in a second visit to Spain, the author and veedor, and withal the maker of governors, Fernandez de Oviedo, whom we left in July, 1523, fleeing the wrath of Pedrarias.

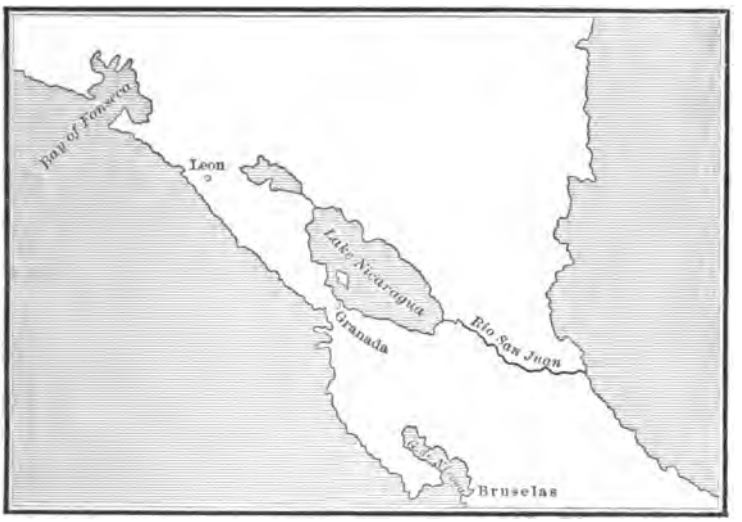
At Cuba the veedor was entertained by Diego Velazquez, the governor; at Española he was invited by Diego Colon to take passage with him for Seville, where he arrived in November. After presenting himself to the Council of the Indies, at Búrgos, he went to Vitoria, where the court was residing. Vested

with full power to act for the city of Antigua, Oviedo set forth the affairs of the colony, entered his complaints against Pedrarias, and urged the appointment of a new governor. In this measure he was opposed by the bachiller Corral, whom he had made an effort to send in chains to Spain, and by Isabel, wife of Pedrarias. Through their influence he was involved in litigation which lasted two years; and for his treatment of the bachiller he was fined one hundred thousand maravedís, which he was obliged to pay. But in the end the veedor triumphed in displacing Pedrarias, and in securing the appointment of Pedro de los Rios, of Córdova, as governor of Castilla del Oro, and of the licenciado Juan de Salmeron as alcalde mayor and judge of residencia.

The prospect of speedy displacement in office, no less than the success of Gil Gonzalez at the fresh-water sea, determined Pedrarias to secure a footing in Nicaragua before the arrival of the new governor of Castilla del Oro. No one knew better than himself that by the customs of discovery and occupation, which were now fast becoming laws, he had not the slightest right there, having neither contributed to the discovery of Gil Gonzalez, nor even sanctioned it. As an act preliminary to taking possession of this discovery, Pedrarias despatched thither his lieutenant, Francisco Hernandez de Córdoba—not he who discovered Yucatan, though of the same name—and captains Gabriel de Rojas, Francisco Compañon, and Hernando de Soto, who embarked from Panamá in 1524.

Landing at the gulf of Nicoya Córdoba founded a settlement at Urutina, on the east side, which he called Brusélas, but which existed only three years, being dismantled by order of Diego Lopez Salcedo in 1527. Thence Córdoba proceeded northward thirty leagues, to Nequecheri, on the shore of Lake Nicaragua, where he founded a city to which he gave the name Granada, building there a fortress and a church.

In the province of Nagrando[1] he established another city which he called Leon. While at Granada Córdoba drew one of his brigantines ashore, and taking it apart conveyed the pieces overland to Nicaragua



Lake. After rebuilding he made a circuit round the shore of the Freshwater Sea, and discovered its outlet in the Rio San Juan, though he did not descend the stream, on account of the rocks and rapids. With

[1] Called by Herrera, Ymabite, and by Juarros, *Guat.*, following him, Imabite. 'Y poblò en medio de la provincia de Ymabite, la ciudad de Leon, con templo, y fortaleza.' dec. iii. lib. v. cap. xii. See also *Relacion de Andagoya*, in *Navarrete, Col. de Viages*, iii. 413; *Exposicion a S. M. por la justicia y regimiento de la ciudad de Granada*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, vii. 555–6; *Relacion de lo que escriben los oidores*, in *id.*, xiv. 39; *Remesal, Hist. Chyapa*, 164; *Oviedo*, iii. 113–14, 119, iv. 100–1. Fray Gil Gonzalez Dávila, in *Teatro Eccles.*, i. 233, gives a representation of what he calls the 'armas de la civdad de Nicaragva,' consisting of a shield bearing in its field a rampant lion with the left paw resting on a globe. The shield is surmounted by a crown. In view of the usual remoteness of this writer from the truth, we may apply the term city of Nicaragua to any city in Nicaragua, notwithstanding he affirms it to be the place discovered by Gil Gonzalez in 1522, and peopled by Hernandez and Pedrarias.

this leader had come many friars and religious men, some of whom were quite expert in performing miracles, and by this means was excited among the natives a furor for baptism scarcely inferior to the lively manifestation under the swift instructions of Captain Gil Gonzalez. Córdoba sent Pedrarias a full account of his proceedings thus far. He also informed him that a band of Spaniards was lurking thereabout, though as yet he had not encountered them, but he had sent Hernando de Soto to learn who they were.

The colonial system of Spain as it unfolded in the New World seemed at this time to assume the form of a political tripod whose three props were the subjugator, the sovereign, and the executive vicegerent, each contributing to the support of the others, though in a manner oppugnant and contradictory. It was something wholly new in the polities of nations for royalty thus to delegate so much and so varied power at such a distance; and royalty was troubled for itself in consequence, and regarded with jealousy and mistrust such of its servants as it was obliged to confide in. Ashamed of his suspicions, the sovereign attempted to cover them by the application of chicane to a system of balancing, placing one agent to watch another, and counteracting the power of one deputy by the power of another deputy. The discoverer on returning from his perilous voyage must wear away the remainder of his life importuning for the promised recompense; and often he was compelled to lose beside his services the costs advanced by himself. The conqueror must be frowned upon in the moment of his triumph, lest he should forget himself, or rather forget his master. He, without whose adventurings the monarch's realm could scarcely find enlargement, must immediately on the attainment of new territory be diverted by the intrusion of some professional governor, who between law, selfishness, and despotism usually managed to defeat

the aims of both king and conqueror, and attain his own end in ruin and disgrace. Thus it was on Española, and thus it is again on Tierra Firme. Had Columbus been less incompetent as the beginner in this colonization, and as governor; had he with wise statesmanship founded one New World colony on firm and liberal principles, the whole Spanish-American colonial system during the following three centuries might have been something quite different. Had the monarch found on trial that his deputies were trustworthy, he would have trusted them. Had he not, they would have compelled him. As it was they compelled him to treat them as unreliable and unjust, as indeed they were, that is to say such of them as were competent. While the monarch was far less blamable than his representatives, while as a rule he sought with honest and pious purpose the best welfare of his subjects, civilized and savage, it seemed his fate thus far to keep the colonies always in a ferment, every man's hand against his neighbor, and under such poisonous and perverting stimulus, that the vilest elements attained success, while the noblest were consumed to cinders. Witness Christopher Columbus and Bartolomé his brother as against Bobadilla and Ovando; Vasco Nuñez beside Pedrarias; and now Pedrarias and Gil Gonzalez.

Upon the return to Panamá in June, 1523, of Andrés Niño and Gil Gonzalez, from their discovery of Nicaragua, Pedrarias undertook, as we have seen, at once to secure for himself every benefit of their adventure. And this without a shadow of right or reason. The pilot and the contador had acted under authority direct from the king; they had imperilled their lives and had exhausted their private fortunes; while the governor had not only contributed nothing, but actually disobeyed the king in refusing to deliver the ships of Vasco Nuñez, and in withholding men and means for the expedition. A grand achievement

had been consummated by a handful of men, poorly equipped and in small unseaworthy vessels, whose consequent sufferings were in a measure caused by the inherent wickedness of the governor, now the first of all to clutch at the gold. He would have the honor of paying the king's fifth into the royal treasury, for he could make it advantageous for himself.

Gil Gonzalez would cheerfully have turned over the treasure to the king's officers, for his blood was up, and he wished to return immediately and chastise the impudent caciques, Diriangen and Nicaragua. But, when under his letters patent he demanded aid for that purpose, the governor promised it only on condition that he went as his lieutenant, and that the war should be conducted in his name. This the contador refused to do. Pedrarias then said that he would undertake the further pacification of Nicaragua on his own account, and plant a colony, perhaps, at the gulf of Fonseca; that a southern expedition which he had planned would be directed north, in view of the superior attractions appearing in the reports of the late discoveries. Upon this Gil Gonzalez determined to hasten from Panamá with the king's gold, which had been melted down by the assayer, and lay the matter before the audiencia at Santo Domingo, thence going to Spain if necessary.

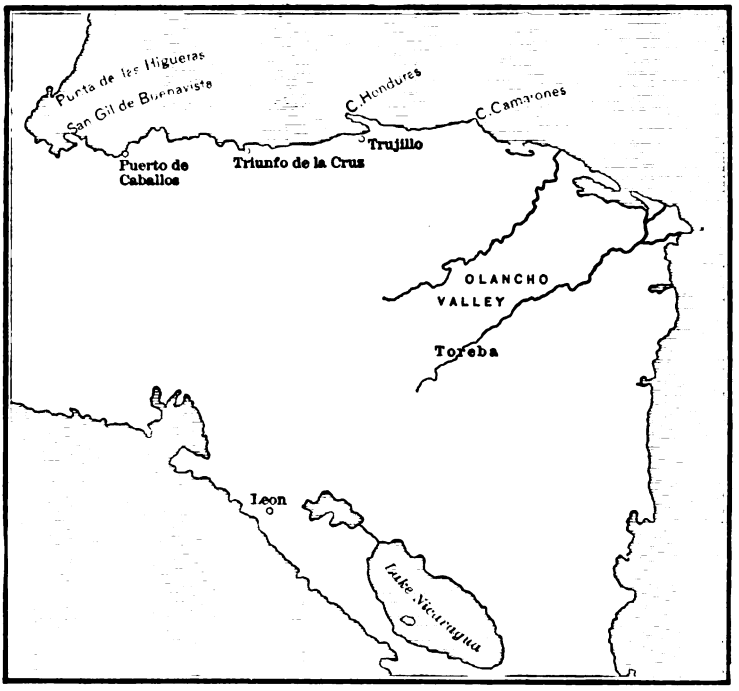
There was a caravel lying at Nombre de Dios, which Gil Gonzalez purchased for one thousand castellanos, and stealing from Panamá he escaped with the gold, and set sail for Española just as Pedrarias in hot pursuit appeared upon the shore with a requisition and order of arrest.

The royal authorities at Santo Domingo listened with favor to their former contador; on comparing his actions with his instructions they found that he had acquitted himself creditably. They deemed it unnecessary for him to go to Spain, and thought he could better serve the king by continuing his important discovery. He might proceed at once to the

eastern shore of Tierra Firme, and search for the strait communicating with the Freshwater Sea, or its outlet, which was sure to exist; or, failing in that, enter the territory, pass over to the Freshwater Sea by land, found there a colony and build a town. To this end the audiencia promised to aid him in raising three hundred men and fifty horses, which, with the ship he had brought from Nombre de Dios, would give him a fair equipment. Distributing, therefore, the royal share of the treasure[2] among five ships lying at Santo Domingo, according to the royal regulations, Gil Gonzalez despatched by Antonio de Cereceda, treasurer of the Nicaraguan expedition, the famous letter which I have so frequently quoted, and a map of the coast from Panamá to the Gulf of Fonseca, made with great care by the pilots of the expedition. In this letter, after giving an account of the discovery and presenting his plans, the writer begs the sovereign that his pay as captain be made over to his wife at Seville, for the support and education of his children; that the limits of his discovery may speedily be defined, and other conquerors and rulers forbidden to intrude; that letters patent may be granted him with the title of Admiral of the Freshwater Sea, together with a tenth of the king's revenue within the territory. Were it not that his majesty might deem it a desire on the part of the discoverer to call attention to himself he could tell much more; but this he would say of five things done by him, namely—no other Spaniard ever before discovered so many leagues on foot with so few men

[2] Consisting of gold from 12 to 18 carats by actual assay, amounting to 17,000 pesos de oro; of an inferior quality, known as *hachas*, 15,363 pesos; in rattle-shaped pieces, said to be of no standard value, 6,182 pesos. *Gil Gonzalez Dávila, Carta al Rey*, MS. There were likewise 145 pesos worth of pearls, of which 80 pesos' worth were obtained from the Pearl Islands. *Relacion del viaje que hizo Gil Gonzalez Dávila*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiv. 20–24. This document gives in detail, beside the quantity of pearls secured, the distance journeyed, the dimensions of the islands, the names of the provinces through which they passed, with their caciques, the gold taken from each, and the souls baptized. There are also here given, 5–20, *id.*, *Andrés Niño, Relacion del asiento*, or agreement with the king; *Relacion de lo que vá en la armada*, with the cost of outfit, etc.

so poorly equipped; no man ever converted so many souls to Christ in so short a time; no discoverer as yet had brought so much gold; none had fought so many Indians without the loss of a man; and, finally, no one before him had ever returned from a voyage of discovery without having lost to the adventurers the cost of the outfit. Cereceda and the letter were graciously received by the emperor, who ordered Gil Gonzalez to continue his discoveries.



But without waiting instructions from Spain Gil Gonzales had hastened to occupy what he had discovered, before others should arrive to dispute possession with him. He sailed from Santo Domingo in the spring of 1524[3] for the eastern coast of Nicaragua,

[3] The 10th of March, 1524, the royal officers at Española, Miguel de Pasa-

intending to cross to the Freshwater Sea, by way of its outlet, and thereby avoid collision with the governor at Panamá; but he steered too far to the right, and struck the continent on the north side of Honduras, about twenty leagues east of Golfo Dulce. Obliged by a storm to throw overboard some horses to save his ship, he gave the name of Caballos[4] to the port from which he had under the circumstances to turn away. From this point he was driven by the wind westward to Golfo Dulce. Finding himself in a strange mountainous country, and at a loss whither to proceed, he deemed it safe in any event to take possession and plant there a colony, and to this he gave the name San Gil de Buenavista. Leaving there a portion of his men he coasted eastward, to a point between capes Honduras and Camarones, and although still far from his destination he disembarked the troops and marched southward in search of his Freshwater Sea.

Continuing on this course Gil Gonzalez in due time approached the territory of Nicaragua, but only to encounter Hernando de Soto, sent by Córdoba to ascertain who were the rival settlers. Gil Gonzalez first learned of the presence of Córdoba in that quarter while passing through the valley of Olancho. There was but one way to settle rival claims under such circumstances, the old brutal way, practised by both savage and civilized from the beginning, and in vogue to-day among our most Christian and cultured nations—the weaker must give way to the stronger.

The two companies met at a place called Toreba. The savage method of warfare was adopted. Just

monte and Alonso Dávila, write the king that Captain Gil Gonzalez Dávila is there about to embark 'to seek the strait from north to south'—'Torna agora á buscar el Estrecho de Norte á Sur.' *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, i. 440.

[4] 'El mal tiempo echo a la mar algunos de los cavallos que llevava, de donde le quedò el nombre.' *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. v. cap. xii. Oviedo mentions the death of a horse which was buried with great secrecy, lest the natives should learn they were mortal. Fernando Colon, in 1527, writes *a: de cauallos;* Ribero, in 1529, *C:. de cauallos;* Vaz Dourado, 1571, *p:. de caualos*, with the name *triqueste* next west; De Laet, 1633, *Po de Cara'los;* Ogilby, 1671, *Pta d. Cavallos;* Jefferys, 1776, *Pto Cavallos;* and to-day as in the text.

before dawn, as Soto lay wrapped in slumber, Gil Gonzalez, with a portion only of his command, crept into the enemy's camp, and raising the war-cry, "San Gil! kill the traitors!" began a furious onslaught upon his countrymen. Soto commanded the superior force, and although taken at a disadvantage he was soon disputing for the victory with every prospect of success. The engagement lasted some time, and several Spaniards on both sides were killed. At length Gil Gonzalez, fearing defeat, cried out, "Peace! peace, Señor capitan, in the emperor's name!" And although Soto was urged by his associates to follow up the advantage, he ceased hostilities and prepared for an amicable adjustment of differences.

Thus matters remained for several days. But Gil Gonzalez had no intention of abandoning the field, as his actions and words implied. He only wished to gain time and bring up the remainder of his force. This effected, he again suddenly sprang upon the enemy, and after a short but severe engagement drove him from the field, securing his treasure, to the value of one hundred and thirty thousand castellanos.[5]

Satisfied with this success, and unprepared to meet a superior force under Córdoba, Gil Gonzalez disarmed the enemy, and retired to Puerto Caballos, where he was informed that a fleet had arrived from Mexico in command of Cristóbal de Olid, one of the captains of Hernan Cortés.

After the defeat of Soto, Córdoba took measures to strengthen his position at Leon, building there a strong fortress. Cristóbal de Olid, of whom I shall speak presently, founded a settlement on the north coast of Honduras, fourteen leagues east of Puerto Caballos, to which he gave the name of Triunfo de la Cruz.[6] Thus for the territory now embraced within

[5] Oviedo, iii. 114, says that two or three days afterward Soto and his companions were released upon parole, and their arms restored them.

[6] Town, port, and cape. Some English charts still retain the name *Cape*

the boundaries of Nicaragua and Honduras, there appeared three claimants—Gil Gonzalez, who, under the auspices of the crown, claimed for himself as the discoverer; Francisco Hernandez de Córdoba, who claimed for Pedrarias; and Cristóbal de Olid, who claimed for Cortés and himself.

Triunfo. Ribero writes *t'ūfo de la c̄z;* Vaz Dourado, *triumfo dellai*, the next name west being *piita de la call*, and next to this, *rio de pochi*, which Ribero calls *R:. d' pechi.* Next west of this name Ribero places *p:.º de hellados.* Ogilby, De Laet, Jefferys, and others give *Triumpho* or *Triumfo de la Cruz.*

CHAPTER XVII.

COLONIZATION IN HONDURAS.

1524–1525.

CORTÉS IN MEXICO—EXTENSION OF HIS CONQUESTS—FEARS OF ENCROACHMENTS ON THE PART OF SPANIARDS IN CENTRAL AMERICA—CRISTÓBAL DE OLID SENT TO HONDURAS—TOUCHING AT HABANA, HE IS WON FROM ALLEGIANCE TO CORTÉS—TRIUNFO DE LA CRUZ FOUNDED—OLID AS TRAITOR—MEETING WITH GIL GONZALEZ—THE WRATH OF CORTÉS—CASAS SENT AFTER OLID—NAVAL ENGAGEMENT IN TRIUNFO HARBOR—CASAS FALLS INTO THE HANDS OF OLID, WHO IS SOON CAPTURED BY THE CAPTIVE—DEATH OF OLID—RETURN OF CASAS TO MEXICO—TRUJILLO FOUNDED—INTERFERENCE OF THE AUDIENCIA OF SANTO DOMINGO.

WHILE certain of the Spaniards were settling themselves in possession of the Isthmus and parts of Central America, others were engaged in like manner elsewhere. Among the latter was Hernan Cortés, who sailed from Cuba, in 1519, for the conquest of Mexico, which was accomplished in 1521. So great was the glory of this achievement, complete details of which will be given in a later volume of this work, that fresh hordes flocked to the banner of its hero, whose further efforts toward conquest in different directions were little more than triumphal marches. On nearly every side his captains found rich provinces and populous settlements which promised flattering rewards in tributes, plantations, and submissive slaves; or their ears were filled with reports of still greater cities, still richer territories, further on. From such substance rumor blew its gaudy bubbles, which danced in iridescent hues and ever increasing size before the eyes of the conquerors,

luring them on into the depths of mysterious regions beyond. Insatiate, a world apiece would scarcely satisfy them now.

Of the several points toward which expeditions were sent out from the Mexican capital by its conqueror, the southern regions seemed in some respects the most alluring. Information came to Cortés of the high culture of the inhabitants in that quarter, of their manifold wealth, their palaces and great cities, all magnified by mystery and distance. Further than this, the possibility, nay, the certainty that Spaniards moving northward from the Panamá region would soon be in possession there if not forestalled, made delay seem dangerous. Hence it was that Oajaca and Chiapas were quickly made to open their portals; and now the redoubtable Pedro de Alvarado, second only to Cortés himself, was entering Tehuantepec to rend the veil which enfolded the Quiché kingdom, and to disclose the splendor of Utatlan.

Likewise the northern seaboard to the south of Yucatan claimed attention. This could scarcely now be called an undiscovered country, for Spaniards as well as natives poured into the conqueror's ears the sure truth of what might be expected. There were pilots whose course had led them along the coast of Hibueras, or Honduras,[1] and who charmed their hearers with tales of gold so abundant that fishermen used nuggets for sinkers. In this there was nothing startling to Cortés, however, for since his first entry into Mexico he had received such information touching this Honduras country, particularly two provinces, that were but one third true, "they would far exceed Mexico in wealth, and equal her in the size of towns, in the number of inhabitants, and in culture."[2]

These reports could not be disregarded. An expe-

[1] See chapter iv., note 6, this volume.

[2] 'Una que llaman Hueitapalan y en otra lengua Xucutaco.... ocho ó diez jornadas de aquella villa de Trujillo.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 469. 'Higueras y Hõduras, que tenian fama de mucho oro y buena tierra.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 233

dition to this region would also be able to meet that of Alvarado, and crowned with success the two could then carry conquest onward, till sullen ocean, east, and west, and south, alone might bar the progress of their arms. Great would be also the reward in wealth and souls. Another wish, the discovery of a strait, ruled Cortés with equal strength. It was now known how short a distance lay between the two oceans, and this long narrow strip of intervening land might in some one of its many inlets hide the passage, though it was toward the north that the conquistador looked chiefly for it. The subject had been specially commended to him by the emperor. "Knowing the desire of your Majesty," writes Cortés, "to discover the secret of this strait, and the great benefit which your royal crown will derive therefrom, I shall leave all other interests and gains to follow this course."[3] As an earnest of his intention Cortés had begun to build vessels at Zacatula, on the South Sea, as early as 1522, and with these he would explore the coast northward till the passage was found, or proved not to exist. In the North Sea also fleets were prepared to coast northward to Newfoundland, and southward to the Isthmus.

The expeditions were all delayed, the first by conflagration, the others by incidents at Pánuco which for a time diverted all available forces. The latter difficulty over, Cortés reverted to his pet project, and the Atlantic fleet, which had been for several months at considerable expense waiting orders for sailing south, was now reinforced to muster six vessels fully equipped, with nearly four hundred Spaniards and thirty horses.[4]

So important an expedition called for a lieutenant not only brave and able, but trustworthy. Amongst

[3] *Cartas*, 315, letter of 13 Oct., 1524. The letter of the emperor commanding him to search both coasts is dated 6 June, 1523.

[4] Soldiers, 370, including 100 archers and arquebusiers, and 22 horses, says *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 176. 'Por todos çinco navios gruessos ó caravelas é un bergantin.' *Oviedo*, iii. 459.

the three or four thus esteemed by the great conqueror was Cristóbal de Olid,[5] before mentioned, who, owing to his prominent position under Governor Velazquez of Cuba, had been appointed captain under Cortés when he set out for the subjugation of Montezuma's empire. His devotion, courage, and ability had made him a favorite, and at the fall of Mexico he had been rewarded with an ample share of the treasures and encomiendas. While lacking in sincerity and depth of thought, and being less fit for the council, he possessed qualities which made him an admirable executive officer. He was at this time about thirty-seven, of powerful physique and stentorian voice, which contributed not a little to his success as a leader.[6]

Several of the old campaigners, but lately ensconced in snug plantations where they were enjoying a post-bellum repose, were called to aid Olid. This they did, though not always consenting with cheerful faces. Among the number was Captain Briones, a turbulent fellow, who had brought some scars from the wars in Italy, and, after airing his profane vocabulary as commander of brigantines during the siege of Mexico, had nursed a hatred against Cortés for services that he fancied to have been ill paid.[7] Two priests were added to the expedition.

Olid was instructed to direct his course to Cape Hibueras, and after founding a fortified settlement to despatch the three largest vessels to Cuba for supplies, while the three smaller, under command of Hurtado de Mendoza, the cousin of Cortés, were to search for a strait as far as Darien, exploring first the gulf there-

[5] Also written Oli, Olit, Olite, Dolid, Dolit. A hidalgo of Baeza. *Oviedo*, iii. 188. See chap. vi. vol. i., *Hist. Mexico*, this series.

[6] Bernal Diaz describes him as a well formed, strong-limbed man, with wide shoulders and a somewhat fair complexion. Despite the peculiarity of a groove in the lower lip, which gave it the appearance of being split, the face was most attractive. 'Era un Hector en el esfuerço, para combatir.' He was married to a Portuguese, Felipa de Araùjo, by whom he had a daughter. *Hist. Verdad.*, 176, 177, 240. Further references in chap. vi. vol. i., *Hist. Mexico*, this series.

[7] The lobes of his ears were shorn by captors, he said, of a fortress which he had aided too obstinately in defending. Bernal Diaz appears to doubt this explanation. *Hist. Verdad.*, 176, 177.

about, that is the Bahía de la Ascension, as the instructions read, from which "many pilots believe a strait to lead into the other sea." The fleet left San Juan de Chalchiuhcuecan, the present Vera Cruz, January 11, 1524, for Habana, where an agent of Cortés was then purchasing additional arms, horses, and stores. for Olid.[8]

Let traitors beware of treachery. Cortés had been untrue to Governor Velazquez: by what law of compensation could he expect subordinates to be true to him? Scarcely was the fleet adrift before Briones was whispering his commander treason. And when on landing at Habana the Cuban governor, with all the hatred of foiled ambition, joined the foes of Cortés to work upon the fidelity of his captain, Olid was shaken. "Mexico by right is mine," argued the governor. "It is I who am your rightful chief, and I absolve you from the miscreant you follow. Strike out from him, as did he from me; I will furnish men and money, and the king shall know of your conduct and reward it."[9]

Ere the fleet left Cuba Olid had decided on his course. He had learned prudence, however, under his wily chief, and resolved to do nothing decisive, until he found himself strong enough, and had learned whether the country was worth the risk.[10] On land-

[8] The agent, Alonso de Contreras, had received 8,000 pesos de oro for the purpose, in order that the expedition should not be hampered for want of means, nor be obliged to prey at once upon the natives. *Oviedo*, iii. 459. Cortés estimates the total cost of the expedition at over 50,000 ducats. *Mem.*, in *Doc. Inéd.*, iv. 227; *Instruc.*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas*, *Col. Doc.*, xiii. 5; *Gastos*, in *id.*, xii. 386, with details of expenses. The purchases were made ere the presence of the fleet should raise prices at Habana, and yet a fanega of maize cost two pesos de oro, a sword eight pesos, a crossbow twenty, and a firelock one hundred; while a shipmaster received eight hundred pesos a month. *Gomara*, *Hist. Mex.*, 243.

[9] 'Se habia confederado el tal Cristóbal Dolit con Diego Velazquez, y que iba con voluntad de no me obedecer, antes de le entregar la tierra al dicho Diego Velazquez y juntarse con él contra mi.' *Cortés*, *Cartas*, 337. 'Cõcertarõ . . q̃ entre él, y Christoval de Oli, tuviessen aquella tierra de Higueras . . . y q̃ el Diego Velazquez le proveeria de lo q̃ huviesse menester.' *Bernal Diaz*, *Hist. Verdad.*, 177; *Oviedo*, iii. 113; *Gomara*, *Hist. Mex.*, 243.

[10] If not, he would return to Mexico to his wife and estates, and affirm before Cortés that his agreement with Velazquez was subterfuge on his part to obtain stores and men. *Bernal Diaz*, *Hist. Verdad.*, 177.

ing, therefore, some fourteen leagues east of Caballos, the 3d of May, he not only took possession in the name of Cortés, but appointed the officials named by him. The papers of possession, however, bore Olid's name.[11] To the town here founded was given the name of Triunfo de la Cruz, from the day of landing.[12]

Olid was not long in openly declaring his intentions. Most of his company acquiesced; a few did not. These latter to the number of three score, under an officer named Valenzuela, after robbing the town during the absence of the men in the interior, seized one of the vessels and set sail for Mexico, but only to meet shipwreck and starvation at Cozumel Island.[13] All thoughts of searching for a strait had been abandoned, and Olid determined to hasten forward, make himself acquainted with the country, and secure possession. It was not many days before he came upon the bands of Spaniards whom we have seen there fighting each other, and Olid's presence among them tended in no wise to lessen complications.

Gil Gonzalez was not in condition to meet so powerful an opponent as Olid, especially with a threatening avenger in the near west; and so he thought it prudent to retire until he might secure to his own interests at least one side by an alliance. Nor was Olid just then strong enough openly to brave a well known Spanish leader. He therefore met the advances made him by Gil Gonzalez in a friendly spirit, and sought by artful letters to lull suspicions regarding his true motives.

Surely they were not in vain, the lessons he had learned under the astute Cortés. Watching an op-

[11] 'Con que començò a entender que se yua apartando de la obediencia de Cortés.' *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. v. cap. xii.

[12] *Juarros, Guat.*, 42–3. It was soon abandoned. See chap. xvi., note 5, this volume.

[13] This according to *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 269, and *Cortés, Cartas*, 467, who do not, however, clearly indicate that Valenzuela was one of Olid's officers. Informed of the wreck, by Casas probably, Cortés sent a vessel for them, which was also wrecked, on the Cuban coast. Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.* 208, alludes to this party as twenty-five men sent to kidnap Indians.

portunity, when Gil Gonzalez had confidingly divided his forces, he sent Briones, his maestre de campo, to surprise them in detail, while he himself prepared with another body to descend in two caravels on the coast settlements. Early next morning, as Olid awoke pluming himself over his well laid plans, a page rushed in, announcing, "Two sails in the offing, señor capitan!" Olid hastened to the shore not without misgivings that this might be a Mexican expedition, bearing perhaps his injured chief.

It so happened that while the renegade Olid was at Habana, the royal factor, Salazar, had arrived there en route for Mexico to assume office, and learned only too clearly what was brewing. Nor was he the only one to carry the news. Cortés heard it with distended nostrils, and the characteristic swelling of his veins[14] indicated the anger which the next moment found utterance. "Villain! whom I have reared, and honored, and trusted; by God and St Peter he shall rue it!"[15] Unable to enter in person upon the determined chastisement, the general sent Francisco de las Casas, a resolute man of no mean ability, married to a cousin-german[16] of his, and therefore regarded with greater confidence. He relied also on the many warm adherents in the rebel camp who could require no very strong appeal to return to their leader. For this reason four vessels, two of them quite small,[17] and

[14] 'Cum narium et venarum gutturis summo tumore præ ira, sæpe dedit de tanta animi perturbatione signa, neque a verbis id significantibus abstinuit.' *Peter Martyr*, dec. viii. cap. x.

[15] Cortés did not overlook the application of the act to his own escapade with Velazquez. In complaining to the emperor, he assumes that many will regard it as a *pena peccati*, but explains that Olid had no share in this expedition, as he himself had had in the one from Cuba. With respect to the present fleet, he regretted not so much the loss of 40,000 pesos de oro as the injury the rebellion must cause the imperial interest, in delay of exploration and settlement and in excesses against Indians. Further, he remarks pointedly, such revolts will deter loyal and enterprising men from embarking their fortune in the service of the crown. *Cartas*, 337.

[16] *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. v. cap. xiii. Cortés, *Cartas*, 336, calls him 'primo,' which may bear the same interpretation. Oviedo, iii. 517, calls him brother-in-law.

[17] Fitted out with sails and rigging of vessels seized from traders, and

one hundred and fifty men were deemed a sufficient force to subjugate the usurper.

As the fleet approached Triunfo a boatman was captured who gave information of the state of affairs, and on entering the harbor Casas hoisted a flag of peace with the hope that friendly overtures might bring about a revolution of sentiment, among a portion of the rebels, in favor of his chief. Olid, however, who had at once suspected the character of the arrival, knew the danger of a parley, particularly since the greater part of his force was absent. Brave and resolute, he ordered his two caravels to be manned, and opened fire to prevent a landing. Finding his overtures disregarded Casas replied with equal spirit, covering at the same time the operations of the boats which he sent off. It was an original spectacle in these parts, Spaniards fighting Spaniards, in regular naval engagement; and as the hissing projectiles flew out from the smoke over the still waters, followed now and then by a crash, the noise of battle reverberating over the forest-clad hills, the dusky spectators who lined the shore should have been exceedingly grateful for this free exhibition of the wisdom and power of European civilization that had come so far to instruct them in such a fashion.[18] Presently, amidst the boom of cannon and dimly belching flames, cries of distress were heard, followed not long after by shouts of victory. Olid's gunners had found their

with pressed crews; the fleet was ordered to intercept any communication and aid for Honduras. *Testimonio*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas*, *Col. Doc.*, xii. 274–7. They were all the vessels that could be obtained, it seems. One or both of the small craft deserted and took refuge in Cuba, there to leave testimony. See also *Relacion de los Oidores*, in *id.*, xiv. 43; *Cortés*, *Cartas*, 336. Bernal Diaz places the number of vessels at five and the soldiers at 100, naming 3 conquistadores. *Hist. Verdad.*, 194. Out of the 150 the soldiers probably did number 100, and there may have been five vessels, for Herrera states that Cortés sent a ship with stores under Pedro Gonzalez to follow Casas. Off the very coast of Honduras he was overtaken by a storm which drove him back to Pánuco with the belief that the fleet must have perished. dec. iii. lib. v. cap. xiii. Gomara, *Hist. Mex.*, 243, mentions only two vessels.

[18] 'Assi estuuieron todo aquel dia,' says Herrera, *loc. cit.*, who leaves the reader to suppose that at one time the advantage leant to Olid's side and caused Casas to hoist a flag of truce which was disregarded; but other authorities do not take this view.

match. One of his caravels was sinking, and the attacking boats were approaching the second. Hurriedly sounding the recall he sought the shore, with the loss of a few men,[19] sending meanwhile a boat to the victor with a proposal for truce, on condition that no landing should be effected till the negotiations for surrender were completed. Casas consents; and Ares dons the mask of Pallas. The first act of Olid on sighting the fleet had been to despatch a messenger to his lieutenant Briones, summoning him in all haste to his assistance. Time might now be gained by parley. But to the same lieutenant went another messenger from Casas with the most alluring promises for active or passive aid. And in this Casas was so far successful that Olid waited in vain for succor, while his opponent, under further prospect of support in the camp itself, lay confidently at anchor waiting the dawn.[20]

It was a golden chain of treachery thus lengthening itself from the capital of the Indies through Mexico and into the wilderness of Central America; Velazquez revolts from Diego Colon, Cortés from Velazquez, Olid from Cortés, and Briones from Olid. But what avails the cunning of man against the gods! That night a storm burst upon the harbor, and within an hour the late victor found himself, with the loss of his vessels and some forty men, upon the shore swearing allegiance to the enemy.[21] Buffeted to exhaustion by the waves, and without arms, Casas was thus fished in by the exultant Olid.

The next step was to secure the fleeing Gil Gon-

[19] Four soldiers. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 194; without loss, says Herrera.

[20] 'O esperando con intenciõ de se ir a otra baia a desembarcar,' is one of the suppositions of *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 194. 'Briones . . . en teniendo auiso de Francisco de las Casas, se apartò de Christoual de Olid, y tomò la voz de Cortes.' *Herrera, ubi sup.* It appears that Briones had by this time gained an advantage over Gil Gonzalez, capturing over 50 of his men; but he now released them under certain conditions. *Cortés, Cartas*, 459. Bernal Diaz assumes that Briones' revolt occurred later and that he set out for Mexico.

[21] After convincing him by means of two or three days of exposure and starvation, as Bernal Diaz and Gomara seem to intimate. Herrera assumes that he won him by kind treatment.

zalez, who was surprised at Choloma and brought to headquarters,[22] which had meanwhile been removed to Naco, a fertile and salubrious valley about twenty leagues from Caballos, occupying a central position and abundantly supplied with means of subsistence.

Olid was a generous jailer. He was haunted by none of the suspicious fear which resorted to manacles and shackles. Casas and Gil Gonzalez were treated rather as guests than as prisoners; they were given seats at Olid's own table, and allowed to share in every conviviality. They enjoyed in fact every liberty, except that of crossing the limit fixed for their movements. Finding the host so lenient Casas began to plead also for release. He wished to present himself before Cortés and justify his conduct. Olid of course would not consent. "You are too pleasant a companion for me to lose," he smilingly said to his captive. "Ah, well! your worship," Casas replied, "pray God I prove not so pleasant as some day to kill you." The prisoners had not failed to improve the opportunities which their trusting host provided, and finding that Briones held out as a rebel, they gained sufficient confidence to form a conspiracy. On a certain evening seats at table were secured for two accomplices, while near at hand were others awaiting the appointed signal. Ever a most agreeable companion, on this occasion Casas outdid himself; and had not Olid been of so unsuspecting a nature he would have seen through the veil of affectation that enveloped the conversation. When the table was cleared and the attendants had withdrawn, the conspirators exchanged glances; whereupon one of them, Juan Nuñez de Mercado, passed behind

[22] After the defeat by Briones, Gil Gonzalez seems to have become bewildered. Leaving a few followers at Nito under Diego de Armenta, he embarked in three vessels, touched at San Gil to hang Francisco Riquelme and a clergyman for having led a revolt, and thence proceeded to Choloma. Owing to Briones' defection his capture was intrusted to Juan Ruano. *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. v. cap. xiii. The seizure was effected with the loss of his nephew Gil de Ávila and eight soldiers. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 194; *Cortés, Cartas*, 459. Oviedo assumes that Gonzalez was entrapped by false promises. iii. 188.

Olid, and seizing his head pulled it back, while Casas, who was seated beside him, rose and grasping him by the beard, began to slash at his throat with a pocket knife,[23] crying, "Tyrant! the earth shall no longer endure thee." Gil Gonzalez was instantly on the other side of Olid stabbing him in the breast. Yet with all their advantage they made slovenly work of it, cutting up the old hero. He was a powerful man, and in a moment had recovered himself and was hurling his assailants right and left. He called to his guard, but these were quickly secured by the conspirators. Olid made his escape, however, and sought a thicket where he fell, fainting from loss of blood. The conspirators shouted lustily, affirming that he was dead, and called on all present, in the name of the emperor and of Cortés, to rally round Casas.[24] None cared to refuse.

Meanwhile Cristóbal de Olid, one of the proudest of Mexico's proud conquerors, felt that the knives of these assassins had been too much for him. He who had so many times faced death for mighty cause must now die of dastardly blows inflicted by countrymen. True, he was a rebel. But so was his master. And who of those present would not cast off any allegiance the moment their interests demanded it? The cold grasp of death was on him. Of what avail at this moment were the hardships endured, and the infamies so lately inflicted in the crushing of Montezuma and his people? Crawling to an Indian hut he begged shelter and secrecy, offering all his wealth for these favors, and for yet another, that a priest should be summoned. How many of this race had begged of him, and begged in vain! The owner of the hut went out upon his mission. It was almost impossible that the dying conquistador should not thereby be discovered, but to die unshriven was death thrice

[23] 'Con un cuchillo de escribanías, que otra arma no tenia... diciendo: "Ya no es tiempo de sufrir mas este tirano."' *Cortés, Cartas*, 460.

[24] 'Aquia del Rey, e de Cortes contra este tirano, que ya no es tiempo de mas sufrir sus tiranias.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 195.

over. Closely upon the priest's heels like thirsting bloodhounds followed the assassins, who, now that their noble quarry was stricken, plucked up the courage to cut off his head by law. Dragging forth the dying man, a court was formed, which that night declared him traitor, and doomed him to death. As if to favor them, life lingered with the prisoner until morning, when he was brought into the plaza, his eyes half closed in death, to receive his sentence. There and then the hideous mockery was completed; and as the head was severed not one voice was heard, not one hand moved in sympathy for the gallant soldier who had so often led his men to victory, and whose hand had been as free to give as was his voice to cheer.[25]

Being now master of the situation, Casas made some necessary changes among the officials to insure the fruits of victory. Triunfo having proved unsafe, it was decided to form a settlement in a more secure harbor. Nearly four score enrolled themselves as settlers and a municipality was appointed, with the recommendation to select a site at Puerto de Caballos, if found suitable, and to name the town Trujillo, after the native town of Casas.[26] Eager to relieve the anxiety of Cortés and to consult with him, Casas did not stay to see this carried out, but selecting Juan Lopez de Aguirre, originally treasurer, as his lieutenant, aided by the new alcaldes, Mendoza and Medina, the latter also contador, he set out on his return to Mexico. A large number accompanied him, leaving but a little more than a hundred adherents of

[25] According to Herrera, the confessor, awed by the proclamation, revealed the hiding-place, after exacting a promise that no harm should befall his protégé. The promise was disregarded on the principle that 'dead man wages no war,' and although Olid *was dead* when the hour came for execution, yet the *corpse* was publicly beheaded. dec. iii. lib. v. cap. xii. Other authorities do not state how he was discovered or arrested. 'Otro dia por la mañana, hecho su proceso contra él, ambos los capitanes (Casas and Gonzalez) juntamente le sentenciaron á muerte.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 460. 'Assi fenecio su vida, por tener en poco su contrario.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 244. His brother, Antonio de Olid, sought justice before the Consejo de Indias against Casas and Gonzalez for the murder. *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. x. cap. xi.

[26] In Estremadura.

Cortés in the province.[27] Among those who went was Gil Gonzalez, too dangerous a man to leave behind, who must appear before Cortés and arrange with him as to what share in the province he might keep, if any. Meanwhile his men appear to have been left in possession of the Nito district.[28] The route taken led through Guatemala, the later highway to Mexico. On the road they came upon Briones, who fancied that his desertion of Olid entitled him to consideration on the part of Olid's enemy. But nobody liked the man, and regarding him, furthermore, as dangerous to the peace of Honduras, they took the precaution of hanging him.

Lieutenant Aguirre conducted his party to Caballos, as instructed, but the site did not meet with general approval, and a vessel arriving with a glowing description of Puerto de Honduras, it was decided to go there. The vessel was chartered and Aguirre went on board with nearly forty men, a number of native servants, and the stores and other articles which the party proceeding by land could not conveniently carry. When the land expedition reached the port no vessel was there. An anxious search being instituted for the possible evidence of a shipwreck, an inscription by Aguirre was found bidding the men not to grieve; he had sailed on for supplies

[27] 'Halláronse ciento y diez hombres que dijeron que querian poblar, y los demás todos dijeron que se querian ir con Francisco de las Casas.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 460. See also *Informe*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, ii. 131, 141. These did not comprise Gonzalez' followers, but may have been all of Olid's and Casas' men who cared to remain in Honduras; yet it seems strange that the latter should have allowed so large a number to abandon a province which they had been sent to occupy.

[28] Oviedo assumes that Casas would brook no rival after his triumph, and made González a prisoner, 'é llevólo en grillos á la Nueva España.' iii. 188–9, 518. The last assertion is even less likely. Affairs had meanwhile changed in Mexico, and like Casas he fell into the hands of Cortés' enemies, who were at first intent on their execution, but ultimately sent both to Spain for trial. One of the charges was the murder of Olid. Gonzalez was wrecked on Fayal Island, but reached Seville in April, 1526, only to be confined in the atarazana, or arsenal. Released on parole, as a knight commander of Santiago, he returned to his home at Avila, and there died not long after, says Oviedo, deeply repentant of his sins. *Dávila, Testimonio*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xii. 362–7.

and would soon return. The mockery of this message was only too apparent, and bitterly did they denounce the deserters who had carried off not only treasure and effects, but abandoned them on a strange shore with but scanty armament. The horses were now their main reliance. Although poorly provided they remained, and electing Alcalde Medina to the captaincy, proceeded on May 18, 1525, to found Trujillo and install officers.[29]

One morning, not long after, a caravel was seen approaching, and eagerly the officials set out to meet her. But it was not theirs. The audiencia of Santo Domingo had heard of the threatened collision of rival factions in Honduras, and of the fuel Casas was bringing to the flame. They were desirous that their authority should be felt in these parts. They would bend the spirit of these turbulent governors. On this occasion Fiscal Pedro Moreno, a better trader than judge, had been sent by the grand tribunal to Honduras to order away Casas, to enjoin Córdoba and Alvarado not to meddle, to impose on Olid and Gil Gonzalez the authority of the audiencia, with injunctions to peaceably occupy only that part of which they had been the first to take possession, and to surrender to the fiscal the royal fifth. To cover the expenses of the commission the chartered caravel had been loaded, for account of the crown, with arms and stores, which were to be distributed among the needy colonists at a profit. If the adventure proved successful the judges might make a part of the profit their own; if unfortunate, who so well fitted to bear the loss as the sovereign!

Medina related to Moreno the troubles of the colonists, including the desertion of Aguirre, and appealed to him for redress. He also asked for arms. Moreno offered to relieve the wants of the colony

[29] *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 245. A minority soon after attempted to replace Medina by the alguacil Orbaneja. *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, ii. 133–5. Testimony on the foundation of Trujillo, in *id.*, xiv. 44–7.

only on condition that it should transfer allegiance from Cortés to the audiencia, as agents for the emperor, and accept for captain Juan Ruano, one of Olid's officers, as had been done by Gil Gonzalez' men.[30] Pressed by necessity the colonists acquiesced. One of the first acts in connection with the transfer was to change the name Trujillo to Ascension. After a kidnapping raid on a neighboring pueblo, Moreno departed with about forty slaves, promising soon to return with a force strong enough to hold the province.[31] Hardly had his sails disappeared when the colonists restored the standard of Cortés, and sent Ruano to follow his patron, with the reminder that his moderation and efforts in their behalf had alone saved his neck.

[30] Herrera states that Ruano, who captured Gonzalez, had gone to Cuba after Casas' triumph, but the testimony in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, ii. 127, etc., shows that he had been picked up by Moreno at San Gil.

[31] He himself being the probable captain. Some sixteen slaves were kidnapped here, and the rest at San Gil. The account of Moreno's proceedings, by different witnesses, is to be found in *Informacion hecha por órden de Hernan Cortés sobre excesos por Moreno*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, ii. 127–79; and in *Relacion de los Oidores*, in *id.*, xiv. 39, etc. When the emperor learned of the kidnapping, he angrily ordered the release of the slaves, and their good treatment pending an investigation. *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. x. cap. xi. Cortés intimates that Ruano had used persuasion with Moreno to obtain the command. *Cartas*, 462–3.

CHAPTER XVIII.

MARCH OF CORTÉS TO HONDURAS.

1524–1525.

DOUBTS CONCERNING CASAS—CORTÉS TIRED OF INACTION—DETERMINES TO GO IN PERSON TO HONDURAS—SETS OUT WITH A LARGE PARTY—ARRIVES AT GOAZACOALCO—THE GAY ARMY SOON COMES TO GRIEF—THE WAY BARRED BY LARGE RIVERS AND DEEP MORASSES—SCARCITY OF PROVISIONS—SUFFERINGS OF THE SOLDIERS—THE TRICK OF THE MERCHANT-CACIQUE—KILLING OF THE CAPTIVE KINGS—APOTHEOSIS OF A CHARGER—FEARS OF REBELLIOUS SPANIARDS DISSIPATED ON NEARING NITO.

INORDINATE covetings had never been characteristic of Cortés; but when a man attains eminence in wealth, power, or fame, it seems natural, it is rather expected, that he should become sordid, grasping, callous to human sympathy, indifferent to noble sentiment, the slave of avarice and ambition. Greed constitutes no small part of grandeur.

Northward from the Mexican capital were limitless lands; Cortés could not tell how much there might be to the west; hence one would think he might well leave to his countrymen in the south something for their pains; that he might even give his captains independent governments without diminution of his manliness.

But insignificant to Cortés as was this Honduras country, and petty as were the bickerings of its occupants, they were nevertheless objects of solicitude to the great chief. No sooner had Casas left the Chalchiuhcuecan shore, than Cortés began to doubt the wisdom of his course in sending one servant after

another. The more he reflected on the popularity of Olid and the number of his men, the comparatively untried ability of his opponent, and the reputed wealth of the country, the more he feared for the result, and wished to be present there in person.[1] Not to mention the itching palm for power, this desire was increased by the petty espionage to which the imperial officers subjected his every movement. He longed to roam with kindred spirits in the wilds of the south, wherein native tradition located stately cities and treasure-filled palaces. He longed to meet a worthy foe. As he nursed the dream, the glow increased within him at the prospect of penetrating unknown regions, overcoming toil and danger, and discovering something new, something startling; perchance he might find the long-sought strait.

A hint in this direction was sufficient to rouse the anxiety of friends and enemies alike. He was the guiding spirit of all undertakings, and the protecting shield. All would return to chaos were he to withdraw; and the still wavering natives who respected and feared Malinche, as Cortés was called by the Mexicans, above any host of soldiers, might rise and overwhelm them.

So urgent and general were the representations to this effect that he yielded, or pretended to yield.[2] But the spirit of the Castilian explorer once aroused could not be repressed. He felt that he had been too long idle, so he wrote his sovereign, and must do

[1] Herrera assumes stronger reasons, the arrival of the supply vessel sent after Casas with the report that the latter could not have escaped the storm which drove her back to Mexico, and the rumored victory of Olid over both his opponents. But it is pretty certain that Cortés heard nothing of the latter affair, at least while he was in Mexico, dec. iii. lib. v. cap. xiii.

[2] The safety of Mexico was above other considerations; the road to Honduras was unknown and full of danger; the emperor would punish Olid. Such were the arguments used. Cortés replied that unless prompt chastisement was inflicted others would follow the example, and disorder must follow, with loss to himself of respect and territory. The crown officials demanded in the emperor's name that he should remain. *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 245. Cortés yielded, and wrote to the emperor that he had intended to march through Guatemala but would remain, especially since he expected news from Honduras within two months. *Carta*, Oct. 15, 1524 A few days later he began his march.

something in the service of his Majesty.[3] Preparations were accordingly resumed under pretence that a disaffection in the Goazacoalco region required his personal attention.

He set out from Mexico in the latter part of October, 1524,[4] leaving the government in charge of men whose flattery had blinded him to their insidious designs. The party consisted of about one hundred horsemen, half of them with extra animals, some forty archers and arquebusiers, and three thousand native warriors and servants,[5] the latter chiefly under the leadership of the three deposed sovereigns, Quauhtemotzin the last emperor of Mexico, Tetlepanquetzal king of Tlacopan, and Cohuanococh king of Tezcuco, and five or six captive caciques, whom it was regarded unsafe to leave behind.[6]

Among the leading officers in the train were the alguacil mayor, Sandoval, Ocampo, Ircio, Saavedra, Grado, and a number who acted as household officials and gentlemen in waiting to the leader. There were also a retinue of pages, youths of good family, among them young Montejo, later conqueror of Yucatan, and a number of musicians, jugglers, tumblers, and

[3] *Cartas*, Sept. 3, 1526, 395–6.

[4] In the letter from Honduras he says October 12, but this very generally accepted date must be a misprint, since in one of the two letters dated at Mexico within the following three days, he writes to the emperor that he would not leave. He could hardly dare to reveal that he had gone, while writing that he was still at Mexico; but he was on the way before November.

[5] 'Sacó de aquí ciento y veinte de caballo y veinte escopeteros y otros tantos ballesteros y gente de pié,' besides 4,000 to 5,000 Indians. *Carta de Albornoz*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 485. A number of Spaniards at least were added on the way to Goazacoalco, where review was held, showing, according to Bernal Diaz, upward of 250 soldiers, beside arrivals from Spain, 130 being horsemen, and 3,000 warriors from different parts of the country, beside servants of caciques. *Hist. Verdad.*, 195–7. This agrees with Gomara's 150 cavalry, 150 infantry, 3,000 warriors, and a number of servant-women. *Hist. Mex.*, 251. Cortés, at this same review, mentions only 93 horsemen with 150 horses, and 30 and odd foot-soldiers. *Cartas*, 398.

[6] Prescott, whose account of this famous expedition and its connecting incidents, indicates both a want of authorities and an imperfect study, mentions only the sovereigns of Mexico and Tlacopan. Helps follows him. But Gomara names also the king of Tezcuco, besides a number of caciques, and gives their tragic fate, as does Ixtlilxochitl with greater detail. *Horribles Crueldades*, 79.

clowns.[7] Cortés had a natural bent for pomp, the pomp that gracefully adorns the truly great. The church was represented by a clergyman and three friars; chief among interpreters was Marina, the Mexican maiden, whose clear head and devoted heart had more than once saved the Castilian invaders, and preserved their leader to her love.

The march was directed to Espíritu Santo, the place of review, not far above the mouth of the Goazacoalco. On the way the party was made the object of a series of demonstrations, and the settlers of Goazacoalco, including the 'true historian,' Bernal Diaz, came forth in procession, with fireworks and masquerade, to conduct the mighty conqueror under triumphal arches and amid salvos to his quarters. The joy was mingled with misgivings, however, for the small force and still smaller equipment awakened a fear that a levy might be made. This proved only too true, and while some joined of their own will, dazzled by the lustre of the leader's name, others, happy with a repartimiento of Indians, who existed only to attend their wants, were not so quick to fall into line.[8] The chiefs of the neighborhood were summoned to give information, and showed a surprising acquaintance with the country as far south even as the domain of Pedrarias. They also prepared a map on cloth, depicting minutely the different rivers, mountains, and pueblos on the route to Nito,[9] some of them ravaged by Spaniards, and now deserted. The manuscript representation of this vast region, filled with great cities and rich provinces, determined Cortés to advance toward Honduras direct, and aban-

[7] Bernal Diaz names a number of the officers and staff servants, as Carranza, mayordomo; Iasso, maestresala, or chief butler; Salazar, chamberlain; Licenciado Pero Lopeza, doctor, a vintner, a pantler, a butler, etc.; 2 pages with lances, 8 grooms, and 2 falconers; 5 musicians, etc.

[8] Bernal Diaz relieves his feelings in a loud grumble, which softens as he recalls the consolation to his pride in being given for a time a petty command. *Hist. Verdad.*, 197.

[9] 'Y aun hasta Nicaragua....y hasta dõde residia Pedrarias.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 250.

don the idea once entertained of going through Guatemala.[10] Both the map and the imagination failed, however, adequately to picture the vast morasses and miry sloughs alternating with and bordering the countless rivers which served for highways to the natives. The lithe, unencumbered Indian could not clearly grasp the difficulties herein presented to the heavy cavalry, for in his light canoe he could speed along the mighty streams, pass up the tributary branches, and penetrate far and wide by means of the more shallow creeks into the primeval forests.

After a week's stay the expedition advanced. Tumbler and fiddler led in the van a merry dance, perhaps to death; in the rear was a herd of swine, kept at a safe distance, however, lest its presence should too greatly tempt the appetite of the hungry soldiers. The artillery of four guns, a quantity of small arms, ammunition, and stores were sent by a vessel to Rio Tabasco, to be followed by two small caravels from Medellin laden with provisions. From this point it was intended to let one of them follow the coast, west of Yucatan, still regarded as an island, so as to be able to furnish supplies when called upon by the land force which also expected to follow the shore. The rainy season was not yet over, and the very brooks had swollen into rushing rivers. Two streams, nine and eighteen leagues respectively from Espíritu Santo, had to be crossed in canoes, the horses swimming,[11] and beyond flowed a still wider watercourse which required a bridge of nine hundred and thirty-four paces in length. The difficulties of the march may be understood from the statement that while traversing Copilco province, fully fifty bridges had to be constructed within a distance of twenty leagues.[12] It

[10] See *Cortés, Cartas*, 337, 397.

[11] The pueblos at the crossing-places are called respectively Tonalan and Agualulco, written in different forms even by the same authority.

[12] Cortés calls the province Çupilcon, 35 leagues from Espíritu Santo, a figure which may be correct by the line of march. It was 20 leagues in length, and its extreme eastern pueblo was Anaxuxuca.

was a rich department with half a score of head pueblos, and having an abundance of provisions they were ordered to send tribute in kind to Espíritu Santo. After crossing a steep range a wide tributary of Rio Tabasco was reached,[13] where the troops were cheered by the arrival of a score of canoes laden with provisions from one of the vessels. Natives of the province also appeared in obedience to a summons, and assisted in crossing the river and in opening a path along the thickly wooded bank to the capital of Cihuatlan[14] province, twelve leagues up the river. As they approached it the guides and sappers suddenly disappeared in the close-knit jungle. A few steps further the path opened at the junction of a tributary river, and on the several banks was disclosed a large pueblo, silent as the grave; but the smoke yet curling from the ruins showed that it had only recently been abandoned. In the nearest suburb, which contained some two hundred houses, they remained for nearly three weeks. Meanwhile a bridge of three hundred paces was built across a marsh, and expeditions were sent out in vain search for reliable guides, and to explore the neighborhood.[15]

The next objective point was Chilapan, capital of a province bearing the same name; this they also found burned and deserted, but well provided with food. The crossing of the river here, which detained the army for over a week, was effected on rafts, but despite the care taken the rushing torrent played havoc with the baggage. Beyond this lay a marshy tract only six leagues in extent, but so troublesome as to detain them two days. The horses suffered severely, sinking many times up to the ears, as Cortés expresses it, and endangering the safety of the men in their struggles, so much so that three

[13] Guezalapa, or Quetzatlapan.
[14] Zagoatan, Zagutan, etc.
[15] Ocumba was one of the pueblos discovered up the river.

Spaniards were lost, beside a number of Indians.[16] After a week's rest at the ruined yet well-stocked Tamacaztepec, they made another marshy journey of three days before reaching Iztapan, a fine large pueblo on the banks of the Usumacinta, burned and deserted like the preceding. The Cihuatlatecs had, it seems, in their wild scamper spread the most blood-curdling stories of the fierceness and cruelty of the Spaniards. The timidity of the natives was proving inconvenient, and guides were sent out to assure the inhabitants of the peaceful intent of the invaders. The caciques were encouraged to tender submission in person, and were rewarded with presents, accompanied by a grandiloquent discourse about "the greatest prince on earth," and the mission he had given Cortés to remedy evils, bestow benefits, and point the way to salvation.[17]

A week's rest was taken, during which half a dozen Spaniards were sent up the river in canoes to receive the submission of chiefs, not to mention the accompanying presents that were to indicate the wealth of the district. Three soldiers were also sent down the stream, to Tabasco, with orders for the fleet to sail to Ascension Bay,[18] after sending boats with provisions and stores to Acalan. It was to follow the shore so as to be near the army, if possible, for "it is believed," writes Cortés, "though not for certain, that the natives pass through the Bay of Términos to the other sea, leaving Yucatan an island." One of the three soldiers bearing the instructions was Francisco de Medina, an ill-tempered, violent, but able man,

[16] 'Estuvieron muy cerca de se ahogar dos ó tres españoles,' is the prudent form in which Cortés disguises this and other unpleasant facts to the emperor. *Cartas*, 404.

[17] An anthropophagous Mexican was here burned alive, as a warning against such indulgences; and a letter was given to the leading cacique to inform other Spaniards that he was a friend to the white man. *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 252; *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. vii. cap. viii.

[18] Ascension is the name applied by Cortés to the Gulf of Honduras. While on the way to the capital of Acalan, a messenger came up with letters from Mexico, not of very late date, however, and he was sent back from Izancanac. *Cortés, Cartas*, 421–2.

with some knowledge of the country and the language, who had managed to ingratiate himself with his chief so far as to be commissioned to share the command of the fleet with the actual captain, Simon de Cuenca, one of Cortés' mayordomos. On reaching the vessels at Xicalanco he assumed an overbearing manner, and quarrelled with Cuenca about the command till it came to blows. Perceiving the state of affairs the natives watched their opportunity, attacked and killed the crew, pillaged the vessels, and burned them to remove the evidence. The news spread until it reached the capital, although in a distorted form, which gave the impression that Cortés and all his force had perished. The anxiety became so great that Ordaz, one of the favorite officers of Cortés, set out among others to ascertain the truth of the report. Following the coast by water, he reached the scene of the slaughter, and received such evidence as to lead him to declare that the great leader must indeed be dead. Obsequies in his honor were accordingly held at Mexico, after which but a trusting few entertained hopes of ever seeing him again.[19]

Proceeding to Tatahuitlapan Cortés found the place partly burned, and deserted by all save a score of native priests, who inspired by duty had resolved to stay and die with the idols as ordained by the oracle. To show their impotence the images were destroyed, while the keepers were exhorted to devote themselves to the veneration of the cross, to whose merciful inspi-

[19] The fate of the crew and vessels appears to have been mixed up with the invented narrative of the general disaster, and it was not till after Cortés' return to Mexico, two years later, that inquiries were made which revealed their fate. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 196, 210. Albornoz, one of the rulers appointed by Cortés over Mexico, relates in a letter to the emperor, dated 15 December, 1525, that according to reports from Xicalanco traders to Ordaz, the party of Cortés had been killed seven to eight moons before, in an island city, seven suns distant from Xicalanco, called Cuzamelco. They had been surprised by night and slaughtered with sword and fire. A number of captives had been reserved for the table, but the flesh being found bitter of taste it had been cast into the lake. *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 485–6.

ration they owed their safety. It was a sacred duty with Cortés to erect the Christian emblem in all pueblos and camping-places, and where ceiba-trees grew they were fashioned into crosses which, blooming anew, stood as living symbols of the saving faith. On the crosses were fastened notices of the expedition. In this region exists to-day a village called Las Tres Cruces, from three crosses said to have been left by Cortés. The place is barely thirty miles from the famous ruins of Palenque, yet no allusion is made by the conquerors to the stupendous structures, the matchless palaces, and the curious sculptures there existing. Once the object of admiration and worship to countless pilgrims from far-off districts, the city now lay wrapped within the secure folds of dense forests, and only tradition spoke of her past glories. Perhaps it was well for the fortune-hunters, at least, that vegetation had obliterated the highways which in times past must have led to the shrine of the 'tree of life' from the malarious lowlands of the Usumacinta region, for a sight of such grandeur might have awakened hopes never to be realized, and prompted expeditions ending only in disaster.

They now struck across to Huetecpan,[20] higher up the river, and, after wading through a slough, plunged into a forest whose close growth shut out the very light of heaven.[21] Here they groped for two days along the sappers' path, till they found themselves back on the route already traversed. Pressed by the troubled leaders the guides cried out that they were lost. This admission was not without danger, for the provisions were exhausted, and the men filled with gloomy forebodings, which found vent with many in curses on their leader for having brought them to such a pass. They demanded that the swine be slaughtered, but the mayordomo, who had prudently

[20] Zaguatapan, Huatipan, etc.

[21] 'Y los arboles tan altos que no se podia subir en ellos, para atalayar la tierra.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 253.

let the drove fall behind, intimated that the alligators had eaten them. They must be content with the scanty sustenance of roots and berries. Meanwhile Cortés had recourse to his maps and compass, and determined on a north-east course as the most likely to lead to his destination. This calculation proved correct, and although the place was in ruins, there was enough of food to bury gloom in feasting. Soldiers being sent in search of guides, found a little beyond the river a lake where the inhabitants had taken refuge in canoes and on islands. Finding themselves discovered the natives came fearlessly forth, stating that the Spanish boat expedition from Iztapan had reassured them, so much so that a brother of the cacique had joined the party with four armed canoes for convoy. The boats being recalled, brought evidence of the submission tendered by four or five pueblos in a cargo of honey and other delicacies, with a little gold. Similar contributions flowed from different pueblos whose inhabitants came to gaze at the bearded men.[22]

Explorers were sent forward as on previous occasions, to report on the road, but finding it comparatively easy for some distance they neglected to examine the remainder,[23] and misled the army as to the nature of the route. Beyond lay a large province bounded by the Laguna de Términos, the broad Usumacinta, and the ranges of Vera Paz, a low-lying country abounding in morasses, miasmatic inlets, and winding rivers tributary to the Términos. The fertility of this naturally irrigated tract, not inaptly known as Acalan, 'land of boats,' was evident in the rank growth of the vegetation, and the great variety of products. No roads existed, but

[22] Cortés names Uzumazintlan, below, and Petenecque, six leagues above, with three other pueblos beyond. *Cartas*, 412. Cortés gave presents in return, and made so forcible an appeal in behalf of his creed, that many returned to burn their idols. *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 254. Bernal Diaz states that four foragers were killed on this river. *Hist. Verdad.*, 198.

[23] The natives reported two rivers, one very large, and bad marshes, on the three days' road to Acalan. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 198.

the numerous streams provided a series of highways which the enterprising natives had not failed to utilize in carrying their surplus products to arid and less rich provinces, especially to the north-east and south, and in bringing back slaves and compact treasures. It was quite natural for a people engaged in traffic to choose as ruler the richest trader, and such a one was the present, Apochpalon[24] by name. To him were sent a number of Spaniards and Indians[25] with a reassuring message and an invitation to meet Cortés.

After a three days' march over a rough mountain track, the army suddenly found the path obstructed by a deep channel five hundred paces wide, with slimy borders. The passage was shown to be practicable only by means of a bridge which required patient labor, since the depth of water and mud proved to be fully six fathoms. Great was the dismay, for there were hardly any provisions left, and to recross the mountain was a formidable task under the circumstances. The murmurs of the worn-out soldiers were loud enough at the first sight of the obstruction, and when Cortés with his usual audacity gave orders to build a bridge, they rose almost into mutiny. The leader had been in worse troubles however. He knew every trait of a Spanish soldier's character, and he was versed in blandishments. He showed the futility of retreat, since apart from the mountain road, so long and severe, freshets must by this time have washed away the means of recrossing rivers, and no provisions were left in the deserted pueblos. Before them, on the other hand, lay a land of plenty, seamed with gold. He would guarantee the completion of the bridge within five days, or, this failing, he would follow their wishes. Wily Cortés! Could he induce them to begin the work, he would trust his wits to secure its completion. But the men

[24] Apoxpalon, Apaspolon, etc.
[25] Bernal Diaz states that he and Mejía led the party.

remained sullen. They would die of hunger before the bridge was finished. Hibueras would never be reached. "Very well," said Cortés, "be spectators, I will build the bridge with the aid of Indians alone." Brief persuasion was needed with the latter, for the chiefs were in the tyrant's hands, and their word was law to their followers. Timber was felled, and with the aid of rafts the piling began. Shamed by this measure the Spaniards joined in the work, and to cheer them the solitary musician who had not fainted beneath the hardships of the march was ordered to play some cheering airs. But the men cried, "Peace! we want bread, not music." The gnawings of hunger could not be appeased with empty sound.

While some thus worked diligently on the bridge, others went in search of roots and berries, but with poor success. Overcome by famine and fatigue numbers lay down to die, while, to add to the catalogue of horrors, several of the Indian guides were seized by native auxiliaries and cooked. Among the victims to the adventure thus far, says Torquemada, was Fray Juan de Tecto, who, exhausted by hunger, leaned his head against a tree and surrendered his spirit.[26]

Before the expiration of a week the bridge was completed, a painful work indeed for fainting men, ill-furnished with the means, to perform within so short a time. It was composed, says Cortés, of a thousand trees, nine to ten fathoms long, the smallest almost as thick as a man, besides a quantity of small timber, secured with wooden pegs and withes. For years this and several other 'bridges of Malinche' remained a source of utility and wonder to the natives, who declared that nothing was impossible to the white man.[27] Hunger and toil were for the moment forgotten in congratulations over the completion of

[26] He was one of three Flemish monks who formed the first special mission of friars to New Spain, arriving a year before the famous twelve. *Torquemada*, iii. 424–5. His proper name was De Toit.

[27] 'Algunas oy permanezen (1701), y se llaman las Puentes de Cortés.' *Villagutierre, Hist. Conq. Itza*, 40.

the structure, but their joy was of short duration. Hardly had the rear of the army crossed the bridge when the van came to a slough which surpassed in difficulties any yet encountered. The horses sank almost out of sight, and it was only by the united efforts of the army that the beasts, on which their success so greatly depended, were finally extricated. This trouble over they were cheered by the arrival of Bernal Diaz, who had been absent foraging. It was not always that he returned so well laden, for now he had one hundred and thirty loads of maize and a quantity of fowl and other provisions. Sometimes he could find nothing; sometimes what he found he hid, lest with the starving army he himself should starve. He was sure it would be snatched from his hands the moment he entered camp; and so it was on the present occasion; the soldiers pounced upon and devoured it like famished wolves. During the scramble were seized also the stores intended for the officers, so that the general himself could not obtain a crumb. Fortunately Bernal Diaz had with his usual foresight placed in cache a portion of these very provisions, and suspecting this Cortés so petted and praised the old soldier[28] that he had no longer the heart to withhold the food.

With Bernal Diaz came also messengers from the cacique bringing presents, including a little gold, and offering the hospitality of his realm. The following day Tizapetlan was reached, where food had been prepared. There the expedition remained a week. The attentive natives were awed no less by the number of the invaders than by their strange appearance. The horses were a perpetual source of wonder, and offerings of roses were made to allay the anger dis-

[28] Bernal Diaz relates at length, with swelling pride, how the great leader humbled himself to him. *Hist. Verdad.*, 199. Sandoval dared not trust his own attendants with a secret whereon depended his supper, but went in person with Diaz to convoy it. The friars received liberal contributions from the men, but the Indians were neglected, says Ixtlilxochitl, the kings and caciques alone being given as a favor a little of the maize set aside for the horses. *Horribles Crueldades*, 87.

played by their fierce pawing. The merchant-chief had thought it prudent to be obsequious to men so formidable; but, when he saw how food disappeared before them, and how greedily every valuable was appropriated, he trembled with apprehension. If they were content to stay and feast for a week in one of his miserable border towns, how long might they not tarry in the central cities of the richer districts? To rid the province of the cormorants, the cacique pretended to have died, directing his son to lead them quickly in upon the lands of a neighbor. After the funeral rites and interchange of presents, the young man addressed the Spaniards. "You would reach the settlements of your countrymen in Honduras. They are quite near; hardly eight days distant is Nito, where are floating houses, and bearded men on giant deer."

This he could affirm, for there was an Acalan factory, and at its head Apochpalon's own brother, who had told him of these things. This news was more to the cacique's purpose than any artifice, and eagerly the expedition hurried to Teotilac,[29] five or six leagues off, guided thither by the dutiful young chief over a circuitous route.[30]

The ruler of Teotilac was by no means pleased to find thrown upon him this hungry host; and he revealed to Cortés the trickery of Apochpalon. Thereupon Cortés ordered the dead man immediately to appear. Two days later, accordingly, the sovereign-cacique arrived, looking most sheepish. He proffered innumerable excuses, and tendered as amends the hospitality of the capital. The offer was too tempting not to procure his forgiveness.

[29] Cortés writes Teutiercas, Tentacras; Gomara, Teuticaccac; Herrera, Titacat.

[30] Bernal Diaz's rather confused account states that Cortés demanded bridges to be built, but was told that the caciques of the different pueblos had first to be consulted. Supplies being needed, Mazariegos was sent with 80 men in canoes to different settlements to obtain supplies, and found ready response. The next pueblo reached by the army was deserted and without food. *Hist. Verdad.*, 200. The above seems doubtful.

One of the two temples serving for army headquarters at Teotilac was occupied by a goddess, whose fierce passions could be appeased only with the blood of beautiful virgins. To insure the genuineness of the vestal offering, so that a mistake might not render it fruitless, girls were selected in infancy and brought up in strictest seclusion within the temple walls, till came the time for yielding their fair forms to the sacrifice. Cortés sought to impress on the people the absurdity of so atrocious a superstition, and destroyed the idol.

This place is remarkable for one incident which concerned the safety of the Spaniards, according to their account, and left an indelible impression on the natives of New Spain. Among those who followed the expedition as hostages, as we have seen, were three deposed kings, two of whom were now accused of treachery, Quauhtemotzin, and Tetlepanquetzal. These patriots were criminal in the eyes of the Spaniards; they had dared to regard the invaders as the enemies of their country, and bitterly to oppose them. It seemed now convenient to Cortés that they should die, and excuse was not wanting for killing them. Suffering every hardship of the march, the royal captives had found some consolation in observing how heavily it bore on their keepers, toiling, starving, discontented, blundering along an unknown and dangerous route. But this was not their only feeling. Quauhtemotzin, the sovereign, the general, the tactician, could not fail to observe the disparity between his followers and the hated white men. The latter were reduced in strength by famine and hardships, in the midst of a strange country, far from relief, while the Mexicans, if also weakened, and not so well armed, were tenfold more numerous, and more at home in these wilds. Inspired by a deeply rooted devotion to their traditions, to their princes, to their country, the merest whisper of revenge, of

freedom, could not fail to find response. Yes, sweet was the thought of revenge; equally sweet the prospect of a triumphal return to Mexico, there to be greeted as a liberator ordained to restore the ancient grandeur of Montezuma's court; finally, perhaps, to be exalted by a grateful people to the pantheon of the gods, a dream so worthy the soldier and patriot, how oft may it not have smiled upon his fancy! What more natural, what more commendable indeed, than projects for the liberation not alone of the auxiliary host, but of their country and kindred? Treachery had been used to reduce them, and treachery must be met with treachery. This was justifiable, although the Indians probably weighed not the moral aspect of the question. As for the risk, one blow, one death, was preferable to the daily death which they were suffering on this journey. Yes, they must take advantage of the opportunity presented, and while the Spaniards were engrossed by the difficulties of some mountain pass, or engulfed in some morass, fall upon them, especially upon the feared Cortés, and then, with the prestige of victors, return to Mexico, where their compatriots would meanwhile, under advice, have risen simultaneously against the now disorganized and squabbling colonists, reduced as they were in numbers.[31]

How long the plot had been brewing is not stated, but during the stay at Teotilac Cortés was startled by a revelation from a prominent Mexican,[32] who gave

[31] The plan is said to have been imparted to sympathizers in Mexico, with the recommendation to rise on a certain day against the colonists. 'Y de aqui creyeron muchos que naciò la fama de la muerte de Cortes.' *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. vii. cap. ix. For this uprising there was opportunity enough, says Gomara, during the anarchy prevalent during Cortés' absence; but the Indians were waiting further orders from Quauhtemotzin. Finally their preparations aroused the suspicions of the colonists, and they took precautions. *Hist. Mex.*, 250, 258. According to Cortés the Indians, after killing the Spaniards, were to rouse Honduras and the intermediate country ere they passed on to Mexico. All vessels were to be seized, so as to prevent alarm from being given. *Cartas*, 420.

[32] Mexicaltzin, afterward baptized as Cristóbal, to whom the conspirators, says Cortés, had promised a province for his share of the spoil. *Cartas*, 420–1. Bernal Diaz states that the revelation was made by two prominent caciques,

him a paper with the names of the conspirators in hieroglyphics. Several were seized, and under separate examination confessed to the existence of the plot, although disclaiming for themselves of course any actual participation.[33] Quauhtemotzin was also questioned, and admitted, says Bernal Diaz, that the hardships and dangers had aroused rebellious sentiments among the Indians, but claimed that he was not the author, and judging from his own feelings he regarded the whole thing as mere talk. A quick secret trial was held, and the sentence of death by hanging pronounced against Quauhtemotzin and Tetlepanquetzal,[34] who were dragged forth during the stillness of the night to a ceiba-tree, where they met their fate. Cortés was present at the execution, and to him Quauhtemotzin addressed himself, writes Bernal Diaz. "Malinche, many a day have I suspected the falsity of thy words, and that thou hadst destined this end to my life. Why dost thou kill me without

Tapia and Juan Velazquez, the latter captain-general under Quauhtemotzin when he was ruler. *Hist. Verdad.*, 200. According to Ixtlilxochitl, the Indians were imitating the Spaniards in the festivities which precede Lent, but in such a manner as to arouse the suspicion of Cortés. One cause for the enjoyment was a statement by Cortés that here they would turn back to Mexico. The general called his spy Costemexi, of Ixtapalapan or Mexicaltzinco, and bade him ascertain what was going on. He soon returned to report that the three kings and six courtiers had been engaged in a humorous dispute as to which of the trio the now conquered provinces should belong to. Tlacatecatl, one of the chief lords, thereupon observed that if discord had brought about the fall of the native empire, they had gained instead the supreme happiness of instruction in the true faith. After this came tales and songs. When tortured some years after by Prince Ixtlilxochitl, the spy insisted that he had represented the case only as above stated, but that Cortés chose to interpret it as a malicious plot. *Horribles Crueldades*, 90–3. This version is doubtful in its details, and for the reason that the author's chief effort is to vindicate the natives. The cause for the rejoicing at a return to Mexico from Acalan savors rather of a promise from the conspirators than from Cortés.

[33] The kings had formed it, and although they had not been parties to it, yet as subjects they naturally desired the liberty and weal of their lords. *Gomara*, *Herrera*, *Cortés*, *Bernal Diaz*. The two former implicate the three allied kings, the latter only the two of Mexico and Tlacopan.

[34] The rest being spared, since they had been guilty chiefly of listening to the plot, says Cortés; 'pero quedaron procesos abiertos para que...puedan ser castigados,' if required. The execution took place within a few days of the disclosure. *Cartas*, 421. Bernal Diaz, Herrera, and Gomara agree. The latter adds that king Cohuanacoch, of Tezcuco, who had also plotted, died some time before of bad food and water. *Hist. Mex.*, 274. Torquemada adds five caciques to the three royal victims, according to the native version. i. 576.

justice? God will demand of thee thy answer!" Tetlepanquetzal calmly expressed himself content to die with his royal companion, and together they listened to the exhortations of the friars, dying like true Christians.[35] The execution took place during the carnival days preceding shrove-tide, and appears to have created no excitement either among Indians or Spaniards.[36]

Most Spanish authorities are of course inclined to uphold the act as a necessary punishment for a proven crime. Yet certain men, like Torquemada, a champion of the natives, and modern Mexican writers, side with the Indians in stamping it as a foul murder, carried out merely to be rid of the kings whose presence was becoming a burden to the conquerors. Others, like Bernal Diaz, soften the deed into a mistake, based on insufficient evidence, and prompted by a desire to smother a conspiracy which some imaginary spirits had conjured.[37] But Cortés would hardly have removed so valuable a hostage without good reason.

[35] *Hist. Verdad.*, 200.

[36] 'Por carnestollendas....en Izancanac.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 258–9. On February 26, 1525, specifies Vetancurt; on a Tuesday, three hours before dawn, adds Ixtlilxochitl, who also declares that the native songs and versions place it at Teotilac, and it certainly appears to have been carried out before the capital was reached. The Mexicans were so oppressed by hardships, says Bernal Diaz, that they seemed to be quite indifferent; still, the Spaniards hastened the departure for fear of an uprising. He places the occurrence at a pueblo beyond Acalan. Ixtlilxochitl tells another story. The kings were brought out three hours before dawn for fear of a tumult. The two of Mexico and Tlacopan had already been hanged, and Cohuanacoch was about to be, when his brother, Ixtlilxochitl, being advised, rushed forth and called upon the Indians. Perceiving the danger, Cortés cut the rope and saved the half-strangled king of Tezcuco. He thereupon proceeded to explain to Ixtlilxochitl the just reasons which had brought about the execution. The prince appeared convinced, and dismissed the auxiliaries, who stood ready to fall upon the Spaniards. The chief motive, however, for sparing them, was not the justice of the deed, for he regarded it ever as a treacherous one, but the fear of wars that might result from a revolt and carry desolation over his country, checking the progress of the saving faith. Cohuanacoch, whom Cortés accused as the chief conspirator, was carried with the army in a hammock, suffering severely from the wrenching of the noose. His grief brought about an intestinal hemorrhage, from which he died within a few days. *Horribles Crueldades*, 93–4.

[37] 'Y sin auer mas prouaças, Cortes mandò ahorcar al Guatemuz, y al señor de Tacuba....Y fue esta muerte que les dieron muy injustamente dada, y pareciò mal a todos los que ibamos aquella jornada.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 200. But his account of all this expedition is questionable, and his testimony loses force through the evident fact that he is carried away by sympathy for the kings, who had often favored him, and for the natives to whom his later con-

The reason being admitted, and this to some extent even by native records, the precarious situation of the Spaniards demanded that Cortés should take measures commensurate with the apparent danger.[38]

dition in life bound him rather closely. He certainly admits the strong accusation and the confirmatory admission of the victims, the king of Tlacopan stating, for instance, that he and Quauhtemotzin had declared one death preferable to the daily deaths suffered. Torquemada adopts the version of a Tezcucan manuscript, which relates that Cohuanacoch on one occasion remarked to his royal confrères that, if they chose to be disloyal, the Spaniards might have to regret past injuries. Quauhtemotzin hastened to silence him by observing that walls had ears, which might misunderstand such expressions. A plebeian native reported them, and that very night those who had been present at the conversation, three kings and five caciques, were found hanging from a ceiba-tree. Torquemada will not believe that the Indians intended to revolt, especially since their country was now divided, but that Cortés regarded the kings as a burden, i. 575–6. Cavo, *Tres Siglos*, i. 46–8, agrees, and Gomara even intimates something to this effect in saying that Cortés ought to have preserved so prominent and brave a captive to point the triumph of his victories, but that the dangerous circumstances must have prevented him. *Hist. Mex.*, 259. 'Es notorio, que Quauhtemoc y los demás señores murieron sin culpa, y que les levantaron falso testimonio.' Indeed, continues Ixtlilxochitl, when the Indians complained to the kings of maltreatment, they counselled submission. But his story is so full of glaring misstatements and absurdities, and so evident is the desire to relieve his kinsmen from the traitor's brand, that he cannot be relied on. *Horribles Crueldades*, 82, etc.; *Id.*, *Relaciones*, *Kingsborough's Mex. Antiq.*, ix. 440, etc. Brasseur de Bourbourg follows him implicitly of course, as he does almost any record from native source. There was no witness except the spy, and the princes were not allowed to defend themselves. *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 608. He evidently pays no attention whatever to the Spanish versions. Bustamante accepts even more implicitly the records of those whom he prefers to regard as his ancestors. See his edition of Gomara, *Chimalpain*, *Hist. Conq.*, ii. 135–6. Cano, who married the cousin and widow of Quauhtemotzin, calls the execution of the three kings a murder, as may be expected from his dislike of Cortés. *Oviedo*, iii. 549. Carried away by hyperbolic flights of fancy, wherein he surpasses even Solis himself, Salazar condemns the deed as based on false testimony, and blames Cortés for irritating the natives by resorting to so rash a measure. *Conq. Mex.*, 240–3. Father Duran emphasizes this with well-known sympathy for the native cause. 'Y levantándose contra él algunos testigos falsos le mandó á horcar.' *Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 522. On imperfect evidence and without a trial, says *Robertson*, *Hist. Am.*, ii. 138. Prescott sympathizes with Quauhtemotzin and regards the testimony as insufficient, while Helps, *Cortés*, 208–9, doubts the statements of Bernal Diaz, and refers to the act as cruel practical wisdom. The chief ground for this view is that Cortés, as an hidalgo, would not lie, and can therefore be relied upon. It has not been my fortune to acquire such faith, and I fancy that a closer study of his hero might have changed Sir Arthur Helps' views. Alaman, a Mexican with Spanish sympathies, believes in the conspiracy, but regards the execution as a blot on Cortés. Quauhtemotzin, at least, should have been sent to Spain after the fall of Mexico. *Disert.*, i. 214. This certainly would have been the best way to secure and make use of him. Pizarro y Orellana, *Varones Ilvstres*, 114–16, regards the evidence as clear and the execution as just; so does Revilla, although his reasons are not the best. *Solis*, *Conq. Mex.* (ed. 1843), 508.

[38] It is not improbable that suspicions as to the thoughts and acts of the kings may have created a prejudice against them, but the suspicions existed already before they left Mexico, as proved by their being taken not only as

Many of the natives, particularly those now encountering the Spaniards for the first time, regarded the discovery of the conspiracy with superstitious awe. The idea of treachery by an accomplice did not seem to so occur to them, but with mysterious shaking of the head they pointed to the compass and chart. Instruments which had so unaccountably, and better than any guide, pointed out the road and saved the army from destruction, could of course reveal a simple conspiracy. Nothing could be hidden from the owner of that needle. Conscious, perhaps, of some stray unfriendly thought, many hastened to Cortés to protest their devotion. "Look into the mirror, and you will find it so," they said, alluding to the compass, yet quaking the while lest a suspicion should there

hostages for the loyalty of their subjects, but as a precaution against their own possible disloyalty. Quauhtemotzin was evidently not the most submissive of men, for he had always been regarded as requiring a close watch, and Cortés brought him chiefly because of his 'bullicioso' character, as he expresses it. It may not be considered unpardonable for the Indian auxiliaries to relieve their feelings in mutinous expressions against the taskmasters and despoilers who were taking them away from home to meet an unknown fate, to endure toil, hunger, and danger. But such sentiments could not be overlooked in the kings. They, as captured leaders, existed only by sufferance, the condition being good behavior. For them even to listen was to encourage, and they were consequently guilty. Not that I blame them. Nay, I would rather blame them for not being more prompt and determined in the patriotic effort. But in resolving to listen, and to act, no doubt, they accepted a risk with a penalty well defined among all peoples. Cortés was not the man to hesitate at almost any deed when private or public interests demanded it; and it needed but little to rouse to blind fury the slumbering suspicions of the soldiers regarding Mexican loyalty. But here we have evidence—not groundless even from a native point of view—to justify the Spaniards in assuming that a conspiracy, or, at least, mutinous talk, was wide-spread, and this among a horde tenfold superior in number; a horde known ever to have cherished unfriendly feelings, and now doubly embittered by suffering. Under the circumstances even saints would not have disregarded testimony however doubtful; and the Castilians were but human. Self-preservation, ay, duty to king, and country, and God, whose several interests they were defending, demanded the prompt suppression of so ominous a danger. What were the best measures? A long campaign in Mexico had impressed Cortés with the belief that a people so trained to abject subservience as the Aztecs, and so bloody in their worship, could be controlled by severity alone, and that the lesson must fall on the leaders. Situated as they were the soldiers could not be expected to guard a large number of captives. Hence no course remained, except capital punishment. According to Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 201, Cortés' distress of mind at the sufferings of the expedition was so increased by this deed that he became sleepless, and, in wandering around one night in a temple forming the camp, he fell from a platform a distance of ten feet, hurting his head severely.

stand depicted. Apochpalon was so affected that he hastened to tender allegiance and to burn idols. So convenient a belief was not to be disturbed, and the natives were allowed to nurse it.

The army now proceeded to Izancanac,[39] the populous capital of Acalan, conducted by Apochpalon in person. He was mounted on a horse, and the first apprehensions over, he strode his steed with childish delight. The soldiers were treated with sumptuous hospitality, and Cortés was gratified with presents of gold and women. Meanwhile, to facilitate the further march, the road was improved, a bridge built, and guides were provided, besides an advance corps laden with provisions. In return for all this Apochpalon asked merely for a letter to prove to other white comers that he had been faithful.

There was every inducement to prolong the stay at Izancanac, served and feasted as they were, but the nearness of the Spanish settlements, as alluringly depicted by the calculating Apochpalon, was an incentive for all to proceed. Laden with rations for a week, they departed on the first Sunday in Lent from the fair province of Acalan, over which, the protective letter notwithstanding, the withering influence of Spaniards was soon to fall. On the third day they entered the prairie-studded province of the Mazatecs,[40] so called from the abundance of deer. These animals were here regarded with veneration, and the consequent immunity from pursuit had made them not only numerous, but tame. The soldiers, being restrained by no scruples of native superstition, could not resist the temptation of a chase over the verdure-clad fields, and soon a score of deer were added to the larder. The following day they came to a frontier fortress, built on a rock, and bounded on

[39] On a watercourse falling into Términos. *Cortés, Cartas*, 419.

[40] 'Pueblos, ò Tierras de Venados.' *Villagutierre, Hist. Conq. Itza*, 43. 'Provincia de Maçatlan, que en su lengua dellos se llama Quiacho.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 422.

one side by a lake, on the other by a river, and with only one means of access. Besides this natural strength it was protected by a double stockade with moats, surmounted by towers, and the houses were also provided with shot-holes. The place was in fact impregnable, and every precaution was taken to meet the resistance for which the attack of some lately captured scouts had prepared them. Cautiously they advanced toward the entrance. Not a sound, not a movement. An ambuscade must have been formed, since no gate barred the entry. But within reigned silence, and it was only on reaching the plaza that some chiefs appeared with humble obeisance. This was one of the asylums erected by the Mazatecs for refuge against the wild Lacandones. But what availed walls and arms against the irresistible bearded men who controlled the lightning. Them the inhabitants dared not resist. They had fled to mountain fastnesses, leaving their wealth of provisions and arms at the disposal of the invaders, with the sole request that the place be not destroyed. The chiefs were reassured, and after replenishing their stores the Spaniards proceeded for seven leagues to a larger and similar pueblo called Tiac, situated on a plain, within a stockade, each of its three wards being provided with separate palisades. The caciques of this and several other pueblos of the province, each independent and quarrelsome, sent messengers with presents and offers of allegiance, but could not be prevailed upon to come in person with their people. The guides here ob tained gave the cheering information that the white men were not far off, and conducted them to Ahuncahuitl, the last pueblo of this province, also fortified, and amply provisioned, so much so that rations were taken for the five days' march which intervened before reaching the province of the Itzas.[41]

Four nights were spent in the mountains, in which

[41] Called by Cortés Táica, Tahica, and Taiça, the latter not incorrect perhaps, although Atitza or Tayasal may be better.

was a bad pass, called Alabastro from the appearance of the rock. They now came to a small lake with an island pueblo, from which the inhabitants fled as the soldiers waded over.[42] The following day they were surprised to behold the gleaming walls and lofty temples of a large pueblo, situated on an isle several miles from shore, in a large sheet of water, which Cortés assumed to be an arm of the sea.[43] But his ordeal was not yet over. It was the lake now known as Peten, and the pueblo was Tayasal,[44] the capital of the Itzas, which recalled in a measure to the old conquerors the first and never to be forgotten view of the famous queen city enthroned in the lake of Mexico.

The natives had taken to their canoes on the approach of the Spaniards, and heeded no signs or appeals, but with the aid of a dog a solitary boat-

[42] This is probably Lake San Pedro, from which all the fish were caught, over 1,000 in number. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 201.

[43] 'Parescia brazo de mar, y aun así creo que lo es, aunque es dulce.' *Cartas*, 427.

[44] So write Bernal Diaz and Villagutierre. Pinelo, *Relacion*, 1, 2, has it Taiza or Atitza. Two leagues from shore, says Cortés, on an island known as Peten Itza, Peten signifying island. Its present name is Remedios, and on the ruins of the old pueblo has risen the town of Flores. The name of Peten lives in that of the province. A romantic account is given of the rise of this lake people. The Itzas were a branch of one of the most ancient nations of Yucatan, whose name had descended on them as followers of the hero-god Itzamná. Chichen Itza, their capital, was once a centre of power and wealth in the peninsula, but with the changing fortunes of war came disunion, and in the beginning of the 15th century the feared Itzas had dwindled into a number of petty principalities ruled by caneks. 'El Cazique à quien comunmente llaman Canek.' *Cogolludo, Hist. Yucathan*, 54. It so happened that one of these fell in love, but found an obstacle in a father, who awarded the object of his affections to a more powerful chief. The canek was not to be thus easily balked. He watched his opportunity, and on the wedding-day broke in upon the festive assembly and carried off the bride. Gathering his warriors, the disappointed rival prepared to wreak vengeance and recover the prize. The Ilium of our hero was not fitted to withstand such hosts, and he had no other alternative than flight. Nor could his subjects hope to escape desolation, and taking up the cause of their leader, they followed him southward in search of a new home, safe from the avenger. Guided by craggy ranges, the refugees came to the smiling valley of Tayasal, with its island-studded lake, bordered by verdure-clad slopes, beyond which rose the shielding forest. Here indeed was a land of promise, where, guarded by Itzamná, they might rear new generations to perpetuate the name and traditions of their race. So runs the story as related by chroniclers, although with their devout frame of mind they give preference to another account, which attributes the migration to the prophecies of their priests, foretelling the coming of a bearded race, with a new faith, to rule over the land. *Villagutierre, Hist. Conq. Itza*, 29–31; *Cogolludo, Hist. Yucathan*, 507. See also *Native Races*, ii. v., etc. The Itzas will be again spoken of in a later volume.

man was captured. A friendly message was now despatched to the canek inviting him to a conference, and offering hostages. It was not long ere six large canoes approached the shore, and some thirty persons stepped fearlessly forth. At their head came one whose commanding figure and quiet dignity announced the ruler. A flowing white robe disclosed an elaborately tattooed skin, relieved by an embroidered maxtli. The braided hair was surmounted by a head-dress of feathers, and the face, also tattooed with black lines, was further ornamented with gold pendants in nose and ears. He bade Cortés welcome, and expressed himself secure in his company without the proffered hostage.

It was the hour for mass, and with a view both to please him and to teach a pious lesson, the ceremony was held with chant and instrumental accompaniment. The faith was thereupon explained by a friar, with so good an effect that the chief promised to destroy his idols and venerate the cross till teachers should arrive to give him full instruction. As an earnest of his intention presents were produced, consisting chiefly of provisions, with a few strings of red shells highly valued by the natives, and other trinkets; and though the gold was small in quantity, yet it encouraged Cortés to give in return a shirt, a velvet cap, and some cutlery. News had reached the island city of the doings of the Europeans, not only at Naco and Nito, but in Tabasco, where the natives some years before had been conquered in three battles. Cortés hastened to assure the canek that he saw before him the hero of those famed encounters, and finding that an impression had been produced, he warmed with a description of the power and grandeur of the greatest prince on earth. The canek was not merely impressed but awed, so much so that he at once tendered allegiance.

With new guides the main body proceeded round the lake southward, while Cortés entered the canoes

with a score of archers to visit the island city. The officers sought to dissuade him from risking his person in the hands of a perhaps treacherous enemy, but the general did not wish to be surpassed in fearlessness and confidence.[45] He was greatly admired by the islanders who thronged round his mailed followers with mingled curiosity and awe. On leaving he commended to their care a black horse which had been disabled by a wound in the leg. Ignorant of the treatment required by the animal, and eager to do reverence to the strange charge, they are said to have offered it flowers and fowl, on which diet it died. The grief of the Itzas was equalled only by their fear. What would the white chief say when he returned? Nothing now remained but to do homage to the carcass. They had seen the flash of the fire-arm as the mounted hunter chased the deer on the prairie, and fancied that this as well as the report issued from the horse. What more appropriate apotheosis of a charger than into a god of thunder? As Tziminchac it was accordingly adored. The bones were kept as sacred relics while an effigy sejant of the animal, formed of masonry, attracted direct worship.[46]

The next resting-place of the army was at Tlecan, a deserted pueblo some seven leagues from Tayasal, where the Spaniards stayed for four days and provided themselves with a week's rations. Six leagues further a halt was made at a hamlet, in honor of the virgin's festival.[47] Nine leagues beyond, a rugged pass was entered in which the rough sharp stones tore from the horses feet their very shoes. The next station bore the name Ahuncapun where a two days'

[45] 'Y que veria quemar los ídolos.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 30. Which was done, adds Gomara; but this Villagutierre will not allow. Idolatry rather increased, he goes on to show. *Hist. Conq. Itza*, 50. Here three Spaniards, two Indians, and one negro deserted, tired of the constant hardship. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 202.

[46] When the conquerors entered a century later to occupy the district, they found more than a score of stone temples on the island alone, and in one of the principal ones this idol. *Villagutierre, Hist. Conq. Itza*, 100–2; *Cogolludo, Hist. Yucathan*, 55; *Native Races*, iii. 483.

[47] Nuestra Señora de Março. *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. viii. cap. i.

halt was made. Five leagues beyond lay Tachuytel, after which began an eight league ascent of the roughest mountains yet encountered, called de Pedernales, Mountain of Flints. The horses could hardly move a step without slipping, and cutting their legs and bodies most dangerously. On any other occasion the sight of suffering among the prized animals, the chief reliance of the army, would have touched the men deeply, but now they were too much absorbed by their own sufferings to think of them. Many of the soldiers were also becoming disabled, and the provisions were giving out in the midst of the mountains, which in many places offered not even a root. Days passed by in slow and toilsome advance; none could tell how much longer this long journey would last. A heavy rain added to their torment, and past sufferings were forgotten in the present. Many fell from exhaustion and hunger, or slipped from the rocks into the abyss; and so extreme was the need, says Herrera, that one confessed to having eaten of the brains and entrails of three men who had died of hunger.[48]

Cortés did his utmost to encourage the men. With pike in hand he would lead the march over the difficult parts of the road; he cheered and consoled them, and divided what he had with the sick and famished. This energy, this sympathy and generosity did wonders and animated the men to repress their murmurs. Finally, after twelve days of toil, says Cortés, the terrible flint road ended; but it had cost the lives of several men, and sixty-eight horses had fallen over the cliffs, or had been fatally disabled, while the rest did not recover from the strains and bruises for three months.[49] Now the men began to

[48] This was Medrano; 'Chirimia de la yglesia de Toledo.' The victims are named. *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. viii. cap. i. Cortés also admits that great hunger was suffered, yet the swine were only sparingly used.

[49] 'Murieron sesenta y ocho caballos despeñados y dejarretados,' etc. *Cortés, Cartas*, 433. Bernal Diaz is less clear on this incident. Gomara follows Cortés, although he says that the passage took only eight days, *Hist. Mex.*, 263, and Herrera is the only one who enters into the losses sustained in men, a number dying also of diarrhœa from palm-cabbage. *Ubi sup.*

breathe easier, but, as once before, the dawning joy was abruptly checked by a formidable obstacle. They found themselves on the banks of a wide river whose waters tore by with a rapidity that made even rafting impracticable. While the soldiers stood gazing in mute despair at the barriers behind and in front, praying for deliverance, Cortés sent out parties

to search for an outlet, and soon reports were brought of a ford. It was as a reprieve from death. Te Deum was solemnly chanted, and tough old soldiers shed tears of joy. When the nature of the passage was observed, it seemed indeed as if heaven had decreed a miracle in their behalf. The ford, two thirds of a league wide, consisted of a smooth ledge

stretching across the whole river, and intersected by over twenty channels, through which the water rushed with deafening roar. But even the channels could not be crossed without bridges, and fully two days were spent in felling timber for the twenty passages.[50]

It was Easter eve[51] when the ford was crossed by the infantry, followed by the disabled horses. Again came a check to their joy. Tenciz, the pueblo at which they now arrived, a league beyond the ford, had been evacuated, and nearly all the supplies carried off. For over ten days the men had eaten hardly anything but palm-cabbage, and very little of that, owing to the trouble in obtaining it.[52] Fortunately, some natives were found who guided a foraging party back across the river a day's journey into the Tahuytal province, where an abundance of provisions was obtained, and which furnished the army with good cheer during the five days' stay at Tenciz, and with some rations for the journey into Acuculin province.

The guides here obtained ran away, and the Spaniards had to advance with the aid of native maps alone. The route was level, and eleven leagues were easily covered in two days by crossing two rivers. This brought them to a small settlement of Acalan traders, who had been driven from Nito by the Spanish excesses, and found refuge here. Soon after the capital of the province was reached, but it was deserted and almost devoid of provisions. This was most discouraging, and to advance without guides appeared dangerous. Notwithstanding the scanty sustenance obtained from palm-cabbage, cooked with pork, and

[50] Cortés describes even these crossings as quite dangerous. The horses swam below the fall in the still water. Three days were passed ere all the horses could crawl into the camp, a league further. *Cartas*, 434.

[51] 'A 15 dias del año de 1525.' *Id.;* that is, April 15.

[52] 'Habia diez dias que no comiamos sino cuescos de palmas y palmitos.' 'Aun de aquellos palmitos sin sal no teniamos abasto, porque se cortaban con mucha dificultad de unas palmas muy gordas y altas, que en todo un dia dos hombres tenian que hacer cortar uno, y cortado, le comian en media hora.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 434, 439.

unsalted, a week was spent in searching for guides. Finally a boy was found who led them a day's journey to a river in Taniha province, evidently Rio Sarstoon. Following the stream downward for a couple of days they came to Otulizti pueblo, where the natives reported that Nito lay only two suns away. In proof of this assertion two women were brought who had served the Spaniards there. Hunger and fatigue were forgotten in the rejoicing over this news, and the men impatiently begged to be led onward.

But there was need for prudence, since nothing was known about the condition of affairs in Honduras, and the troops were not at present in a position to meet a well-equipped foe, particularly if led by the redoubtable Olid. Sandoval was accordingly sent forward with a few chosen men to reconnoitre. It was not far to the shore of the Amatique Bay, beyond which lay the object of their journey. The bay was skirted till they reached the wide stream which forms the outlet of Golfo Dulce. Here they captured a trader's canoe, and then hid themselves to see what next should happen. It was not long before a canoe approached with four white men, who were outflanked and secured. They proved to be soldiers of Gil Gonzalez stationed at Nito, to which site the old settlement at San Gil de Buenavista had been transferred.[53] On the whole the account of affairs was cheering to Sandoval, the main point being that the province was quiet, and thoroughly devoted to Cortés, although without a regular governor since the departure of Casas. A messenger was at once despatched to relieve the anxiety of the general, and the soldier to whom the commission was intrusted reaped a rich harvest from his overjoyed chief and comrades.

[53] *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 202, 204; *Juarros, Guat.*, 326. Most authors confound Nito and San Gil, and Prescott actually does so with Naco.

CHAPTER XIX.

CORTÉS IN HONDURAS.

1525–1526.

He is Master of all the Miseries there—Miasma and Deep Distress—Exertions of Cortés in Behalf of the Colonists—A Vessel Appears with Provisions—Cortés Sends out Foragers—He Seeks a better Locality—Sandoval at Naco—Others Settle at Caballos—Cortés at Trujillo—Vessels Sent to Mexico, Cuba, and Jamaica—Troubles in Mexico—Cortés Irresolute—Starts for Mexico—Is Driven back by a Storm—Pacification of adjacent Pueblos—Cortés Sends Presents to Córdoba—Shall Cortés Make himself Master of Nicaragua?—Arrival of Altamirano—Return of Cortés to Mexico.

Cicero says that a man's best adviser is himself. A wise man can find no better counsellor than his own cool, impartial judgment. Cortés was a wise man, and he could calmly judge. Had he counselled with himself before setting out on this adventure? He had led into Honduras, amidst great sufferings, an army. The end of his perilous march brought to him no great achievement, no great reward. There was no Olid to punish; Casas was not a traitor. Might not the proud conqueror with more advantage have remained at home? The assurance of a ready welcome, instead of a campaign against a formidable rebel, was a relief to the way-worn soldiers; but what thought the commander of it? It is not satisfying to a sane man's pride to beat the air, or charge on a windmill. A traitor to crush, or a fair city to conquer, would have been refreshing pastime to Cortés at this juncture.

In advance of the army, and almost alone, he set

out for Nito. If he entered not as a conqueror with sword in hand, he had at least the satisfaction of being welcomed as a savior. Malaria was there, and had so reduced the settlement that the frown of the natives loomed over it like Erinnyan phantoms. There were but three score Spaniards with a few women,[1] the greater number so reduced by fever and other ailments as hardly to be able to move, and all suffering from poor and insufficient food—zapotes, vegetables, and fish. Without sufficient arms and without horses, they did not venture abroad to forage, and seeing that death would surely overtake all if they remained, the able-bodied men under the leadership of Diego Nieto were repairing a vessel in which to depart.[2] The disappearance of the four men captured by Sandoval created no small alarm. Were they after all to be overwhelmed by avenging natives? Amidst such troubles no wonder that the appearance of Cortés was greeted as a descent from heaven, and that even men wept as they thronged round to kiss his hand.

The army was not a little surprised at the destitution of the famed Honduras. While ministering consolation, Cortés sent out bands of foragers. One of the parties ascended the Rio Yasa,[3] and coming to a deserted hamlet, six leagues from the mouth, took refuge from the rain. But it was not long before a band of Indians set upon them, and badly wounded they were driven to the boats, glad to escape with life. Another party found a path leading to a well-provided pueblo called Lequela, but it was eighteen leagues away, and too far for carriers. A third division met with better success.[4]

[1] Sixty men and twenty women left by Gonzalez. *Cortés, Cartas*, 440. Forty Spaniards and four women, says Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 204.

[2] 'De todos ellos no habia ocho para poder quedar en la tierra.' *Cortés, Cartas, loc. cit.* Their captain, Armenta, having refused to return with them to Cuba, they had hanged him a few days before, and had elected Nieto, who was ready to execute their wishes. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 204.

[3] Montagua probably.

[4] Captain Marin found eight leagues off, on the Naco road, a number of well-supplied villages, from which provisions were forwarded. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 204.

Meanwhile a vessel appeared in the harbor, having on board thirty Spaniards, beside the crew, and laden with a dozen horses, over seventy hogs, and provisions. It seemed a miracle. And the whole equipment Cortés bought for four thousand pesos.[5] Welcome as this was to the starving settlement, the sudden change in diet cost the lives of several persons. The site of Nito being so unhealthy and ill-provided, it was resolved to abandon the place, and Sandoval was sent with the greater number of soldiers, settlers, and Indians, to the fertile valley of Naco, Olid's abandoned headquarters, twenty leagues off, on the road to which several well-supplied pueblos offered good halting-places.

With the newly arrived vessel, a repaired caravel and a brigantine, built from some wrecks, Cortés prepared to take the remainder of the party by sea to a better locality. But first he would ascend the wide outlet lately crossed for food, for in this direction some captives assured him he would find rich settlements.[6] Exploration also impelled him to this quarter, for it was reported that when Gil Gonzalez first arrived here he had detached a vessel for the examination of this entrance; which had traversed two fresh-water gulfs; but the ascent of a tributary beyond had been prevented by strong currents and warlike natives.[7]

Manning the new brigantine with forty chosen Spaniards and a number of Indians, and attended by boats, Cortés ascended the Rio Dulce, and speedily entered a sheet of water some twelve leagues in circumference, without settlements. Continuing south-west, he went through a long passage into another larger sheet of water lying amidst lofty ranges and most bewitching

[5] Bought on credit from the owner, Anton de Carmona or Camargo, says Bernal Diaz, who reduces the stock to seven horses and forty hogs.

[6] A party had already been sent in this direction, but they returned within ten days disheartened, throwing discredit on the informants, who on their side accused the men of being faint-hearted. *Cortés, Cartas*, 441–2.

[7] Eighty Spaniards had attacked a pueblo, but the Indians returned in greater force and drove them off with some wounded. *Cortés, Cartas*, 444.

scenery. Inspired by the wild grandeur around him, he already fancied himself the laurel-crowned discoverer of the long-sought strait. But the dream was brief, for the water proved to be a gulf, some thirty leagues in circumference, and called Apolochic in the vernacular. Leaving the vessel at its western end, near the mouth of a stream, he proceeded with most of the men, under a local guide, over a rough route intersected by innumerable creeks. After a march of twelve leagues, during which only one village of any importance was seen, he came to a pueblo in which loud singing with instrumental accompaniment indicated a festival. Waiting till a late hour, when all was quiet, he fell upon the sleeping natives, and but for the excited exclamation of a soldier the place would have been taken without a blow. As it was, the cacique had time to rally, and in the melée which followed he with several others lost his life. Forty captives were here secured. Cortés was now guided to a larger pueblo, called Chacujal, eight leagues further, and again resorted to a night attack, but did not gain the place without considerable resistance. By morning the Indians had fled. The buildings, particularly the temples, resembled very much those of Mexico, but the language differed as well from the Mexican as from that of the pueblos hitherto met with. Among the captives was an Indian from the Pacific slope, who reported that only threescore leagues intervened between Nito and his country, where Alvarado was conquering.

The place was abundantly provided with cotton goods, maize, the much-needed salt, and other articles, and since it lay near the Polochic River, which entered the gulf twenty leagues from where the vessel lay, messengers were sent to bring it as far up the stream as possible to receive supplies. Meanwhile four rafts were made, and loaded each with forty fanegas of maize, besides beans, cocoa, and other provisions. These operations occupied nearly three weeks, during

which time none of the natives could be induced to return and aid in the work.[8] Cortés now embarked with ten men on the rafts, sending the rest down by land. The current carried them rapidly past the winding banks, with their alternate forest and prairie land, relieved here and there by hamlets and plantations, half hidden amidst cocoa groves and fruit-trees. Nothing unusual occurred till night, when Cortés, who occupied the last raft, was startled by cries of alarm from the one before him, followed by Indian yells. It was too dark to distinguish anything, but the men prepared for what might come. The next moment the raft struck violently against a projecting rock, and a shower of arrows fell. Several warriors now attempted to board, but they either miscalculated the distance, or were pushed overboard by the crew. The Indians had foreseen the opportunity which the rock would afford for an attack, but the rafts escaped them, although most of the Spaniards were wounded, including the general, and half a cargo was damaged. So rapid was the current that the twenty leagues were made by morning. More supplies were obtained from other settlements, and on returning to Nito after an absence of five weeks, sufficient food was brought to fairly supply the fleet.

The whole colony, including Gonzalez' men, now embarked in the three vessels and proceeded to San Andrés Bay, or Caballos, where a number of Sandoval's soldiers had just arrived. The site seemed to be all that could be desired, "with the best port on the entire coast from the Pearl Islands to Florida," with fine indications of gold in the tributary rivers, and with a beautiful and well-settled neighborhood. A colony

[8] It was sought to allure the natives back to aid in carrying supplies, but none came. *Cortés, Cartas*, 450. Bernal Diaz relates that the warriors returned to the attack after the flight, only to lose eight men. They now came to sue, and Cortés offered to release the captives if they sent down provisions to the vessel. This they did, but Cortés nevertheless insisted on retaining three families, whereupon the Indians attacked and wounded twelve Spaniards, including the general. *Hist. Verdad.*, 205. This writer was not with the expedition, however, but at Naco, so that his account is doubly doubtful.

was accordingly founded there under the name of Natividad de Nuestra Señora, from the day of founding, and fifty settlers were left, chiefly Gonzalez' men and late arrivals from Spain, Diego de Godoy being appointed commander, with the necessary officials. A church was also built and placed in charge of a clergyman. Soon, however, the unhealthiness of the site became apparent, and half the settlers died. The Indians grew insolent and refused supplies, and threatened the destruction of the settlement. Cortés thereupon permitted the colonists to join the prosperous establishment at Naco. Here the Indians had been gradually reassured and conciliated by Sandoval, whose armed incursions had already reduced a number of pueblos of considerable size and wealth.[9]

Cortés had meanwhile sailed to Trujillo, where the delighted colonists rushed into the water to carry the renowned chief ashore. His first and characteristic act was to enter the church and give thanks for safe arrival.[10] Then came the exercise of clemency for which he was humbly besought by the late adherents of Olid. Matters had been going smoothly since Ruano was exiled, and the general was too prudent to stir up animosity. With some slight reconstruction, therefore, the orders and arrangements of Casas were confirmed. An impulse was given to the town, and with the enforced aid of native laborers lots were cleared and buildings erected.

The four vessels now in port were not allowed to lie idle. One was despatched to Mexico with the invalids, and with letters for the officials, wherein Cortés commended their zeal for the government, and promised soon to return. Juan de Ávalos, his cousin, was placed in command, and ordered to pick up at Cozumel Island the party of Spaniards left there

[9] 'Quimistlan y Zula y Cholome, que el que menos destos tiene por mas de dos mil casas.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 456. Bernal Diaz also names some places. *Hist. Verdad.*, 207.

[10] He had been buffeted off the coast for nine days, while the land party arrived long before him, over a good road.

by Valenzuela. This was done, but on approaching Cuba the vessel was wrecked at Cape San Antonio, with the loss of the captain, two friars, and over thirty others. Of the rest only fifteen survived to reach Guaniguanico.[11] Of the other vessels, the new brigantine was sent to Española to report to the oidores concerning the overland expedition and the state of affairs in Honduras, and to represent that the kidnapping raid by Moreno was creating trouble among the natives. The authorities ordered the captives to be returned.[12] The two remaining vessels were despatched to Cuba and Jamaica with the plate and jewels of Cortés to purchase provisions, live stock, and plants wherewith to improve the colony.

One of these ships, in touching at Cuba, found there a vessel from Santo Domingo, destined by the oidores for Mexico to gain positive information about the rumored death of Cortés, and to report on measures against the disorders that might follow. Learning that the conqueror was alive and in Honduras, the messenger of the oidores resolved at once to change the route to Honduras, where his cargo of horses and stores would also find a readier market.

Licenciado Zuazo, the most honorable and trusted of the administrators appointed by Cortés over Mexico, had been arrested by his colleagues for opposing their nefarious plans, and sent out of the way to Cuba. These men had not only seized on the administrative power for their own advancement, to the neglect of public welfare, but, believing the mighty conqueror and his companions in arms to be dead, they had laid hands on their estates, and were persecuting their

[11] 'Murieron ochenta Españoles sin algunos Indios en este viaje.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 269. Licenciado Lopez escaped to spread the news of Cortés' being alive. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 208.

[12] Together with Moreno 'in chains.' 'Although I fear that he acted by order of the oidores, and that no justice will be given.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 465–6. He praised the wealth of Honduras, and asked for soldiers. 'Y para dar credito que auia oro, embiò muchas joyas, y pieças . . . de lo que truxo de Mexico,' says *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 208. But he is by no means to be relied on.

friends and whosoever ventured to protest. The country was in a most critical condition. Anarchy and spoliation were the order of the day. The colonists were arrayed in opposition to each other, and the Indians found every encouragement for rising against their white oppressors and blotting them out of existence.

All this was reported by Zuazo in a letter to Cortés, with the most earnest pleading for his immediate return, ere it was too late.[13] Cortés was at first furious; then he melted into tears at the thought of the desolation wrought by his enemies and at the inhuman persecution of his followers. "It serves me right," he said, in a calmer moment, "to be thus treated for placing trust in strangers and ignoring tried comrades."[14] The news reached him at an unfavorable time. The iron will and nerve which had carried the leader through the hardships of the march, had begun to yield to the insidious influence of the fever-infected bottom-lands of the Amatique Bay, assisted perhaps by disappointment at finding the first aspect of Honduras so far below his hopes. The letter served to rouse his bodily as well as mental energies, though not to that point of clear and prompt determination which had hitherto characterized his acts. He was irresolute. Honduras had been little explored, and the indication of gold near Caballos, though small, led him still to dwell on the stories of richer districts to the south. He feared to aban-

[13] Bernal Diaz assumes, contrary to Cortés' clear statement, that Zuazo sent a vessel from Habana with the letter, and that two days before her arrival at Trujillo came two vessels laden with merchandise from the oidores and merchants of Santo Domingo, who had learned of Cortés' whereabouts through a letter from one of the survivors of Ávalos' wrecked ship. *Hist. Verdad.*, 208. Gomara states that the vessel from the oidores, laden with thirty-two horses, saddlery, and other useful material, was turned back from Cuba by the survivors of Ávalos' expedition. She touched at Santo Domingo on her way to Honduras. *Hist. Mex.*, 270. Cortés shows that the news of Ávalos' shipwreck did not reach him till some time later. *Cartas*, 468–471.

[14] The staff did all they could to cheer him, and among other efforts to dispel his gloom, Mañueco, the maestresala, made a wager that he would ascend in full armor the steep hill to the new gubernatorial building. Before he could reach the top he fell dead. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 211.

don a yet promising field, after the efforts lavished on it, and in view of the eager advance of his southern rival, him of Panamá.

The fortunate predictions of a soldier-astrologer in Mexico would not have made him disinclined, in his present frame of mind, to encourage similar counsellors; but no Sabean was at hand to interpret the scintillating oracles. The friars were directed to appeal to the supreme throne, and for three days services were held, with processions, and masses, and prayers for divine direction. Already during the progress of these appeals, Cortés felt a dawning inspiration in a renewed courage to face the treacherous sea, and stronger inclination to trust the development of the province to another. He would return to Mexico. Hernando Saavedra, his cousin, was appointed captain-general of Honduras,[15] and Sandoval was directed to proceed with his company from Naco to Mexico, by the Guatemala route already opened by Casas. He himself embarked on the government vessel, but at the moment of departure the wind failed, and hearing of a tumult among the colonists he landed to restore order. The unruly spirits appear to have been disappointed office-seekers, to whom the obscurity of official existence in a border province seemed a most ungracious return for their long toil. The general calmed the leading rioters by taking them on board to receive their reward in Mexico. Two days later he set sail, only to meet another check in the breakage of the main lateen yard just outside the harbor. After three days spent in repairs he again departed, with a good wind, but this soon increased to a gale, and fifty leagues from port the mast went overboard and obliged him to return for a third time.

Surely, this was a warning from providence not to proceed. He must have misunderstood the inspiration, and would seek more correct advice. Upon one

[15] 'Dejé en aquella villa hasta treinta y cinco de caballo y cincuenta peones.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 470.

thing he was determined, not again to trust himself to the billows. The last tossings had cured him of nautical aspirations, and threatened indeed to cure him of all others, for his already weakened body was left in so racked a condition as to bring him near to death. Bernal Diaz describes him as a mere shadow of his former self, and states that a Franciscan robe had been prepared to shroud his body, and by its saving virtues to assist the soul through purgatory.[16] But, although the conqueror of Mexico had filled the measure of his great achievements, the cup of honors and of disappointments was not yet full. Masses had again been said to sanctify as inspiration his changing resolve. The vessel proceeded, however, bearing a trusted servant[17] with letters for a number of friends in Mexico, and with orders revoking the power granted to the usurping governors in favor of more reliable men. A number of Mexican chiefs accompanied the messenger to testify that Cortés still lived. They were to proceed to Pánuco after landing the servant in some obscure haven above Vera Cruz, whence he was to proceed alone and in disguise to Mexico, so as to elude any watching enemies. Sandoval was recalled, greatly to the disappointment of his party, who rose almost in open mutiny at being kept away from their estates in Mexico, which were by this time exposed to ruin in hands of strangers and usurpers.[18]

An additional excuse for the determination to remain may have been found in the hostile attitude

[16] He places this just before the arrival of Zuazo's letter, *Hist. Verdad.*, 209, but Cortés now for the first time complains of feeling very ill, from the tossing at sea. *Cartas*, 471.

[17] 'Martin Dorantes su lacayo.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 271. On October 23, 1525, it seems from a letter of Cortés, *Cartas*, 395. Bernal Diaz intimates that a fear of being seized by his enemies had to do with Cortés' disinclination to go in person. *Hist. Verdad.*, 212.

[18] In concluding the reply to their expostulations, Cortés had observed that he could find plenty of soldiers in Spain and elsewhere to do his bidding. The men commissioned Sandoval to plead their cause in person; to urge the leader to depart, and to hint that they could find governors in Mexico to right them. *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 212.

of two provinces, Papayeca and Chapagua, some seven leagues from Trujillo.[19] Some time before this Saavedra had been sent to explore the valley above, and following it for some thirty leagues found a fertile district with a series of flourishing pueblos. A score of caciques appeared to offer their allegiance to Cortés, and into Trujillo flowed provisions and presents. The above-named provinces alone held aloof, pleading not without reason former maltreatment and the kidnapping of tribal members by Fiscal Moreno. No excuses could, however, be regarded as valid in refusing allegiance, and Saavedra marched against them. The people retired to the hills; but three of the Chapagua caciques being captured and peremptorily given a fixed term in which to repeople their towns, the submission of this province was speedily effected. Papayeca was now entered, and Pizacura, one of the two principal caciques, was captured. He threw the blame of resistance on his more powerful colleague, Mazatl, offering if released to secure and hang him, and thus bring the people over. Once free, the cacique cast the promise to the winds as readily as any Spaniard. Mazatl was captured, nevertheless, and given the alternative of repeopling the towns or dying. The chief disdainfully rejected an offer to purchase life with what he regarded as the enslavement of his people, and calmly accepted death.

This severity was thought to be prudent, and it certainly had the effect of bringing the inhabitants back to all the pueblos save the capital. Here Pizacura held forth, supposing, no doubt, that since his escapade no pardon was to be expected. He was soon captured, however, together with over a hundred followers. The latter were enslaved for their obstinacy, while he, with two other caciques, and a youth who

[19] 'É dos leguas el uno del otro... el de Papayeca tiene diez y ocho pueblos subjectos, y el de Champagua diez.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 465. The names are also given as Chapaxina, Papaica, etc.

appears to have been the true chief of the province, were kept as prisoners.[20]

This success, as well as the comparatively kind treatment of the natives, tended greatly to promote the pacification of the country, and the name of Cortés became feared and respected far and wide.[21] One instance of this was the arrival of a deputation from the Gulf Islands, appealing to his power and clemency for protection against a slaving party which was raiding Guanaja. Cortés at once despatched a caravel which brought in the vessel with its slaves, destined for the mines of Cuba and Jamaica. The commander, Rodrigo de Merlo, exhibited a license for his expedition, so that severe measures could not well be taken, but means were found to persuade the captain to settle at Trujillo with his crew. The kidnapped islanders were restored to their grateful friends. They sent in their allegiance and received letters of protection, together with a number of swine which soon multiplied on the islands.[22]

Another instance of the influence of Cortés' name was afforded by the entry, from Nicaragua into Olancho[23] province, of an expedition under Gabriel de Rojas, consisting of sixty men with twenty horses. The natives resisted, no doubt, whereupon Rojas began to enslave and pillage. A deputation arriving at Trujillo to implore protection, Sandoval was instructed to interfere on behalf of the natives, as subjects of Cortés.[24] His force was insufficient, it

[20] The two colleagues had been usurping guardians. They were to be taken to Mexico to be impressed with the extent of Spanish power, and to learn submission from its natives. Pizacura died before leaving Honduras. *Cortés, Cartas*, 473; *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 272.

[21] 'Era temido, y acatado, y llamauanle en todas aquellas Provincias: El Capitan Hue, Hue de Marina, q̄ quiere dezir el Capitan viejo que trae a doña Marina.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 207.

[22] They asked for a Spaniard to settle on each island, as a guardian, but this could not be granted. *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 273. Bernal Diaz says that the vessel escaped, and that she was commanded by Moreno.

[23] Huilancho, Huilacho, Huyetlato, etc.

[24] Cortés claims that the province had submitted to him some time before, but he probably received the proffer only now, though pleading a previous allegiance to excuse the interference.

seems, to drive out the intruders, but Rojas nevertheless retired by order of Córdoba.[25]

One reason for this withdrawal was that Córdoba could not afford to place himself in hostile attitude to any neighbor. One of the acts of Moreno during his arbitrary proceeding in Honduras had been to urge upon him to transfer his allegiance and province to the audiencia. This prompting found a willing ear. Blind to the accumulative evidence of failure, and untaught by disappointment, Córdoba allowed the few instances of successful revolt to overshadow every failure. He looked upon the force around him, and measuring the distance between himself and the grim Pedrarias, his dread grew fainter as the leagues increased; meanwhile hope kept whispering, might he not also become another Cortés, borne aloft by fame, or at least a Velazquez safe upon his usurped island? He wavered, and yielded. In maturing his plans for a step so full of risk, he resolved to learn further from Moreno what authority he possessed, and perfect arrangements with him. Pedro de Garro[26] was accordingly sent with a party of forty men to Honduras, bearing also petitions to the emperor and audiencia, and with instructions to explore the best route to a port in that province through which supplies and war material might be procured. Sandoval, on hearing of their approach, captured them, together with their retinue of beautiful women and numerous servants, but allowed a few under escort to proceed to Trujillo. Cortés received them with good-will, and as a proof thereof ordered four pack animals to be sent laden with horseshoes, mining tools, and other

[25] To assist him against two officers who opposed his attempt to become independent of Pedrarias. *Cortés, Cartas*, 476. According to Herrera, Sandoval returned without achieving anything, pleading that he had not enough men, dec. iii. lib. viii. cap. vii. Bernal Diaz, who was present, states, on the other hand, that Sandoval appeared against Rojas with sixty men, but made friends with him. Just then came letters from Cortés ordering him to join in returning to Mexico, and he hastened back, Rojas departing at the same time. *Hist. Verdad.*, 208. Gomara, following Cortés, assumes that Rojas obeyed a mere message from Trujillo to leave Olancho. *Hist. Mex.*, 272.

[26] Cereceda writes Gaona. *Carta*, in *Squier's MSS.*, xx. 61.

articles, as a present to Córdoba. But he could not countenance the overthrowal of a chief by a subordinate officer; for had not his present expedition been made to punish a similar attempt? He wrote him accordingly, advising fidelity to Pedrarias, and promising his aid in procuring supplies through Honduras, since Panamá was regarded as too distant.[27]

This intercourse had served to enlighten Cortés in regard to the condition and resources of the country to the south and south-west. He had learned that it was fertile and populous, filled with flourishing towns, and giving great promise of mineral wealth; facts confirmed by the splendid retinue of Garro and the demand for mining implements. Perhaps in this very country lay the rich provinces which had stirred his imagination, even before the fall of Mexico, and for which he had come in search this long way. Should he allow an interloper to deprive him of what his fancy had claimed all these years, and what had enticed him to superhuman efforts? But a valid excuse was needed for seizing a province already held by another, a king's lieutenant like himself. Cortés was too astute, however, not to find a way to prevent so rich a prize from eluding him. Was it out of friendship for a stranger that he had sent valuable presents to Córdoba, and offered to forward supplies through Honduras? No, he knew where to sow in order to reap. He had also written, as he admits, to some officers in Nicaragua whom he knew, and what subtle poison may not have been diffused by craftily worded advice. Córdoba understood the hint for himself, and was confirmed in his resolve. But his fellow-soldiers had also a word to say. The idea of risking life and fortune for the ambitious plans of a captain who was little,

[27] 'Escribí al dicho Francisco Hernandez y á toda la gente que con él estaba en general, y particularmente á algunos de los capitanes de su compañía que yo conoscia, reprendiéndolos la fealdad que en aquello hacian,' etc. *Cortés, Cartas*, 474. Bernal Diaz states, on the other hand, that he promised to do his best for him, *Hist. Verdad.*, 211, and in this was probably a little truth, as will be seen.

if anything, more than themselves, was by no means to the liking of all the officers. Several objected, and since it was now too late to retreat Córdoba must even persuade them by arms. Civil war threatened, and the news was not long in reaching Trujillo. Indeed, it seems that the rebel leader, on finding what a tempest he had invoked, sent to tender allegiance to Cortés.[28] And then the latter reasoned with himself. Could he, an imperial officer, stand calmly by and see his Majesty's interests sacrificed and his subjects, his countrymen, slaughtered? No, certainly not; and he congratulated himself upon the success of his plans. Here was the longed-for pretence, cast in his way by fortune. He must pounce upon the prize while the claimants were absorbed in contention.[29] The first step was to direct a large force of natives to open a road to Nicaragua, and Sandoval received orders to prepare for the expedition.[30]

Again it seemed as if the great leader had misinterpreted the signs of providence.

His messenger to Mexico had safely arrived, and with prudent management a reaction had been started in favor of Cortés; the evidence that he was alive was half the battle; but his enemies, though checked, were not overthrown, and believing that everything depended upon his presence it was decided to recall him. The commission was intrusted to his cousin, Fray Diego Altamirano, an ex-soldier who had doffed the helmet for a Franciscan cowl, and a man of honor and business talent.[31] He fell like a bomb-shell on the manifold projects of Cortés for conquest and

[28] 'Hernandez . . . sent to invite the Marquis to come and receive the province from him.' *Andagoya's Narrative*, 37; *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. viii. cap. vii. Cortés became a marquis a few years later.

[29] 'Quise luego ir á Nicaragua, creyendo poner en ello algun remedio.' *Cortés, Cartas*, 476.

[30] Bernal Diaz assumes that when Sandoval was setting out for Mexico, shortly before this, as stated, he received orders to pass through Nicaragua, 'para demandalla a su Magestad en Gouernacion.' *Hist. Verdad.*, 212.

[31] *Id.*, 215. 'Para este efeto fletó un navio en la Villa de Medellin.' *Oviedo*, iii. 523. He came in the vessel which had carried the messenger. *Cortés, Cartas*, 476.

aggrandizement, which, if encouraged by one success, might have borne the victor triumphantly southward, perhaps to the realms of the Incas. Altamirano was not a man to let the stern present be obscured by the glowing fancies of enthusiasm. His visions turned alone toward Mexico, and his coloring was reserved for painting the sad condition of its affairs. This he did, boldly, yet with loving discreetness, and convinced his kinsman that return to Mexico was absolutely necessary to save himself, his friends, and the country from ruin. He also insisted that in order to succeed in controlling followers he must assert his dignity, and impose on the vulgar by an intimidating and awe-inspiring pomp. The familiarity grown out of the fellowship of the camp and the toil of the march might answer in a border province, but not in the well-settled districts of New Spain, or at the court of Mexico. More dignity should be assumed at once; here and now must he teach his followers the distance between the governor and the subject, and demand reverence as his due. There was not much need for exhortation in this respect, for pomp came naturally to Cortés. Readily, therefore, did he mount the gubernatorial seat with its imposing daïs, and receive with a complacent smile the *señoría*[32] from the lips of the deeply bowing suite. In church, even, he occupied the higher level of the raised *sitial*,[33] while abroad the cannon belched forth in his honor.[34]

His distrust of the sea remained, and he determined to return through Guatemala. The laborers, therefore, were taken from the Nicaragua road to prepare the way for him;[35] but finally the pilots con-

[32] Lordship, a title which pertained only to the higher nobility and to the highest offices, and which Cortés, even as governor and captain-general, had not the slightest right to assume.

[33] Seat of honor for princes and prelates and for the ruling men in a province.

[34] *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 273; *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. viii. cap. vii.

[35] Messengers were sent to the pueblos en route ordering them to put the road in order and prepare for his reception. Some of the Mexican auxiliaries were also appointed for the work, says Ixtlilxochitl, but their remaining prince stayed with Cortés. *Horribles Crueldades*, 110.

vinced him that at this season of the year the winds and currents were favorable, while the land route must be long and full of obstacles. He accordingly embarked in three vessels with twenty Spanish followers and their horses, and some two hundred Indians under Prince Ixtlilxochitl, setting sail April 25, 1526.[36] Sandoval joined him, but his company went overland. Saavedra remained as his lieutenant, with instructions to maintain native loyalty by good treatment, and to promote settlement. The general's yet wavering confidence in the sea received another shock off the very coast of New Spain, whence a gale drove him back and compelled him to seek refuge in Cuba. On the 16th of May he again set sail, and landed a week later near the present Vera Cruz. The news of his arrival spread rapidly, and soldiers, colonists, and natives hastened forward in throngs to bear the beloved leader, the mighty Malinche, in triumph to the island city which he had won and refounded. Doubts were dissipated and past disappointments forgotten as he gazed once more on the scenes of his brilliant achievements, and drank the plaudits of the multitude.[37]

[36] 'Recibió el cuerpo de Christo vna mañana porque como estaua tan malo, temia morirse.' *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 215. Prescott ignores the friar, and assumes that Sandoval persuaded him to leave. But this is only one of the many errors into which he has fallen concerning this expedition. *Mex.*, iii. 302.

[37] The natives were to be punished for persevering in idolatry; although Indians must not be enslaved, yet slaves held lawfully by them might be purchased as such by the colonists. The instructions contain a number of minor rules for the good government of province and towns. *Cortés, Escritos Sueltos*, 75–95. Saavedra did not perhaps relish the idea of being left with a comparatively small force, for Bernal Diaz complains that he purposely withheld for some time the order permitting the Naco company to leave for Mexico. *Hist. Verdad.*, 215, 219. The leading authorities for Cortés' different expeditions to Honduras are: *Cortés, Cartas*, 338, 351, 369, et seq.; *Id., Escritos Sueltos*, 70–95, 318; *Id., Carta al Rey*, in *Icazbalceta, Col. Doc.*, i. 481–2; *Alhornoz, Carta*, in *Id.*, i. 484–6; *Peter Martyr*, dec. viii. cap. x.; *Oviedo*, iii. 188–9, 448, 458–9, 517–18; *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 233–4, 243–6, 250–74; *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 159, 176–7, 193–216; Letters and Reports by Cortés and other officers to the Emperor and Council, in *Doc. Inéd.*, i. 521–4, iv. 226–7, et seq., and in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xii. 268–77, 362–7, 386–403; xiii. 46–7, 108–9, 293–4, 397; xiv. 25–43, et seq.; *Cerezeda, Carta*, in *Squier's MSS.*, xx. 61; *Ixtlilxochitl, Horribles Crueldades*, 78–110; *Chimalpain, Conq. Mex.*, ii. 106–53; *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. v. cap. vii.–viii. xii.–xiii.; lib. vi. cap. x. xii.; lib. vii. cap. viii.; lib. viii. cap. iii.–vi.; lib. x. cap. xi. Less important books, which

add little or nothing to the preceding, are: *Torquemada*, i. 574–6; *Remesal, Hist. Chyapa*, 104; *Cogolludo, Hist. Yucathan*, 44–58; *Villagutierre, Hist. Conq. Itza*, 39–50; *Duran. Hist. Ind.*, MS., ii. 521–2; *Pinelo, Relacion*, 2; *Vazquez, Chronica de Gvat.*, 18–20; *Cortés, Hist. N. España*, 351–2, 367–9; *Pizarro y Orellana, Varones Ilvstres*, 108–16; *Galvano's Discov.*, 160–4; *Twee Onderscheydene Togten*, 52–80, 95–107, in *Aa, Naauwkeurige Versameling*, xi.; *Twee Verscheyde Togten*, 19–76, 94, in *Id.*; *Gottfried, Reysen*, iv.; *Ogilby's Am.*, 91–2; *Salazar, Conq. Mex.*, 154–8, 211–311; *Revilla*, in *Solis, Hist. Mex.* (ed. Mad., 1843), 463–9; *Beaumont, Cron. Mich.*, iii. 189–92; *Juarros, Guat.*, 55, 123, 324–7; *Cavo, Tres Siglos*, i. 29–30, 46–8; *Veytia, Hist. Ant. Méj.*, iii. 420; *Laet, Nov. Orb.*, 318; *Voyages, New Col.*, i. 347; *World Displayed*, ii. 251; *Lardner's Hist. Discov.*, ii. 62; *Gordon's Hist. Ant. Mex.*, ii. 203, 209–15, 240–1; *Fancourt's Hist. Yuc.*, 39; *Squier's States Cent. Am.*, 66; *Rivera, Hist. Jalapa*, i. 44; *Bustamante, Cuad. Hist.*, i. 42; *Alaman, Disert.*, i. 196–7, 203–23, 234–5; append., 129–37; ii. 17–18; *Rivera, Gob. Mex.*, i. 17; *Zamacois, Hist. Méj.*, iv. 178–9, 236–326, 349–53, 369, 739–56; *Cortés, Aven. y Conq.*, 285–9; *Prescott's Mex.*, iii. 276–302; *Helps' Cortés*, ii. 183–228; *Id. Span. Conq.*, iii. 30–61; *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 573–617; *Bussierre, Mex.*, 339–49, 380; *Larenaudière, Mex. et Guat.*, 136–7; *Monglave, Résumé*, 138; *Armin, Alte Mex.*, 351–61; *Mayer's Mex. Aztec.*, i. 86; *Abbott's Cortés*, 305–29; *Wells' Honduras*, 449–57; *Pelaez, Mem. Guat.*, i. 53–4.

CHAPTER XX.

PEDRARIAS REMOVES TO NICARAGUA.

1525-1527.

CÓRDOBA MEDITATES REVOLT—SOTO AND COMPAÑON OBJECT—THEIR FLIGHT—PEDRARIAS NURSES HIS WRATH—SECRET MOTIVES FOR HIS DEPARTURE FOR NICARAGUA—CÓRDOBA LOSES HIS HEAD—THE GOVERNOR COVETS HONDURAS, AND COMES TO BLOWS—THE INDIANS FOLLOW THE EXAMPLE—BLOODY SCENES—PEDRARIAS INTERRUPTED IN HIS REVERIE—PEDRO DE LOS RIOS SUCCEEDS AS GOVERNOR AT PANAMÁ—HIS INSTRUCTIONS AND POLICY—RESIDENCIA OF PEDRARIAS—TRIUMPHANT RESULT.

WITH the departure of Cortés in drooping plumes, his pretentious projects for dominion in the south received a check, and the portentous clouds which had before loomed over Honduras again darkened the sky, extending over the adjoining lake province, there to threaten Córdoba's bright visions of independence. One can hardly blame the lieutenant for indulging his imagination with the alluring prospects of power, wealth, and fame, when kept in subjection on the one side by so unlovable a master as Pedrarias, and when prompted on the other by the powerful audiencia of Santo Domingo to cast off the unrighteous allegiance. With his mind thus predisposed, Córdoba saw clearly that Nicaragua could not permanently pertain to the jurisdiction of Panamá. It was a distinct province, conquered and abandoned by Gil Gonzalez, and now brought into resubjection by his own efforts and talents. If any one disputed his position he could point to the authorization of the audiencia. True, the fleet and men, the means and influence, used in effecting the reconquest pertained to his late chief. What of

that? The ships did not belong to Pedrarias; the old governor had taken them in direct disobedience to the orders of the king. As for the money and the men, all had been obtained by vile indirection, and might as well be made to serve one traitor as another. But he was no traitor to the king who responded to the will of the king's audiencia.

There was much in common between the revolts of Olid and Córdoba, but the motives of the leaders differed. The former, bold, brave, and in the main true, had felt aggrieved that so broad a portion of the earth should fall to the lot of one man, whose pretensions thereto grew out of his accidental position as commander, while he, a captain who had shared every danger and hardship in the grand conquest, must be content forever to serve. The sole command of a small portion of disputed territory he had deemed a recompense small enough beside the imperial reward of his commander. Hernandez de Córdoba viewed matters from a somewhat different stand-point, though with an abundance of plausible excuses. He was an instrument chosen by Pedrarias to wrest a fair domain from the rightful conqueror. In this selection Pedrarias had been governed by his usual narrow policy. Throughout his whole career he could not abandon the vain attempt to accomplish great results by small means, and noble results by base means.

With such incentives and precepts Córdoba found little difficulty in disposing of the moral obstacles to his scheme, and on turning toward the material he saw nothing insurmountable, since most of the men were favorably disposed. In this there was nothing strange, for Córdoba was generous and confiding, and by the side of Pedrarias such qualities shone with double lustre. As a first step he called on the settlers, particularly of Leon and Granada, to petition the king for his appointment as independent governor.[1]

[1] The reader will remember how, in the last chapter, Cortés treated the messengers bearing this petition.

None objected save a dozen men headed by the captains Soto and Compañon. Loyalty had probably nothing to do with their opposition, but rather jealousy. They would not risk their liberty and prospects to raise so much above themselves a fellow officer who could never be in their eyes more able and deserving than themselves.

The remonstrances of these few persons were not to be regarded, however, and retreat for Córdoba was in any case too late. Soto, the first to object, was cast into the fortress of Granada, but Compañon, with a few faithful comrades, broke open the prison and liberated him. The little band, well armed and mounted, then took the field against Córdoba and openly bade him defiance. Córdoba recognized that prompt action was indispensable, and set forth in pursuit. Though Soto and Compañon failed to gain more adherents, as they had expected, they nevertheless took a stand near Granada against the usurper's formidable force, warning him that all their efforts, in case of attack, would be concentrated on killing him.[2] The lieutenant hesitated. He well knew the determined character of his late officers, and pictured himself the target of their unerring missiles. The golden visions of his hopes became dimmer. He would like to be a governor, but he did not wish to be killed; and not possessing the spirit of greatness, he readily found an excuse for returning whence he came, while Soto with his gallant ten thought it profitable to acquaint Pedrarias and receive from him the reward of loyal servants. The journey back to Panamá was not easy, with its rugged mountains, impetuous streams, and pathless forests, while hostile natives, venomous animals, and gnawing hunger added to the hardships serious danger; nevertheless they would undertake it, and make a portion of their way by sea. Soon after starting they found their horses

[2] 'No los osó acometer porque tenia por cierto que habian de matar á él ántes que á nadie.' *Andagoya, Rel.*, in *Navarrete, Col. de Viages*, iii. 417.

an encumbrance rather than an aid, and therefore they abandoned them. Barefooted and dilapidated they reached the town of Fonseca,[8] in Chiriquí, where Hurtado, the founder, relieved them, and provided a canoe in which to pursue the journey.

After the departure of Soto southward, the good Hurtado pondered over the situation. The rebel Córdoba, in common with Soto and the others, he held in low esteem. If with his small force he could not conquer him, he believed he could frighten the man greatly; at all events, here was an opportunity to gain favor with Pedrarias. He accordingly armed all the able-bodied men at his command and marched against the rebels, leaving the sick and helpless to ward off famine and the natives as best they might. After waiting some time in vain for the return of Hurtado, the abandoned remnant deserted the post and set out in search of him, directing their steps toward the gulf of Nicoya.

In the mean time Soto and his party reached Natá and sent their report to Panamá. Rage in the breasts of some men consumes both body and soul; but such was the nature of Pedrarias that the essence of his life appeared to be drawn from inexhaustible wells of vindictive spleen. Although approaching the time when most men die, the castigation of a traitorous lieutenant was too choice a morsel to intrust to another; and so, belting in his wrath, he prepared at once to march against him. To this he was impelled also by a desire to forestall any attempt on the part of the conqueror of Mexico, whose projects were even then casting a portentous shadow over the smiling shores of the Freshwater Sea. A still deeper impulse, however, was the looming spectre of a new governor, with orders for a residencia, which once instituted might prevent his departure.

[8] Within the bay formed by Punta de Burica, into which flows, among other small streams, the river known at present as Fonseca. *Cartography Pac. Coast*, MS., ii. 79.

To defray the expenses of the expedition Pedrarias was obliged not only to employ his own fortune but to borrow large sums from the house-holders and merchants. This he did, agreeing to share with them the profits of the adventure. He was shrewd enough to conceal how much a prospective successor and residencia had to do with his departure; and believing that the object was solely to secure for the benefit of Panamá, from a strange invader and rebel, the gold-seamed Nicaragua with its budding colonies and trade, the people were quite eager to aid him in so promising and loyal a scheme. Panamá and Natá had already been drained of able-bodied men by the expeditions under Pizarro and Almagro which were to yield such brilliant results, and Pedrarias was obliged to draw upon Acla and Nombre de Dios for soldiers. This additional levy so nearly depopulated the province that its four cities together could hardly muster occupants enough for 'a mediocre hamlet,' as Oviedo expresses it. A large number of Indians were also taken. The departure of the fleet took place in January, 1526.

Córdoba had not been comfortable since Soto's escape. The more he pondered the shorter to his mind grew the distance between himself and the grim Pedrarias. In his fear he bethought himself of Cortés, and sent to offer him the province on condition that he should retain the command as his lieutenant; for it was far better to be subject to the magnanimous conqueror of Anáhuac, whose name would prove a safeguard against his old master, while his distant residence in Mexico might leave a lieutenant almost wholly independent. This scheme received an encouraging acceptance, as we have seen, only to be abandoned before the urgent appeals from Mexico.

The more than peculiar conduct of Córdoba on meeting Soto has prepared us for almost any pusilla-

nimity on his part. Either a blind reliance in Cortés made him careless, or the arrival at Leon of the hoary-headed Pedrarias was unexpectedly sudden; it seems at any rate that he did not even attempt to defend himself. Probably the settlers had become disgusted with his want of courage and failed to support him. All we learn is that he and his friends humbly met the governor and sought to deny their guilt, pleading, as in the case of Vasco Nuñez, that had mutinous intentions been entertained they would not thus have dared to come forward unarmed, but would have fled or defended themselves. The case was too clear, however, and Pedrarias never forgave: the head of Córdoba was required as a lesson to similar aspirants.[4]

Having thus removed his rebellious subordinate, Pedrarias looked about to secure the permanent government of the province and extend his jurisdiction as best he might. If Nicaragua belonged to Castilla del Oro, as he of course maintained, so must the eastern and north-eastern extension of this region, as far at least as the gulf of Honduras, clearly the natural boundary. The efforts of Gil Gonzalez to secure Honduras showed that he had also regarded this province as pertaining to Nicaragua. But above all, was not the dreaded Cortés away, and was not his lieutenant, Saavedra, in command of a mere handful of men? What more convincing evidence of his right could there be? But even under these circumstances caution was necessary, and he resolved to secure at first only the adjoining border territory. With this object captains Hurtado and Rojas were sent to occupy Olancho Valley. The natives had too vivid a recollection of the former invasion under Rojas to feel

[4] It certainly appears strange that Córdoba, knowing so well the character of his master, should so tamely have delivered himself into his hands. The chroniclers sympathize with any victim of the abhorred governor. 'Estaba muy bien quisto comunmente,' says Oviedo, 'de todos los españoles...culpaban...á Pedrarias de inconstante é açelerado é mal juez.' iii. 165–6. His rebellion 'parecio siempre incierto,' is the unstudied qualification of Remesal, *Hist. Chyapa*, 164.

safe, and hastened to Trujillo with their complaints. Saavedra, who saw the danger of countenancing encroachments from such a quarter, sent two envoys[5] to demand the immediate withdrawal of the Nicaraguan troops. Pedrarias was not unprepared for this, and smooth and evasive was his answer. For the sake of peace he would come to an understanding with Cortés regarding his pretensions in that quarter, and submit the whole matter to the decision of the audiencia. Meanwhile there must be no fighting or attempted overreaching among countrymen.

The tone and manner of the old courtier would have convinced more experienced men than the Honduras envoys, and with satisfied hearts they turned to bear the peaceful message to their chief. Pedrarias gained his point. He never entertained the idea of writing to Cortés or submitting any question to the audiencia.

Fresh instructions were at once despatched to Hurtado and Rojas, and while the envoys were lulling Saavedra into fancied security they fell upon his adherents in Olancho, routed them, and secured their effects. The victors then proceeded northward with a view to occupy Natividad and secure for their chief a much needed port on the North Sea, through which to receive supplies and maintain communication with Spain and the Islands, for the Panamá route was too long and costly. Informed of their movements Saavedra sent a force to intercept them. The captains were not just then prepared to resist so strong a body, and like their master they resorted to fair words, both sides promising to return peaceably home. But neither believed in these assurances, and each resolved to watch the other. Rojas, for that matter, proceeded on the march to Natividad, while Hurtado returned to Olancho to protect his interests there. The Trujillo party pursued the latter, and a fight ensued wherein they proved victorious, after losing two men. These broils

[5] Juan Carrasco and Christóbal de la Torre. *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. ix. cap. vii.

the natives observed, and saw therein their opportunity. They attacked Natividad, and the Spaniards, driven forth after a fight in which several fell, took refuge in a natural stronghold, there to remain until aid could arrive.[6]

Rojas appears to have learned of this uprising in time to retreat to Olancho; but here also the caciques had mustered in force[7] to avenge the injuries which Pedrarias' soldiers were inflicting. Ordered by them to bring in maize and material for houses, they seized the opportunity to introduce within the bundles a quantity of arms. These were to serve the natives who remained in or near the camp waiting the approach of their regularly armed compatriots. All prepared, the word was given, and stealthily the dusky foe crept upon the unsuspecting Spaniards. Living in the midst of treachery, it seems impossible that they should have allowed themselves to be thus lulled. Suddenly forest, hill, and dale were alive with Indians, and the silence was broken by a piercing yell as the first victim met his fate. The signal was taken up, and from thousands came the avenging shriek, reverberating along the wooded slopes and rolling back upon the doomed band. Resistance seemed to avail them little. Sixteen were slain; a few escaped to a friendly cacique, named Guatucanola; and twenty horses were lost. The settlement was sacked and burned. Among the fallen were Captain Hurtado, who had rendered so many eminent services as explorer, leader, and founder, and Juan de Grijalva, a man who, as captain of a Cuban expedition, had achieved the honor of discovering the Mexican mainland, and who might even have gained the glory of that brilliant conquest but for his fine sense of honor and other manly qualities. Often a too strict integrity impedes the path to greatness. At all events, these

[6] News coming of the approach of a royal governor, Saavedra would send nothing but advice.

[7] 'Estando de acuerdo ciento y cincuenta Caziques.' *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. ix. cap. x.

qualities lost him the favor of his master and governor, Velazquez, and despite his faithful services, his courage and talent, he was sent forth in disgrace, to die ignobly in this wilderness.[8]

Rojas arrived soon after and sought to restore peace, but the natives were too strong for him, and for years they held their ground. Saavedra charged Pedrarias with being the cause of the disaster, and not without reason, for the treacherous conduct of his captains had encouraged the uprising. Quarrels and recriminations followed, but without any attempt on the part of Saavedra to take active steps against the Nicaraguan invaders. Finding his adversary so tame, the old governor felt emboldened to take the step he had so long been meditating, to secure possession of the remainder of Honduras. To this effect he despatched Captain Diego de Albites and Sebastian de Benalcázar, regidores of Leon, with Notary Espinosa, to demand the submission of Saavedra and the cabildo of Trujillo to his jurisdiction. The envoys were hardly on their way, however, before tidings came from Panamá which sent Pedrarias in all haste back to the Isthmus, leaving the government in the joint charge of several of his most trusted officers, among whom Martin Estete figured as lieutenant-general.[9]

The new governor of Castilla del Oro, Pedro de los Rios, had arrived with his fleet at Nombre de Dios July 30, 1526,[10] attended, as was common in such cases, by many followers, among whom were Licenciado Juan de Salmeron, alcalde mayor; Bachiller Diego de Corral; Diego Gutierrez de los Rios, a nephew, and

[8] His achievements are related in vol. i. chaps. ii. and iii. of the *History of Mexico*, this series.

[9] Herrera, who is somewhat contradictory on this point, names Gabriel de Rojas, Garabito, and Diego Álvarez among the ruling men. dec. iv. lib. i. cap. vi. Salcedo, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiv. 47 et seq., gives also a list of the Leon city officials.

[10] The two months' voyage had proved pleasant, being marred only by the death of two men during an attack by the natives of Dominica Island, where they had entered to repair a leaky vessel. *Oviedo*, iii. 116.

Egas, the half-brother of the governor. Oviedo was also of the party, bearing as his reward for procuring the change of rule the appointment of captain-general and governor of the province of Cartagena. The day following the arrival the new officials were sworn in, and within four weeks they had taken up their residence at Panamá. The jurisdiction of Rios covered the same territory as had that of Pedrarias, excepting Paria and Veragua. As usual, he had been particularly enjoined to look to the good treatment of the Indians and promote the formation of towns on healthy sites. In all matters of importance he was to consult with the alcalde mayor, as a man learned in the law, and a faithful servant of the king. The governor was empowered to settle all disputes and punish all crimes according to his judgment and the laws of the country, and with regard to thieves and robbers he was recommended to go even somewhat beyond the law. This was a power admirably suited for a reformer as Rios came heralded, but the rising rejoicings of the people at the removal of the old governor began quickly to calm on finding, as Oviedo says, that in the place of one hydra head cut off two others had appeared.[11]

Pedro de los Rios was quite a different man from Pedrarias; indeed we shall scarcely again in this history meet the equal of the old governor of Darien. Though possessing more bulk of body the new governor lacked the strength of mind of the old one; he lacked the cunning, indomitable energy, and the vindictive pertinacity of Pedrarias. He loved gold, however, in which predilection he was joined by his wife, who even surpassed him in this respect. In accordance with royal orders, among his first acts were to seize the effects and estates of Pedrarias, including his encomiendas, to secure control of the Pearl Islands and their revenues, and to hold all

[11] 'Por manera que estas mudanças de gobernadores es saltar de la sarten en las brasas.' *Oviedo*, iii. 123.

until the residencia of the outgoing governor was taken. Pedrarias knew that his authority at Panamá was lost, but he did not like to lose his property. It was a pecuniary disaster alone that could have taken him from Nicaragua at this critical moment.

The news of his coming was brought by a vessel laden with kidnapped Nicaraguans, to be sold by auction in the Panamá market. He himself reached Natá in December, and after writing to Rios made his appearance at the capital February 3, 1527. Three days later the residencia was proclaimed by Salmeron.

Not knowing who the judges might be, Pedrarias had taken the precaution to petition the India Council for power of appeal in any decision which might be rendered against him. And this had been granted, with the order to pay at once any judgment under ten thousand maravedís, and to make a deposit which should cover all amounts of larger claims. Further than this, he had taken with him to Nicaragua, and had left there, those who might most trouble him in his residencia. The greater part of the aggrieved were thus out of the way, and their opportunity lost.

He had also despatched Enciso to Spain, to represent his interests at court and neutralize the machinations of his enemies. The result was the arrival of a cédula from the king just in time to provide that no questions were to be raised in the present residencia touching matters disposed of by the pretended investigations under Alarconcillo. This reduced still further the complaints against Pedrarias, and as he at once made overtures to his judge, sparing neither money nor humility, and as he still had influence, his feebly presented crimes were lightly regarded. Oviedo deemed himself exceedingly ill used in these proceedings, and loudly chronicles his complaints. After presenting a long list of claims, which were denied, the historian was glad to escape assassination at the hand of his

ancient enemy.[12] Charges of course were sent to Spain,[13] citing instances of abuse of power, and of private frauds. Among the more serious accusations was the embezzling of royal moneys, which had helped to swell a remittance of seventy thousand pesos de oro, sent secretly to a safe receptacle in Spain. So pressing and puzzling were these charges that the India Council held repeated consultations on the case.

But Pedrarias had not been idle. He had requested his powerful relatives to hold forth to the king himself, to the best advantage, the many valuable services he had rendered in Africa as well as in the Indies. The words of the agent Enciso were likewise powerful, and made these records stand out resplendent, backed as they were with the dazzling treasures of the Pearl Islands.[14] Not only was Pedrarias acquitted and reinstated in his rights and possessions, but new favors were showered on him. Yet the government of Panamá could not be restored to him; indeed the crown itself had not been so blinded as some of its satellites to the many evils that had characterized the government of Pedrarias in Castilla del Oro. At all events it was considered timely to allow the oppressed province to recover from the selfish tyranny of his rule under a more fatherly supervision. His shrewd foresight and usual good fortune were paving a new way, however. It so happened that Gil Gonzalez, the rightful claimant to Nicaragua, died about the time that Pedrarias sent in to the king a glowing report on the resources of this province, together with promises of great revenues. Not only was he now entitled to the first consideration for the post of governor, but it was

[12] 'É como era hombre ydiota é sin letras, el se movió por consejo de aquel bachiller Corral, para me haçer matar á trayçion.' *Oviedo*, iii. 122.

[13] See, for instance, *Castilla, Carta*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xii. 85.

[14] Sandoval, indeed, speaks of the governor as a meritorious servant of the king, traduced by envious persons. *Hist. Carlos V.*, i. 218.

probably considered advantageous to the royal purse that a man of such natural proclivities for extortion should be given a field where watchful energy alone was needed to develop untold wealth. Again was the star of Pedrarias emerging from behind the Hyperborei Montes, but with lustre dimmed by clouds rising, this time in the direction of Honduras.

CHAPTER XXI.

RIVAL GOVERNORS IN HONDURAS AND NICARAGUA.

1526-1530.

COLONIAL POLICY—SALCEDO DISPLACES SAAVEDRA IN THE GOVERNMENT OF HONDURAS—SAAVEDRA'S ESCAPE—PEDRARIAS' ENVOYS TRAPPED—SALCEDO INVADES NICARAGUA—HIS CRUELTY AND EXTORTION—DISTRESS AMONG THE COLONISTS—RIOS ALSO PRESENTS CLAIMS, BUT IS DISCOMFITED—PEDRARIAS FOLLOWS TRIUMPHANT—SALCEDO'S IGNOMINIOUS FATE—ESTETE'S EXPEDITION—SLAVE-HUNTING PROFITS AND HORRORS—GLADIATORIAL PUNISHMENT OF REVOLTED NATIVES—PEDRARIAS' SCHEMES FOR AGGRANDIZEMENT—HE GRASPS AT SALVADOR AND LONGS FOR PERU—BOTH ELUDE HIM—FURTHER MORTIFICATION AND DEATH—CHARACTER OF THE CONQUERORS.

ONE of the chief causes which gave rise to the disputes of rival leaders for the occupancy of Nicaragua and Honduras was the policy which governed the Council of the Indies in regard to the colonial possessions of Spain. Gradually the discovery of Columbus had assumed gigantic proportions, and the indefinite and unknown limits to the territories which had been given to the first governors were becoming more fixed and determined. The immense extent of the discovery and the vast dominions which had been allotted to each colony was then first ascertained. It was deemed wise and prudent by the court of Spain that such broad possessions should be divided into smaller states, and governed by many, rather than that the whole should be under the jurisdiction of a few arrogant viceroys. Thus checks could be more easily placed on individuals, and the distant provinces of the New World could be more readily held in subjection. With this in view it was that Hernandez de Córdoba

had been urged by the audiencia to throw off allegiance to Pedrarias, and that the enterprises not only of Gil Gonzalez but of Olid had been encouraged by the Spanish government.[1]

But a resort to arms as a method for settling their differences was by no means desired; and when the emperor became aware that hostilities had broken out among the colonists of Honduras and Nicaragua he peremptorily forbade any Spaniard to draw his sword against another, under penalty of his severe displeasure. The better to curb the encroaching conquerors on either side, and to further his policy, he resolved to appoint new governors for these provinces; and thus it was that Pedrarias, owing in a great measure to his wife and to family influence, had obtained the long desired lake region, even before the result of his residencia was known; while Honduras was given as early as 1525[2] to Diego Lopez de Salcedo, regardless of the great efforts and means expended by Cortés in its colonization, wholly from his own resources.[3]

Salcedo was at this time residing in Española, and on receiving the appointment, together with instructions to inquire into the late trouble and punish the guilty, he at once prepared to set out. The audiencia

[1] The bitter complaints of Cortés against his rebellious lieutenant evoked from the king merely instructions for Olid to maintain friendly relations with Cortés, and to report to the crown regarding the progress of his conquest. 'El Rey...no hizo mas demostracion que escriuir á Christoual de Olid, que con Cortes tuuiesse toda buena correspondencia, y fuesse dando cuenta a su Magestad, de lo que passaua en aquella tierra, pareciendo que no era mal consejo, la diuision de tan gran gouierno como tenia.' *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. v. cap. xiii.

[2] His commission is dated November 20th. *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiv. 52.

[3] Cortés' complaints were numerous and bitter, as may be imagined. In a letter of 1532, for instance, he represents to the king the many valuable services rendered, and the hardship and danger suffered. He had discovered the province of Honduras at his own expense, amounting to over 30,000 castellanos, and the expedition to suppress the revolt of Olid had cost him over 50,000 castellanos, a like amount being also expended by his followers. He had conquered, pacified, and settled over 200 leagues of territory, founding three towns on the best parts of the coast; he had expended over 25,000 castellanos for horses, arms, and provisions, imported from Española and Cuba, and before leaving the country had left a competent captain in charge of the new colonies. *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xiii. 6-7.

also took the instructions to heart, and, regarding Cortés as implicated, they seized one of his ships at Santo Domingo, with its cargo of merchandise.[4] Salcedo found the settlers at peace on reaching Trujillo. Saavedra and Alcalde Figueroa set the example to the other officials in doing reverence to the new ruler, who was solemnly inaugurated on the 27th of October, 1526.[5] The first act under the new régime was to make an investigation into the late political disturbances, and the result was the arrest of Saavedra, regidores Garnica and Vega, and two settlers named Martin Cortés and Morales, who were placed on a vessel for transmission to the judges in Española. Their safe-keeping was intrusted to Diego Morillo, who was installed with a staff of justice, to give him greater authority. But the emblem of the law failed to impose upon the prisoners, who were in this respect hardly less imbued with the spirit of the times than Pedrarias and his followers. They had too wholesome a fear of the quality of mercy dispensed by the pompous rulers at Santo Domingo, and determined to make an effort for liberty. The mainland had barely been lost to sight when they appealed to the master's sympathy. Their argument was sufficiently weighted to be convincing, and the shackles were not only transferred to Morillo, but he was relieved of all his effects. The vessel's course was thereupon changed to Cuba, where the mutineers dispersed in search of wider spheres of operations.[6]

Shortly after Salcedo's installation the three envoys of Pedrarias arrived at Trujillo. Finding a royal governor instead of the intruder Saavedra, they did not venture to present their demands for the submission of the province, but sought instead to regain

[4] For this they were afterward censured. *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. x. cap. xi.

[5] The royal commission, with the ceremonies attending its reception, is given in *Traslado de una Cédula*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas*, *Col. Doc.*, xiv. 47 et seq.

[6] Orders came for investigation and punishment, *Herrera*, dec. iv. lib. ii. cap. vi., but the distant Indies possessed as yet too many loop-holes and corners for blind justice.

Nicaragua and warn their master. Salcedo had them arrested, however, as concerned in the disorders in Nicaragua and Olancho, and turned the tables by declaring Pedrarias an arraigned culprit, answerable to the residencia judge at Panamá, and Nicaragua as falling within the jurisdiction of Honduras, instead of pertaining to Castilla del Oro. He intended, in fact, to take possession at once, and in this course he was encouraged by petitions from the anti-Pedrarias faction of that province. The limits of Salcedo's government had not been fixed, and what more natural than to base on the claims of Cortés and Gonzales the pleasing illusion that Nicaragua must belong to his jurisdiction? An additional excuse was to be found in the late political disturbances in that province, which it behooved him as a royal officer to stop. The captive envoys should accompany him as guides and hostages.

Preparations were soon concluded, and Salcedo departed with nearly one hundred and fifty horsemen, leaving the small remnant at Trujillo under command of Francisco de Cisneros.[7] He sent forward Alonso de Solis, one of his captains, and a priest, with instructions to report to him the condition of the Indians throughout the district; whether they were friendly or otherwise; and what were their feelings in regard to the Christian faith which they had previously professed to adopt. Solis speedily came back with the information that bands of Spaniards were prowling about the Olancho Valley. Salcedo advanced upon them, and a skirmish ensued in which two men were lost. Suspecting that Albites and his companions might be connected with this untoward check, he sent them back to Trujillo with instructions for their immediate transmission to Santo Domingo, on the charge of inciting native revolts and other disorders. These charges were not

[7] Oviedo, iii. 189, states that Diego Mendez de Hinestrosa was left in charge at Trujillo, that Salcedo had already marched out of Trujillo for Nicaragua when the envoys of Pedrarias came up, and that he sent them at once to the audiencia. But he is not well informed.

sustained, however, and the prisoners soon returned fully exonerated.

Still another check came to dampen the ardor of the party, and Treasurer Castillo, among others, urged the abandonment of the expedition; but the fair shores of the Freshwater Sea had taken too deep a hold upon Salcedo's fancy, strewn as they were by rumor with much gold. No; he knew his duty as royal officer, and would extend his beneficent rule to this region. As for his losses and disappointments, he would look to that universal source of redress, the natives. Caciques were summoned to furnish Indians for carrying burdens and gathering food, and soldiers went forth to enforce the order. A number of those suspected of complicity in the disturbances at Natividad were hanged and others enslaved, to be eventually sent out of the country and sold. Great were their woes. Those who lost their relatives or near friends fled to the mountains, preferring starvation and death to the cruel oppression of the strangers. This feeling extended also to the district of Comayagua, and created a distrust which was at once magnified into revolt. The Spaniards immediately fell upon them, and a terrible havoc ensued. The natives resorted to the passive retaliation of withdrawing supplies, and even of destroying the crops, so as to leave the Spaniards without food, and compel them to devour horses and dogs. This heightened the feeling against them, and even the carriers were made to suffer so severely that many threw off their loads and sought to escape, only to be overtaken and slaughtered. The panic spread, and tribes distant from the scene burned their villages and fields to seek refuge in the mountains, lest they should be exposed to similar outrages on Salcedo's return.

In Nicaragua the rumor of these doings had impelled the natives to assume a threatening attitude, so that when the Spanish party finally arrived at the city of Leon they were hailed as saviors. This

helped to pave the way for Salcedo, and when he submitted his commission to Martin Estete, the officer in charge, and to the municipal body, they gave one glance at the sturdy forces by his side and then recognized it as valid. The new governor was sworn in May 7, 1527. Once in undisputed possession the humanity of Salcedo underwent a change. He would no longer carry panic into native villages by means of raiding parties; nay, he would even relieve the Indians from the oppression of their present masters, the late subjects of Pedrarias, and place them under the experienced control of his friends and followers. Without more ado the choice repartimientos were transferred to the hands of himself and his adherents, with not even an attempted excuse to the late holders. Such high-handed proceedings created general dissatisfaction, not only among the despoiled settlers but also among the enslaved, who were regarded as cattle, and treated with a severity paralleled only by the Honduras atrocities. More spirited, however, than the former victims, they retaliated with sullen stubbornness, and refused to gather gold or perform agricultural labor. The distress increased, and many could not procure the common necessaries of life. The rupture between the two races developed into open warfare, in which rights, grievances, and passion often figured only as minor impulses by the side of the cravings of hunger.[8]

To these distressing straits was the country reduced when a new claimant to the government presented himself, in the person of Pedro de los Rios. Invested with the same power and authority over Castilla del Oro as his predecessor, he thought himself entitled to jurisdiction also over Nicaragua, since it had been occupied and settled under the same auspices. He

[8] Herrera would have us believe that starvation was over the whole country, in all its ghastly horrors, making it a question of life and death between Spaniard and Indian, who devoured each other. dec. iv. lib. i. cap. vii. But this is clearly exaggeration.

had deferred his departure from Panamá till Pedrarias should have been securely entangled in the meshes of his residencia, and therefore unable to object. But the latter was desirous to see him leave, in the hope that a change in his own favor might be effected, perhaps by some friendly ingulfing wave, some devoted assassin, or some native treachery; for the road was new and Rios inexperienced. As a proof of his friendly interest in the project Pedrarias counselled him to invest heavily in merchandise, which must pay a large profit. Such advice was not to be disregarded, and, as circumstances would have it, the gubernatorial trader was received with open arms by the sorely pressed settlers of Nicaragua. But Rios had not the foresight which characterized Fiscal Moreno's proceedings in Honduras, two years before, and on presenting his claims to the supreme office the colonists returned a cold stare. They saw nothing in his commission which expressly included Nicaragua within Castilla del Oro, and although much afflicted by the avaricious and oppressive measures of Salcedo, they determined to support a governor whom they might call their own rather than submit to one residing at such a distance, and evidently intent on enriching himself and Panamá at their expense.

It is not improbable that the cause for the change lay partly with Pedrarias, whose emissaries hoped by this means to embroil the new aspirant with his proposed subjects. Salcedo was strong enough, however, with his own troops to dictate terms to his rival, and he peremptorily ordered him to leave the province within three days, under a penalty of ten thousand pesos. Rios had too much respect for his portly person to expose it to profane usage. Still he would have lingered had not the threatened fine urged him away. As it was, in the flurry of departure he even forgot his gout, with which he was just then severely stricken, and his groans were not resumed till the vessel had turned prow for Panamá. He carried one

consolation, however, to soothe his ruffled spirit; he had made these boorish colonists pay tenfold for his cargo of merchandise. After all, the trip had not proved unprofitable, and he laughed within himself at the thought. On his way back he stopped at Brusélas, in the gulf of Nicoya, where a friendly reception was accorded him. Informed of this, Salcedo with vindictive jealousy sent a troop of sixty horse under Garabito to destroy the hospitable town.

The rankest despot could hardly deport himself with more capricious severity than these petty upstart lieutenants in the Indies. Salcedo was evidently a fitting successor to Pedrarias, as far as displaying his jealousy, greed, and cruelty; but he lacked some of the commanding characteristics which had so often enabled the latter to weather the storm raised by his tyrannous impulses. His rule was to be brief and ignoble. One of his last acts, which bore the relieving stamp of a public measure, was to order Gabriel de Rojas to explore Rio San Juan, the outlet of the lake, and to found there a settlement.

This order was disregarded, for just then came the rumor that Pedrarias was about to return as governor. This sufficed to bring the general dissatisfaction with Salcedo to an issue. At first he treated the news as absurd; but, when the report came that Pedrarias was actually on the way with a royal commission, he resolved to collect his scattered followers and make his escape. The step was fatal, as it encouraged the still wavering Estete with his friends to pronounce in favor of the expected chief. The officials of Salcedo were arrested, which rendered the executive powerless to act, and his horses were seized, so that he might not escape a reckoning. So ominous became the demonstration against the deposed governor, that he abandoned the building which had hitherto given him shelter, and sought the protecting walls of the church. There he remained, closely guarded by the rebels, till Pedrarias arrived. Several persons had re-

monstrated with Estete with regard to these arbitrary proceedings, based as they were on a mere report from Panamá; but this officer, who had everything to gain by the movement if the report proved true, declared that Pedrarias should be supported even if he came without a royal commission. In any case it would be suicidal now to restore the relentless Salcedo to power.[9]

All doubts were solved by the arrival of the old governor at Leon in March, 1528, and the timely turncoats were liberally rewarded; Estete receiving the command of Leon, and Diego de Tejorina that of Granada. Immediately on receipt of his appointment Pedrarias had hastened to Nicaragua, leaving an agent at Panamá to finish his residencia, and to collect the property and effects which had been attached. In connection with the new government the king had appointed Licenciado Castañeda alcalde mayor, and Diego de la Tobilla treasurer, both of whom arrived eight months later.[10]

Salcedo's case claimed the first attention of the new ruler, and claims and charges began to pour in, the chief accusation being that he had stationed spies to watch for the arrival of Pedrarias and native assassins to despatch him. An investigation was ordered, to embrace also the question whether Salcedo had royal authority for his entry into the territory. The accused denied the charges, of course, and protested that he had come merely to pacify the country, in accordance with his instructions. He demanded liberty to depart for Honduras, where the king required his presence as governor. Any other

[9] According to Herrera, dec. iv. lib. iii. cap. ii., Gabriel de Rojas was offered the government, but declined to hold the province except for the king direct; whereupon he was arrested and Garabito given the command. He seems confused, however, while Cereceda's account is most clear on all these points. *Carta*, MS., 3–6. Oviedo is quite brief. iii. 190.

[10] The present treasurer, Rodrigo del Castillo, was under indictment by the inquisition at Panamá. With Pedrarias came a friar empowered to try his case, by whom he was acquitted, and he thereupon resumed office till Tobilla arrived. *Cereceda, Carta*, MS., 10–11.

person might have felt awed by a demand coupled so plausibly with the royal name, but Pedrarias had too often mocked even the direct commands of his sovereign to care for indirect requirements. He flaunted in the face of the accused the royal order lately received forbidding him to meddle in Nicaraguan affairs, and declared that since he had done so there was every prospect for a residencia. The order for it might arrive at any moment, and he must give bonds to answer the claims against him. The bonds not being forthcoming he was placed under restraint, and on his attempting to escape, close confinement was imposed.

Ten weary months Salcedo lay in durance. Finally Treasurer Tobilla and Osorio, afterward bishop, intervened and brought about a peaceful settlement. But the conditions extorted from him as the price of liberty were so humiliating that shame and vexation preyed upon his mind, and destroyed his health, already weakened by imprisonment. He was obliged to renounce his claims to the south, and promise to confine himself to a triangular section of territory bounded on the east and west by Cape Gracias á Dios and Puerto de Caballos.[11] The three envoys of Pedrarias, whom he had sent to Española to answer false charges, and who had returned acquitted, were to be compensated, and he must give security for twenty thousand pesos to appear in case a residencia should be instituted against him. On Christmas eve, 1528, the prison doors opened before him, and the once dashing Salcedo tottered forth, pale and emaciated, weighed down with infirmities of body and mind, an object of pity even to the down-trodden Indians. It had been a game of rogue against rogue,

[11] Herrera's lucid definition of the limits reads: 'Desde Leon al puerto de Natiuidad, cien leguas Nortesur, y desde Chorotega, por otro nombre Fōseca, hasta puerto de Cauallos, Nortesur, que auia setenta leguas, y cien leguas de costa por el mar del Norte, y otras tantas por el Sur con mas lo q̄ se le renunciaua, y lo que para adelante pudisse ensancharse descubriendo,' including Nequepia province, or Salvador. dec. iv. lib. iii. cap. ii.

and Pedrarias as usual was the winner. Salcedo felt that he deserved little sympathy, either from the oppressed colonists or from the cruelly treated natives, and within ten days he set out for the shielding precincts of his own government.

Pedrarias had long before this taken steps to secure for himself the large tracts of country which he intended to extort from his prisoner, chiefly because they were reported to be rich in gold. For this there were also additional motives. The report of mineral wealth in the province had induced the king to inquire regarding the desirability of erecting smelting works, and similar measures, and although the avaricious old governor required no incentive to gold-hunting, yet the communication was welcomed as a good pretence for his preparations. The already projected expedition by Rojas to the river outlet of the lake was therefore ordered to proceed, reinforced to more than one hundred and fifty men, but the chief command was intrusted to Estete, with instructions to explore the country, particularly for minerals, to take possession for Pedrarias, and to found settlements on the river and along the sea-shore, as desired by the king. On the river, where it receives the waters of the lake, was formed the settlement of Nueva Jaen, flushed at first with brilliant anticipations of a vast entrepôt trade and a flourishing colony, but doomed to speedy abandonment. From the mouth of the San Juan the party followed the coast northward, blazing their way with branding-iron and sword, and finding good mines at Cape Gracias á Dios, as rumored. There they established another colony, of which Rojas was left in charge, while Estete returned to Leon.

Their pathway thither had been stained sanguine by the most abominable cruelty against the natives, in the form of wholesale enslavement and wanton bloodshed, and this in face of the repeated and stringent orders from the king for their good treat-

ment.[12] Of what avail were orders which suited not the taste of Master Pedrarias! On setting out for Cape Gracias á Dios, Estete received from the chest, in which it was kept under three locks by order of the crown, the branding-iron, which was intended to be used only on rebels and criminals, and pursuing his circuitous route, he captured and branded indiscriminately all natives who fell into his hands, and sent them as slaves to Pedrarias at Leon. Captives were secured by iron collars around the neck, chained together in gangs, and forced to carry heavy burdens. When one fell from exhaustion, in order to save time and trouble, his head was severed from the body, and this released the collar so that the others might pass on.[13]

This and other kidnapping expeditions, made chiefly in the interest of Pedrarias, fairly glutted Leon and Granada with captives; but if they could not be used here there was another means of utilizing them. The native population of the Isthmus, as we have seen, had already been so greatly reduced by the ever dripping sword, by the hardly less speedy measures of relentless taskmasters, and by the flight of panic-stricken border tribes, that the settlers found it difficult to fill the constantly occurring gaps in their labor gangs. A slave market had accordingly been opened at Panamá, where natives were sold by auction. Its origin was with Pedrarias, and with a fatherly regard for his former government he felt it a duty to sustain an institution so useful to the colonists and so comforting to his coffers. A regular trade thereupon

[12] Besides the usual humane injunctions it was ordered that towns should be founded near the Indians, so that they might be brought by example and gentle means to a knowledge of the true faith, and be led to adopt the manners and customs of Christians. To promote this desirable end the royal officers were enjoined to watch strictly over the moral and economic features of the Spanish settlements. The revolted Chorotegas were to be pacified by kindness, and the native slaves brought from Panamá were to be returned. *Herrera*, dec. iv. lib. i. cap. viii. See chap. v., note 5, this volume.

[13] 'Lleuando los Indios cargados, y encadenados, cō argollas, porq̄ no se boluiessen: y porq̄ vno se canso, por no quitarle el argolla le quitaron la cabeça, y lo dissimulo.' *Herrera*, dec. iv. lib. iii. cap. ii.

sprang up in Indian slaves, and several ship-loads were taken down to Panamá about this time by different persons.[14]

The supply of unfortunates was drawn not only from the outlying districts, but from the very centre of the lake settlements, and their capture assisted the sword and lash to no small extent in decimating the population. When Gil Gonzalez first entered the country it was densely populated, and the city of Managua alone contained forty thousand souls, it was said. A few years of Spanish rule sufficed to turn whole tracts of flourishing country into uninhabited wilds, leaving here and there only small communities of terrorized natives groaning under extortionate and cruel masters. On appealing to their idols they were assured that a flood could be called forth, but in it would perish Indians as well as Spaniards. Such was the comfort derived from their religion. Although they had not courage enough to adopt this remedy, women widely formed the resolution not to perpetuate a race foredoomed to slavery and cruel death.

At first, when numbers still gave self-reliance, they ventured to renew the hostilities which under Salcedo had led to such bloody results. Soon after Estete's departure for Cape Gracias a general revolt broke out. In the districts of Leon and Granada bloodshed was averted, but in the interior the slaughter of natives was great, and if the Spaniards lost comparatively few, the loss was increased by the horrors of cannibalism.[15] Among the victims were Alonso Peralta, the royal treasurer, an hidalgo named Zurita, and two brothers of the name of Ballas, who in 1528 set out from the city of Leon to visit the Indians that had been allotted to them respectively. None ever returned; all were slain by their vassals. Pedrarias

[14] Ponce de Leon and Hernando de Soto, for instance, took two cargoes at one time, according to Pizarro, *Relacion*, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, v. 209.

[15] 'Ellos mataro a los Castellanos q̃ acertaron a hallar fuera del lugar, y los comieron.' *Herrera*, dec. iv. lib. iii. cap. ii.

despatched a band of soldiers, who captured eighteen caciques supposed to be implicated in the murders.

The Indians becoming daily more bold and troublesome a new method of striking them with terror was invented. As in the introduction of Christianity to the natives diplomacy was frequently made to take the place of logic, so in war and punishment a refined cruelty, in the exercise of which the aged Pedrarias Dávila stood unexcelled, was deemed the most effectual means of pacification. The governor of Leon determined on a grand spectacle, modelled somewhat after the gladiatorial exhibitions of Rome. An inclosure was made in the public square of the town, and on a fixed day the Indian chieftains were brought forth. One of them was led into the arena and given a stout stick or club with which to defend his life against the dogs to be let loose. At first five or six young and inexperienced animals were set upon him, which he could easily keep at bay with his stick. After witnessing this sport until it grew tame, and just as the unfortunate captive began to rejoice in the hope that through his skill and bravery his life was saved, two fierce bloodhounds rushed in, seized him by the throat, brought him to the ground, tore into shreds the flesh, and devoured the entrails, assisted by the still yelping whelps. On the authority of Oviedo, an eye-witness, this horrible scene was repeated seventeen times. Pedrarias ordered the dead bodies to be left on the ground as a warning to others, but soon the stench became insupportable, and the Indians were allowed to remove them.[16]

Thus did the effort to open a transcontinental route by way of San Juan not only fail, but it carried a host of evils with it, as we have seen. Pedrarias was not content, however, to abandon to Panamá so fruitful a project without another struggle, and since the strip of land between Leon and Caballos was well

[16] 'Los quales eran del valle de Olocoton é de su comarca.' *Oviedo*, iv. 100.

suited for a road, he prepared to open one. But orders came from the king forbidding the work. The Isthmus was regarded as sufficient for present traffic, and it was also feared that too many lives would be lost in constructing the new road.

One of the objects of Pedrarias in connection with the undertaking was to secure possession of the western territory wrested from Salcedo, and in this, at any rate, he resolved not to be defeated. Estete was accordingly despatched northward with a strong force, accompanied by Rojas. He was first to explore the northern lakes to determine their outlet, and then to occupy the district between Golfo Dulce and the South Sea, north of Fonseca Bay. This province, known as Salvador, had already been conquered by Alvarado, the lieutenant of Cortés; but Pedrarias knew that the settlers left in possession were not numerous, and that the king would be more apt to favor the annexation of the province to the adjoining small government of Nicaragua than to the distant and too extensive New Spain. Besides, Honduras had claimed it, and that claim was now his. Estete advanced into the heart of Salvador and occupied the town there founded by Alvarado. Few as they were the settlers refused to recognize the authority of the Nicaraguan governor, and his lieutenant retired to the town of Perulapan, upon which he bestowed the high-sounding title of Ciudad de los Caballeros, together with a batch of officials who were to aid him in the congenial task of oppression and enslavement. His sway was not of long duration, however, for Jorge de Alvarado, then in charge of the Guatemalan government, receiving notice of the intrusion, came down upon his settlement and compelled him to evacuate the province in hot haste, with the loss of half his force, which deserted to the enemy.[17]

[17] Despite his want of success, says Oviedo, iv. 61, Estete received from Pedrarias another important command, to the prejudice of another officer. The details of the expedition will be given in connection with Salvador.

Pedrarias' schemes for aggrandizement were evidently not succeeding according to his desire, and he grieved at the thought of the many heavy ducats lost on this last expedition. It was the more deplorable in view of the failure to direct through Nicaragua the transcontinental traffic, which would have yielded so rich a harvest for himself. But above all hovered a deeper grief than any of these. Peru, with its glittering wealth, was now dawning on the world, and none would have been more dazzled by the sight than Pedrarias, had not the agonizing fact intruded itself that he had been tricked out of these very treasures, or at least a large share of them.

When the first expedition was organized for this conquest by Pizarro, Almagro, and Luque, Pedrarias, then governor at Panamá, had stipulated for a fourth interest, in return for which he bestowed the weighty sum of his patronage. But the opening events proved to be less flattering than he had expected, and when demands came for pecuniary aid toward the enterprise, he shrank from the prospect, and allowed himself to be bought off for the paltry consideration of one thousand pesos de oro. Soon came glowing reports, however, and bitter were his denunciations of the folly which had permitted so rich a prize to escape him; and deep his feeling rankled against the late partners, whom he never ceased to suspect of duplicity and of having beguiled him with misrepresentation.

While he was thus brooding, it happened that Nicolás de Ribera arrived in Nicaragua, commissioned by the Peruvian conquerors to procure reinforcements. He sought in particular to win for this purpose Hernando de Soto, Hernan Ponce, and Francisco Compañon, all men of means, who had two vessels on the stocks, nearly finished and available for the voyage. By revolving before their eyes, in kaleidoscopic harmony, a few specimens of the Inca's treasures, illustrated by tales no less alluring, he secured the

active sympathy not only of these men, but of a crowd of beggared adherents.

Not least dazzled was Pedrarias. Indeed, he could not sleep for the visions that crowded upon his brain. Finally the idea struck him that he might here retrieve his folly by securing an interest in the vessels and reinforcements, and obtain a fair proportion of that gold-enameled region, perhaps the whole. Pizarro and Almagro had already prepared the way, and it might even be his fortune to secure the results of their victories. In order to lull the Peruvian emissaries he promised to do everything to aid Pizarro and Luque; as for Almagro, he had been deceived by him, and deceit his confiding nature could not endure. He thereupon entered secretly into negotiation with the owners of the vessels, but overreached himself by demanding the lion's share in command as well as returns. Feeling himself in duty bound to spare his own purse, he looked about for victims to furnish means, and bethought himself of Ribera's vessel. An alguacil was sent to seize it, but Ribera received timely warning and escaped, after prevailing on Ponce, Soto, and their adherents, to sail away to Panamá and there arrange with Pizarro for a liberal share in the conquest, leaving behind the foiled Pedrarias.[18]

The governor's mortification was increased by local troubles, as might be expected from his arbitrary rule and irascible temper, which had now reached octogenarian crabbedness. A most distasteful feature had been the arrival of Alcalde Mayor Francisco de Castañeda, appointed by the king to take charge of the judicial affairs of the province. This division of authority was intolerable, and, on the pretence that disorders must result where different persons exercised judicial and gubernatorial powers, he urged his friends in Spain to obtain for him the privilege to appoint and

[18] Soto alone brought about 100 men to Peru. *Pizarro, Rel.*, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, v. 211–15; *Herrera*, dec. iv. lib. vi. cap. iii.; *Oviedo*, iii. 119–20. This conquest will be spoken of in a later volume of this history.

remove at pleasure alcaldes mayores and lieutenants. Meanwhile he made an effort to exercise this power, alleging the possession of a royal cédula authorizing him to do so; but Castañeda, who was not so easily imposed upon, challenged him to produce the document, and this not being done, he added to his chagrin by ignoring him.

There was little likelihood of any arbitrary powers being conferred on the governor, for complaints of abuses were fast pouring in against him, headed by the influential ayuntamiento of Leon. A grave charge was peculation. When Rodrigo del Castillo surrendered his office to the formally appointed treasurer he took the opportunity to inform the king that large sums in gold had been taken from the Indians by Córdoba. All this the governor had laid hands upon without any accounting therefor to the crown. He had also managed to appropriate the confiscated estate of Córdoba, and to defraud a host of others, besides perpetrating outrages and cruelties of every description.[19]

In the midst of the brewing troubles, in the year 1530,[20] this Timur of the Indies died at Leon, nearly ninety years of age. His body was buried in the same church with his victim Hernandez de Córdoba, and his spirit went to meet the spirit of Vasco Nuñez, and the spirits of the hundreds of thousands of slaughtered savages whose benighted souls he had sent on before.[21] Not that he quailed at the thought. By this time his mind had become so fixed in some

[19] In 1527, as has been intimated, there was an outcry for his removal, but with the aid of influential friends he managed to retain his seat. Castillo states that one expedition alone, under Córdoba, had brought over 100,000 pesos de oro into Leon, none of which reached the crown. After beheading Cordoba he had conjured up a partner for him, named Tellez, into whose hands was placed the confiscated estate, so that it might with better pretence be appropriated. *Carta*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xii. 84–6.

[20] 'En fin de Iulio.' *Herrera*, dec. iv. lib. ix. cap. xv.

[21] Oviedo, iii. 172, attributes to Pedrarias the release of two millions of souls from dusky bodies during a period of sixteen years. 'Ni han tenido más largas jornadas que caminar dos millones de indios que desde el año de mill é quinientos y catorçe que llegó Pedrarias á la Tierra-Firme hasta quél murió.' Two million murders!

incomprehensible mould of logic that there was no disturbing it. Further than this he knew he could not escape the inevitable.

A disposition so ready to find solace is to be envied, the more so since it forms a redeeming feature. No man is, for that matter, wholly depraved, nor are any faultless. In the worst there is much that is good; in the best much evil. And the difference between the best and the worst is, in the eye of the Creator, much less than in the eye of the creature. For a period of sixteen years, during the most important epoch in the history of Darien, an irascible old man, cruel and vindictive, plays a prominent part. His name is infamous, and so it deserves to be. Some of his misdeeds may be attributed to inherent wickedness, others to infirmities of temper; but many to peculiar conditions incident to the colonization of a new country, and to the teachings of the times. Spanish colonists of the sixteenth century, reared under the influences of excessive loyalty, and suddenly withdrawn from the presence of their august sovereign to distant parts, were like children for the first time freed from the arbitrary rule of injudicious parents. While the safeguards of society were removed, and free scope thus given to passion, there yet remained their religious belief, the fruit of early teachings. That strange fanaticism which blended avarice and deeds diabolical with pretended zeal for the glory of God, not only permitted but demanded blood and vengeance. Under the circumstances, therefore, the wonder is, not that we find so much that is wicked in these Spanish adventurers, but that men so taught and conditioned display so many qualities noble and magnanimous. Farewell Pedrarias! Few there are who came to these parts of whom so much of evil, so little of good, may be truthfully said. And thou Death, almighty leveller! who by thy speedy compensation has brought this rusty, crusty old man, these several centuries,

and for all the centuries time shall tell, to be no better than Vasco Nuñez, than Córdoba, than the meanest of the multitude of savages he has vilely slain, we praise thee![22]

[22] Additional authorities for the preceding two chapters are: Various documents in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, v. 209, 211–12, 215; also in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, vii. 556–7; xii. 84–6; xiv. 54; xvi. 324; *Squier's MSS.*, iv. xx. 2–5, 11–43; *Remesal, Hist. Chyapa*, 164; *Andagoya, Narr.*, 32–9; *Chimalpain, Hist. Conq.*, ii. 181; *Navarrete, Col. de Viages*, iii. 416–17; *Las Casas, Hist. Apolog.*, MS., 29; *Pelaez, Mem. Guat.*, i. 54–9; *Beaumont, Crón. Mech.*, MS., 322–3; *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 616; *Belly, Nicaragua*, i. 171–2.

CHAPTER XXII.

MARCH OF ALVARADO TO GUATEMALA.

1522-1524.

RUMORS IN MEXICO CONCERNING THE COUNTRY TO THE SOUTH-EASTWARD—PACIFICATION IN THAT QUARTER—THE CHIEFS OF TEHUANTEPEC AND TUTUTEPEC—AT THE GATE OF GUATEMALA—SUMMARY OF ABORIGINAL HISTORY—ALLEGIANCE AND REVOLT—PREPARING OF AN EXPEDITION—DELAYED BY THE TROUBLES AT PÁNUCO—A SECOND ARMY ORGANIZED—THE MARCH—SUBJUGATION OF SOCONUSCO—THE TAKING OF ZAPOTITLAN.

SOME time before Olid entered Honduras the attention of Alvarado was directed toward Guatemala. Lying between Mexico and Nicaragua, this country was one of the first links in Cortés' chain of projected conquests; it was the foreground in the glowing picture which rumor had painted of the regions to the south. Here were the greatest of cities and the finest of palaces, maintained by a people as numerous and cultured as any in Anáhuac. A vast table-land, with an Italian climate, made bright with meandering streams, studded with verdure-fringed lakes, produced in abundance the choicest of products, while the mountains and river-beds, in the ardent imagination of the conquerors, at least, were veined with gold. Soft sensuous pearls were distributed by an equally lavish fancy along the shore bathed by the southern sea.

On first touching the borders of New Spain vague stories had reached Cortés to this effect, and while captive Montezuma still held sway at Tenochtitlan he had sought further information. The reports poured into his ears served only to magnify the mystery

and render the allurement irresistible. As soon, therefore, as the contest with the empire was over he despatched two small parties southward, and once again the drama of Vasco Nuñez was performed, once more was discovered and claimed the boundless ocean, emblem of infinity, incentive to ever greater deeds, to ever grander discoveries, "for within it," writes Cortés to the emperor, "must be found islands rich in gold and pearls, and precious stones and spices, and many other secrets and wonderful things, as men of experience and learning affirm."[1]

There was more than speculation in this statement, for the explorers returned with native envoys bearing gold and pearls and other specimens of riches. Nor had they failed, in accordance with the Catholic doctrine of appropriation, as I have intimated, to take possession of the new shores in the names of their Catholic majesties, the king and queen of Spain, and to erect the cross, emblematic of their religion. With doubled impulse the conquerors now advanced along the new route opened, and speedily the vast provinces of Michoacan and Oajaca were overrun. About the same time Pilot Andrés Niño had stretched the limit of discovery by sea from the gulf of Nicoya to very near this parallel,[2] disclosing to the world the vastness of the sea baptized with the blood of Magellan, and by him endowed with a new name.

Native envoys were meanwhile entering into Mexico to lay homage and rich gifts at the feet of the bearded white chief. Made happy in return with Castilian trumpery and the gracious condescension of the demi-gods, they went back to pour into the ears of their princes the tales impressed upon them by the strangers, of the power and grandeur of their king, and of the kindness and vast benefits to be derived from a submissive alliance with them. Among the first of the meek and friendly spirits to act upon

[1] *Cartas*, 259.
[2] See p. 493, this volume.

these reports was the lord of Tehuantepec. Less credulous was his neighbor of Tututepec, who had great wealth, and by no means relished the idea of throwing open his gates to rapacious invaders. He expostulated with his neighbor, saying that the course meditated would be ruinous to them all. The two chieftains had quarrelled before on a less momentous issue than the present, and it was quite easy for them to quarrel now, and fight. If the silly lord of Tehuantepec wished to throw away himself and all his belongings, it were better they should fall into a neighbor's hands than to strangers; so he of Tututepec attacked him and pressed him hard, until the ruler of Tehuantepec called to Cortés for help.

In answer to this request Pedro de Alvarado was sent to his aid. Leaving Mexico early in 1522, with a strong force, he swept southward like a whirlwind, and within a few weeks entered the doomed capital of Tututepec, captured the chieftain and his heir, and held them subject to heavy ransom. Nor was this all. There were rich mines thereabout, so he was told; and at the sea, into which he entered with brandished sword to take possession, his eyes feasted on lustrous pearls. This sealed the fate of the ocean-bordered realms, and permanent footholds were established, to serve as *nuclei* for radiating conquest, and as retreats for booty-laden raiders. It was on this occasion that Soconusco was peaceably occupied by the Spaniards.[3] Still more dazzling was the confirmation received of the wonderful kingdoms of the Quichés and the Cakchiquels, hitherto invested by distance with the charm of mystery, but now by proximity disclosing glimpses of no mean splendor. He found himself, in fact, not far from the border, and guides being at hand, he resolved to send two soldiers to investigate, with instructions to spy out the land and speak of their king and their religion.

[3] *Cortés, Cartas*, 289–90. But this state of things did not last long. Ixtlilxochitl includes Soconusco in a list of provinces which were in revolt in 1523. *Horribles Crueldades*, 65.

And thus are opened the portals of Guatemala,[4] a region within whose parallels centuries rocked the cradle of American civilization, now disclosed by monuments the most imposing of any on the continent. The history of their origin is hidden in the remote past, of which only an occasional glimpse is permitted the investigator. A mighty Maya empire looms forth under the name of Xibalba, founded perhaps by Votan, the culture-hero, and centring round the famous Palenque. A golden age was followed by long struggles with a growing power, which brought about its downfall toward the beginning of our era. The Nahuas now rise into prominence, but some five centuries later disaster falls also on them, and a general breaking-up ensues, leading to mighty migrations and the formation of smaller independent nations, such as the Toltecs, Chichimecs, and Quichés. After this even tradition ceases to speak, save in alluding vaguely to a later foreign immigration. With this come also certain Toltecs, who, after the downfall of their empire in the more northerly Anáhuac, seek here an asylum where once again may bloom the culture that, cradled in this very region, now returns with invigorating elements. Mingling with the natives, they stir anew the progress paralyzed by civil wars, infuse fresh spirit into tottering institutions, and, combining with the aboriginal culture, develop the new era apparent in the art relics of this western plateau.

A series of struggles soon ensues, out of which rises in the twelfth or thirteenth century the Quiché empire. Subordinate tribes gradually acquire sufficient strength, however, to cast off a yoke which has

[4] According to Fuentes y Guzman, derived from *Coctecmalan*—that is to say, *Palo de leche*, milk-tree, commonly called *Yerba mala*, found in the neighborhood of Antigua Guatemala. See also *Juarros, Guat.*, ii. 257–8. In the Mexican tongue, if we may believe Vazquez, it was called *Quauhtimali*, 'rotten tree.' *Chronica de Guat.*, 68. Others derive it from *Uhatezmalha*, signifying 'the hill which discharges water;' and Juarros suggests that it may be from *Juitemal*, the first king of Guatemala, by a corruption, as *Almolonga* from *Atmulunga*, and *Zonzonate* from *Zezontlatl*. The meaning of the word would then be 'the kingdom of Guatemala.' *Guat.*, i. 4; ii. 259–60.

grown burdensome, and foremost among the new nations figure the Cakchiquels, who in the early part of the fifteenth century are dividing domination with the Quichés. The Cakchiquels themselves divide soon after, the northern and weaker branch forming the Zutugils, their respective capitals being Patinamit and Atitlan. These, with their former masters, are the three rival monarchies of Guatemala in the beginning of the sixteenth century. The Quichés, who govern at Utatlan, nevertheless maintain a certain preëminence, both in political standing and culture. There are, besides, a number of minor independent peoples only too eager to stimulate enmity between the leading powers, and to ally themselves with that which is likely to favor their own interests. This condition of things, so favorable to foreign intrigue, has not escaped the attention of the ambitious Aztecs, who are already masters of the Soconusco border province. Their agents are in fact scattered throughout the country, laying plans for further conquests, when the Spaniards step in to lay their iron hand upon the country, which here as in other parts they find too well prepared for them by ambition and misrule.

Nor do we fail to find foreshadowed here, as elsewhere upon the pages of history, the momentous event. There were startling occurrences, such as conflagrations and locust ravages; there was a ball of fire, which for many evenings rose in the east and followed the path of the sun; and there were other like omens. When the troubled priests went to seek an explanation from the oracular black stone at Cahbaha, their awe was increased by finding it broken in twain. In 1520 cholera swept the Cakchiquel country, followed in 1521 by the small-pox, which, after desolating Mexico, fell upon these southern provinces and carried off half the population, including the two kings and the flower of the nobility, leaving gaunt famine in its trail by way of remembrance. Amid such presages it was that the news came of the achievements of the

white men in Montezuma's realms, of their wonderful war enginery and invincible prowess. Less awed by these reports, the Quichés, who had probably suffered less from epidemics, prepared to resist the prospective invasion with the same determination that they had formerly shown against the Aztecs; but the Cakchiquels were more broken in power and spirit, and more inclined to welcome the new-comers, particularly since the Quichés were again becoming dangerous.[5]

Thus stood affairs when the two messengers of Alvarado appeared at Patinamit. On their arrival at the capital they were peaceably received. When admitted into the presence of King Belehe Qat[6] they were asked if they had been sent by Malinche,[7] and whether they had come on great sea monsters similar to those that had been seen off the coast the year before,[8] and whether they were accustomed to tell the truth; whereupon they made answer that they had come from the emperor of the world, and from his invincible captain, who, though no god,[9] had found his way hither to show them the path to paradise. Their journey had been by land, they said, and they would by no means lie, their truthfulness being as unvarying as the polar star. Then one of them[10] drew an enormous carac with six masts, and, Peter Martyr adds, as many decks, which was indeed a fair specimen of Spanish veracity. The Indian nobles gazed in wonder

[5] See *Native Races*, v., passim.

[6] There were two royal families among the Cakchiquels. The succession alternated between them. The king's title was Ahpozotzil, while that of the heir of the other branch was Ahpoxahil. The eldest sons of these had respectively the titles of Ahpop Qamahay and Galel Xahil. *Native Races*, ii. 640.

[7] This Mexican name of Cortés was already known to the natives from sea to sea, and from the far north to the far south; in fact, to them it was almost his only name.

[8] Gomara surmises that the ships of Andrés Niño were referred to, *Hist. Ind.*, 266, while Peter Martyr believes them to have been those of Gil Gonzalez, seen off the coast of Yucatan.

[9] 'El qual pregunto, si eran de Malinxe,..Dios caydo del cielo.' *Gomara, Hist. Ind.*, 266.

[10] A carver in wood, and no ordinary pilot, Peter Martyr says, dec. viii. cap. v., while Gomara's words are, 'Treuiño, y era carpintero de naos.' *Hist. Ind.*, 266.

at the enormous vessel, with its sails, and spars, and countless ropes, and thought it must indeed be a true representation, since there were so many adjuncts.

At length the king spoke. "How is it that the Spaniards are so invincible, being no larger than other men?" "In the God of heaven our strength lies!" came the answer; "He whose holy law we proclaim, he gives us victories, lending us courage sharp like iron, and intelligence powerful like caged thunder, and beasts withal, which are in themselves a host." And the diplomatic Apelles drew a colossal horse, of fierce aspect, mounted by a man. The spectators were awe-stricken. Right willingly now would the king enter into an alliance with these wonderful beings. He would supply them with fifty thousand warriors if they would overthrow the neighboring foes who were devastating his land. Alas! for ready friendship, the humble offer of vassalage, and open hand; peaceful policy or bold defiance alike led to the oppressor's yoke. The embassadors were dismissed, promising to report the ruler's wishes to their commander, and gayly they went their way, accompanied by five thousand slaves, laden with the products and manufactures of the land, with cacao, maize, and poultry, besides raiment, and vases, and jewelry to the value of twenty thousand pesos de oro.[11]

On receiving this earnest of advantage Alvarado hastened back to impart the news to his chief and to assist him in plans for conquest. It was determined to advance at once by sea and land. A force of forty Spaniards, mostly carpenters and seamen, was despatched to Zacatula, on the Pacific coast, to engage in ship-building, as an aid to proposed conquest and colonization. We find, moreover, that during this

[11] One of the messengers sought to appropriate to himself a quantity of the gold, while his comrade, disapproving, first admonished him, then held his peace, dissembling, and accused him to Cortés of theft. The culprit was convicted, publicly flogged, and banished from New Spain. *Peter Martyr*, dec. viii. cap. v. 'Esta fue la primera entrada, y noticia de Quauhtemallan.' *Gomara, Hist. Ind.*, 267.

same year, 1522, two Spanish envoys, with certain natives of Mexico and of the province of Soconusco, were sent to Utatlan and Guatemala,[12] and on their return they met Cortés at Tuxpan,[13] on his way back from Pánuco, where he had been engaged in pacification. About one hundred[14] embassadors accompanied these messengers, sent by the rulers of those cities to tender friendship and service to the king of Spain. Nothing could be more courteous and dignified than the bearing of Cortés while accepting this allegiance, as he terms it, and the costly offerings of gold ware, rare plumes, and feathered tapestry brought by the Indian envoys; and again were produced and presented with imposing mien the gewgaws of Spain. Especial favor and kind treatment, the embassadors were assured, should be extended to these princes and their subjects, inasmuch as this tender of friendship was voluntary and in good faith. An appropriate display of warlike power was made before the visitors, who were then dismissed.[15]

About the beginning of 1523, however, rumors reached Cortés that these allies were scarcely to be relied on, and that the settlers in Soconusco were

[12] *Cortés, Cartas*, 289; *Gomara, Hist. Ind.*, 267; *Vazquez, Chronica de Gvat.*, 4; *Remesal, Hist. Chyapa*, 2–3. Gomara erroneously gives 1523 as the year of this embassy, as well as Alvarado's expedition to Tututepec.

[13] Or Tuzapan, on the coast of Vera Cruz, some leagues south of Tampico.

[14] Gomara says 200 men, to ratify the treaty of peace with a reasonable present. *Hist. Ind.*, 266–67. Remesal states that the embassadors from Guatemala found Cortés at the port of Villa Rica [Vera Cruz] in high good humor, having received the news of his appointment as governor and captain-general of New Spain. *Hist. Chyapa*, 3.

[15] Vazquez makes no mention of embassadors from the lord of Utatlan; on the contrary, he states that the king of the Cakchiquel nation had invested with independent sovereignty over a portion of his kingdom his brother Ahpoxahil, who held his court at Tecpanatitan [Tzolola]; and that these two rulers, without informing the neighboring lords of their intention, conjointly sent embassadors to Cortés with offers of peace and submission. *Chronica de Gvat.*, 68. Brasseur de Bourbourg takes this view, and states that when the secret alliance became known the indignation was general. A confederation for the destruction of the Cakchiquels was formed, and a struggle of fearful bloodiness had been carried on for some months when the confederates received the news that the Tonatiuh was advancing through Soconusco against them. *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 630. But Cortés distinctly states that he both sent messengers to Utatlan and received envoys from that city. *Cartas*, 289. See also *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. v. cap. viii.; *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 174.

molested by inroads from the southern provinces.[16] Although the truth of the reports was doubtful, Cortés deemed it not adverse to his interests to regard them as true, for there were advantages in the conquest of rich provinces which peaceful possession could not give.[17]

The subjugation of the districts being thus resolved on, naturally the leadership fell to Alvarado, who had already taken some steps in that direction, as we have seen. He had probably stronger claims upon Cortés than any captain in the Mexican conquest, having shared with him, as second in command, many desperate battles and many brilliant triumphs. Perhaps more so than with any of the others, his character was apparent on the surface: reckless, impetuous, merciless, lacking in veracity if not in common honesty, he was still zealous and courageous; and with his native dexterity, and past experiences under Grijalva and Cortés, he may now be called an able commander. If less staid and regular than Olid, his loyalty was regarded as above suspicion. At all events, the general could not himself undertake the work, and the best proxy was this captain.[18]

Preparations were begun early in 1523. A force was quickly organized, but operations were diverted by the inopportune arrival at Pánuco of the adelantado Francisco de Garay, who endeavored to supplant Cortés in that quarter. Alvarado was therefore despatched against the interloper, and it was not until the 6th of December that the expedition set out for Guatemala. It was a gallant array, as finally formed, the very flower of New Spain chivalry, one hundred

[16] Gomara states that at the time of their overtures to Cortés the Guatemalans were at war with Soconusco, and now, encouraged by their alliance, pressed hostilities with increased vigor. *Hist. Ind.*, 267. Ixtlilxochitl claims that in 1523 the Mexican princes Ixtlilxochitl and Quauhtemoctzin learned that the provinces of the south coast, among which he includes Soconusco, had risen against those who were friendly to the Christians, and they straightway informed Cortés. *Horribles Crueldades*, 65–6.

[17] 'Y porque ya yo tenia mucha costa hecha...y porque dello tengo creido que Dios nuestro Señor y V. S M han de ser muy servidos.' *Cartas*, 304.

[18] For more concerning his character see *Hist. Mex.*, i. 73–5, this series.

and twenty horsemen, three hundred infantry, of whom one hundred and thirty were cross-bowmen and arquebusiers, and over twenty thousand picked native warriors.[19] Spiritual guides were present in the persons of two friars and two army chaplains.[20] And it

[19] *Cortés, Cartas*, 304. With regard to both date and number authorities differ. Bernal Diaz assigns December 13th as the day of departure; Ixtlilxochitl, December 8th. *Horribles Crueldades*, 71; Fuentes, November 19th, and Vazquez, November 13th. Vazquez states that this last is the date given in the original manuscript of Bernal Diaz, though the printed copy gives December 13th. *Chronica de Gvat.*, 523. The number of forces at the second mustering is stated by Cortés to have been 120 horsemen, with 40 spare animals, and 300 foot-soldiers, of whom 130 were cross-bowmen and arquebusiers. There were also several persons of high rank from Mexico and the neighboring cities with the native troops; but the latter were not numerous, on account of the distance of the proposed scene of action. A park of four pieces of artillery completed the equipment. Oviedo follows Cortés. Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 174, gives the number of arquebusiers and cross-bowmen as 120, and that of the horsemen 135, with above 200 Tlascaltecs and Cholultecs, besides 100 picked Mexicans. Herrera, dec. iii. lib. v. cap. viii., assigns 300 Spaniards, 100 of whom were arquebusiers, with 160 horses. Vazquez, *Chronica de Gvat.*, 4, says the force consisted of 300 Spaniards with Tlascaltec, Mexican, and Cholultec allies. Without making any mention of the guns, which the above authorities do not omit, Fuentes says the force was composed of 750 hombres de calidad, as follows: 300 foot-soldiers, arquebusiers, and cross-bowmen, 135 horsemen, and four guns under the artilleryman Usagre, written in Bernal Diaz as Viagre; but 750 must be an error, since the artillerymen would thus number 315; 450 is probably the intended number. To these were added 200 Tlascaltec and Cholultec bowmen, and 100 picked Mexicans. This author, moreover, gives a list of the names of nearly 200 conquistadores. *Recordacion Florida*, MS., 25–7. Gomara has 420 Spaniards, with 170 horses, four pieces of artillery, a great quantity of stores, and a large number of Mexican troops. 'Mucha gente Mexicana.' *Hist. Ind.*, 267. Brasseur de Bourbourg gives the forces as 300 foot-soldiers, 120 of whom were arquebusiers or cross-bowmen, 135 horsemen, with four pieces of artillery, 200 warriors of Tlascala and Cholula, 10,000 each of Mexico and Acolhuacan, besides a large number of porters and carriers. *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, 632. This last author is supported by Ixtlilxochitl, who states that Ixtlilxochitl and Quauhtemoctzin supplied Cortés each with 10,000 warriors, under the command of able captains. *Horribles Crueldades*, 65–6. And with regard to the native contingent troops, we have additional evidence that they were far more numerous than Cortés chose to represent them to the Spanish monarch. The Xochimilco Indians, whose city lay five leagues from Mexico, sent in a petition for redress of grievances, dated 2d May, 1563, in which they claim to have furnished Alvarado, their encomendero, with 2500 warriors for the conquest of Honduras and Guatemala. *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, viii. 293–4. By royal edict the employment of natives beyond their own borders had been forbidden; hence, to diminish the magnitude of the disobedience, the number was diminished.

[20] The former were Franciscans, named Juan de Torres and Francisco Martinez de Pontaza, according to Vazquez, *Chronica de Gvat.*, 524. This writer enters into a long argument to prove that Bartolomé de Olmedo, of the order of Nuestra Señora de la Merced, could not have accompanied the expedition, as stated by Bernal Diaz, *Hist. Verdad.*, 174. Vazquez, with the aid of two other friars, compared the original manuscript of Bernal Diaz with the printed work published in 1632, and found the last mention of Olmedo

was a proud moment for Alvarado as he marched out of the Mexican capital the chief commander of that brilliant company, the panoplies of the cavalry glittering high above the flashing helmets of the infantry, while the long sombre line of swarthy allies was broken here and there by the colored insignia and gaudy plumes of some great chieftain. For a little way Cortés himself rode beside his subordinate and friend, reiterating his instructions, charging him specially to render punctually his report, and such a one as would be acceptable to his majesty. Nor was the parting devoid of pleasure, for one would be rid of sometimes unpleasant interference in affairs at the capital, while the other would be independent of any superior.[21]

It was about the middle of the dry season; and the time of year, the weather, and the condition of the roads all were favorable, so that the southward march promised to be an easy one. After turning aside to quell an insurrection in the mountains of Tehuantepec[22] Alvarado continued his course, and on the 12th of January, 1524, wrote to Cortés from Tehuantepec city, where he had been received in all friendship and with reiterated expressions of allegiance. He then entered the province of Soconusco, upon whose people the Spanish yoke seemed to rest a little heavy.

The shadows which flit behind substantial record in Soconusco's history represent the people as inde-

in the manuscript to be in chapter clvii. He had a suspicion that the passages in later chapters where Olmedo's connection with the expedition is mentioned may be interpolations by the Friar Alonso Remon, who was of the same order as Olmedo, and who first published the *Historia Verdadera*. The two clergymen were Juan Godinez, *Remesal, Hist. Chyapa*, 4, and Juan Diaz, *Ramirez, Proceso contra Alvarado*, 128.

[21] *Remesal, Hist. Chyapa*, 3. This authority also states that Cortés conferred on Alvarado the title of lieutenant-governor and captain-general. Cortés, in his letter to the king, expresses great confidence in the expedition, and regrets that inopportune circumstances in connection with the fleets had retarded the discovery of many secrets, and the collection of gold and pearls for the royal treasury. *Cartas*, 305.

[22] In some rocky fastnesses, *peñoles*, called the Peñoles de Guelamo, being in the encomienda of a soldier of that name. *Bernal Dias, Hist. Verdad.*, 174; *Fuentes, Conq. Guat.*, MS., 1.

pendent for ages and in the usual state of chronic warfare with their neighbors,[23] by reason whereof they became so weakened as to fall under the sway of the Olmecs, who oppressed them almost beyond endurance. Numbers indeed abandoned their homes, leaving many tracts nearly depopulated. Under Aztec domination, however, they regained somewhat their strength, and when the Europeans came the district was quite populous and advanced in civilization. And now, when the purposes of the Spaniards were made known to them, they turned and joined the nations of Guatemala confederated for resistance.

At no great distance from the Tehuantepec border Alvarado first encountered serious opposition, and before the Guatemalan border was reached many patriots had been punished and many freemen made slaves. The subjugation of the Soconuscans was decided by a pitched battle at Tonalá, a town of fifty thousand inhabitants,[24] where a large army under a Quiché prince was defeated.[25] At the border of Guatemala proper the army entered, early in February, the dense forests of Zapotitlan,[26] now Costa Cuca and Costa Grande. For three days they marched in the shadow of lofty evergreens, through uninhabited wilds, skirt-

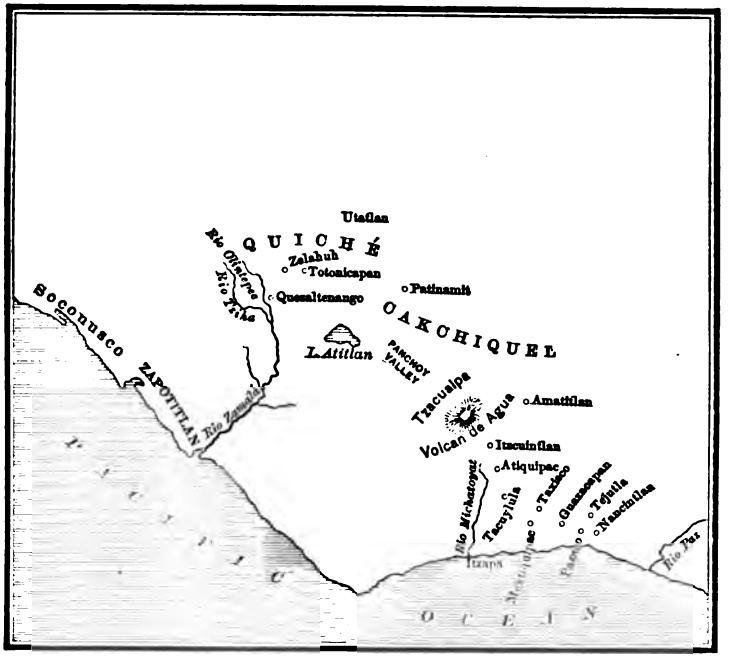
[23] Larrainzar finds no difficulty in looking beyond the myths to a time when this people was included in the Chiapanec nation. *Hist. Soconusco*, 7.

[24] Bernal Diaz assumes that the province contained only 15,000 families, estimated by Fuentes to represent a population of 60,000 inhabitants. *Hist. Verdad.*, 174.

[25] *Pelaez, Mem. Guat.*, i. 45; *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 229; *Vazquez, Chronica de Gvat.*, 4; *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. v. cap. viii. Bernal Diaz, followed by Fuentes, states that in Soconusco Alvarado was peaceably received, and that the natives presented offerings of gold. *Hist. Verdad.*, 174. This idea may have arisen from the fact that some towns did submit without active opposition, as recorded or implied by Gomara and Herrera. Remesal says that Alvarado passed on like a thunderbolt, conquering by force of arms and exciting great terror by reason of the carnage at Soconusco. That the destruction was great is evident from the ruins to be seen at the entrance into Guatemala, in the locality called the Sacrificadero. *Hist. Chyapa*, 3. Brasseur de Bourbourg affirms that Alvarado, as he passed through this district, founded a Spanish colony at Huehuetan, which was long the capital of the territory after the destruction of the city of Soconusco. *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 633–4. This could have been only a concentration of the already resident Spaniards, for Alvarado would scarcely have left behind him, at this juncture, many of his own men.

[26] Fuentes and Guzman, MS., 2, give the later name of Zapotitlan as Suchitepeque, which signifies Hill of Flowers.

ing pestiferous swamps or plunging into snake-infested canebrakes; now hacking their way through thickets, now fording high-banked streams or scaling rugged hill-sides, while painted macaws screamed at them, and poisonous insects left their sting. Amidst the customary prayings and cursings they struggled forward, and finally emerged from the forest and entered cultivated lands.



Messengers had been sent forward summoning the provinces in due form to allegiance. And now were captured three natives, believed to be spies from the city of Zapotitlan,[27] who were despatched with a second requirement, to which there was no reponse. The Spaniards then advanced along a broad open

[27] Place of zapotes, a plum-like fruit abounding in the neighborhood. *Niebla, Mem. Zapotitlan*, MS., 7–8. Its ancient name was Xetulul. It is now abandoned, and the inhabitants are dispersed among the neighboring villages. *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 635.

highway, and soon after entered a narrower road, which they found barricaded; whereupon they pitched camp in an open plain near by. On a height beyond a deep ravine, through which flowed a river,[28] stood the city, bathed in the bright rays of the setting sun, like a beautiful maiden arrayed for the sacrifice. Between the plain and the city the ground was thickly covered with plantations of cacao, which would materially impede the action of cavalry.

The Spaniards had not long to wait attack. In the dusk of evening a small band sprang from cover and slew a number of the allies. The cavalry were thereupon ordered to sweep the plain. They came upon a large force, and a skirmish ensued in which some of the horses were injured. Alvarado's blood was now up, and he ordered an immediate march on the city. No serious opposition was encountered until the army came to the ravine, spanned by a narrow, rudely built wooden bridge, the crossing of which was fiercely contested by a large body of warriors. The artillery was accordingly brought into action and did efficient service. The doomed natives fought well, rallying again and again under the frightful havoc of the guns, until a great breastwork was formed of their slain. At length the cavalry, under cover of a heavy fire, succeeded in forcing a way across the stream and began to climb the height to a bench overlooking the ravine. The infantry followed. The passage was made in the midst of the fiercest attacks; but Alvarado protected his rear with consummate skill, and soon he had the satisfaction of drawing up his troops on the open ground above, safe from molestation. In the streets of the city, which the army now entered, the natives made another desperate effort to save themselves; but without avail. Those terrible guns! those terrible horses! that life-compelling steel, falling

[28] The Zamalá, bearing at its source the name Seguilá, and lower that of Olintepec. Near the village of this latter name it is joined by the Tziha, from which junction down to the sea it is called the Zamalá. *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 635.

with a force and precision worthy the death-dealing enginery of the gods! For half a league beyond the town the allies were permitted to pursue and slay, after which the victors took up their quarters in the abandoned market-place, where for two days they rested and reconnoitred.[29]

[29] The loss to the natives was of course severe. Of the Spaniards two only were killed, but many were wounded. The allies were greater sufferers, and a number of the horses were badly injured. See further *Alvarado, Relacion*, in *Barcia, Hist. Prim.*, i. 157–8; *Oviedo*, iii. 475–6; *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 174; *Salazar, Conq. Mex.*, 125–6; *Ixtlilxochitl, Horribles Crueldades*, 66; *Fuentes y Guzman, Recordacion Florida*, MS. 2; *Juarros, Guat.*, ii. 250.

CHAPTER XXIII.

CONQUEST OF GUATEMALA BEGUN.

FEBRUARY–MARCH, 1524.

OVERTURES OF KICAB TANUB TO THE LORDS OF THE ZUTUGILS AND CAKCHIQUELS—DEATH OF THE QUICHÉ KING—TECUM UMAM HIS SUCCESSOR—GATHERS A GREAT ARMY—INTRENCHES HIMSELF AT ZACAHA—PASSAGE OF PALAHUNOH BY THE SPANIARDS—A SKIRMISH—A BLOODY ENGAGEMENT—QUEZALTENANGO ESTABLISHED—THE ARMY ADVANCES ON XELAHUH—THE CITY DESERTED—BATTLE OF XELAHUH—TECUM UMAM SLAIN—FORCIBLE PROSELYTING.

As we may well imagine, the presence of the conquering army created a profound sensation throughout the whole Quiché dominion. They were a warlike people, rulers and subjects, and proud withal. It is stated that while Alvarado was yet in Soconusco, Kicab Tanub, king of Utatlan, had endeavored to bring the lord of the Zutugils and the lord of the Cakchiquels into a combination which he was forming for purposes of defence against the approaching army. But they haughtily declined the overtures; one because the Quiché king had secretly aided a rebellious vassal of his, and the other because he felt sufficiently powerful to defend his gates against all comers. The ruler of the Cakchiquels,[1] indeed, declared openly for the Spaniards, while the king of the Zutugils was so insulting in his rejection of the proposed confederation that King Kicab Tanub was deeply humiliated. His chagrin, added to the anxie-

[1] With whom the king of the Quichés was actually at war, and who with sneers and insults affirmed that without aid he could defend his kingdom against a greater army than that which the strangers were bringing against the Quichés. *Juarros, Guat.*, ii. 247.

ties attending preparations for defence, brought on a fever, from which he died in a few days. He was succeeded by his son, Tecum Umam.

Meanwhile all the forces of the kingdom were placed under arms, and a general muster of allies and tributaries was appointed to be held at Totonicapan. Thither marched Tecum Umam at the head of sixty thousand warriors, and he was soon joined by a still larger force. With this army he occupied the table-land on which stood the strong city of Xelahuh,[2] and which overlooked the ravines of the Tziha and the Olintepec. Ten lords governed this city, and with all their armies brilliantly equipped they went to the assistance of the Quiché monarch. Never since the days of the great Kicab[3] had there been seen on the Central American plateau a military display so imposing. Redoubtable warriors were there, made fierce of aspect by the skins of wild beasts, the lion, the jaguar, and the bear, and a vast array of fighting men, two hundred thousand and more,[4] while conspicuous above them all in military splendor was the Quiché king and the royal retinue. On one side of the elevated plain was Zacaha, a line of fortifications commanding the defile through the mountains by which the invading army had to enter. The place was now strengthened by throwing up round many of the hills stone walls, along the sides of which a ditch was carried, set with poisonous stakes. A num-

[2] That is to say, 'Under the government of Ten.' The city was ruled by ten lords, each having under him a *xiquipil*, or 8000 dwellings. Fuentes estimated that this city contained 300,000 inhabitants. So strongly was it fortified that it had never been taken, though attempts had often been made. *Juarros, Guat.*, ii. 240.

[3] The most powerful of the Quiché monarchs, said to have reigned about the time of Julius Cæsar. For list of Quiché kings see *Native Races*, v. 566.

[4] Juarros states that Tecum Umam set out with 72,000 fighting men. At Chemequena, now Totonicapan, the number was increased to 90,000 by the forces of eight fortified places and eighteen towns; on the plains of Xelahuh ten lords joined him with 24,000 men, and 46,000 arrived from other quarters, so that in all his army amounted to 232,000 warriors. *Juarros, Guat.*, ii. 248. Vazquez affirms that these forces came from more than 100 populous towns, which owed allegiance to the Quiché monarch, and that no aid was given by the Cakchiquels or Zutugils. *Chronica de Gvat.*, 5.

ber of military machines were constructed, such as towers on wheels, and catapults for hurling missiles, which would have done honor to the man-killing profession of any European nation of that day. There King Tecum Umam intrenched himself and awaited the incoming army.

And to this inland plateau, in the very heart of the Quiché country, Alvarado was now with difficulty making his way through a narrow gorge of the sierra, leaving the people of Zapotitlan quite subdued. After crossing two rapid rivers a steep ascent six leagues in length was begun, leading to Palahunoh, as the pass was called. It was indeed a rugged way, more in the nature of a height to be scaled than an opening in a chain of mountains. So severe were the struggles with nature and Satan, to whom these stubborn soldiers ascribed most ills, that their former troubles seemed to them as pastime now. The place was so steep and rough that it was with the utmost difficulty the horses, plunging and struggling, could make their way up. It was impossible to accomplish the whole distance in one day, and the panting and foot-sore army, too exhausted to proceed farther,[5] was ordered to encamp when half the ascent had been made. The next day through similar efforts they reached the summit, where a woman and a dog were found sacrificed, in token of defiance and challenge to war, as the interpreters explained.

During the descent to the plain, at no great distance, in a narrow part of the pass, a strong breast-

[5] Vazquez describes both the natural difficulties and the artificial defences of this pass as offering the greatest obstacles to the invaders. The gorge had been protected by palisades and ditches, and only by the most indefatigable exertions, now destroying trenches and stone barricades, now climbing rugged steeps by help of feet and hands, were the Spaniards able to reach the plain above. Moreover, the devil was at hand to help his own, and he wrought against the good Spaniards by means of diabolical transformations in lightning and whirlwinds, and otherwise convulsed elements; and by fearful apparitions and transformations into wild beasts. *Chronica de Gvat.*, 5. This, from Fray Francisco's description, will enable the reader to form some opinion of the religio-historical narration representing this achievement.

work of undefended palisades was discovered, quite incomprehensible to the Spaniards, as a few men properly disposed could have held the place against any invading army.

The nature of the ground was still so unfavorable for cavalry that Alvarado sent forward the infantry, and presently the enemy was encountered. A body of three or four thousand fell upon the allies and threw them into confusion. The cross-bowmen, however, came to their support, and soon the entire infantry were engaged in the contest, which was carried on along the hill-tops and down the slopes until the ravine of Olintepec River was reached. There the Spaniards were drawn into an ambuscade, formed by over six thousand warriors from Utatlan, from whom they received some wounds.[6] The troops were soon collected on the other side of the ravine, however; but none too soon, for presently was seen advancing with bold front a detachment of the grand army, thirty thousand strong, as if to annihilate them at one blow. Fortunately the ground here was level and favorable for the cavalry. The horses being greatly fatigued, Alvarado determined to wait till the last moment before charging. After permitting the enemy to amuse themselves with the allies during a brief breathing space, their confidence momentarily increasing, the commander at length gave the order to the impatient horsemen, who swept forward instantly like an avalanche, and as if the hills indeed had fallen on them the affrighted Quichés scattered. Mad Ajax among the defenceless sheep took not more lives than did each Spaniard on that day. Like sheep the poor natives scattered, and like sheep they were pursued and slaughtered.[7]

A league farther brought the thirsty troops to some

[6] Bernal Diaz states that the Spaniards had three men and two horses wounded in this struggle. Fuentes says six men and two horses were wounded. *Fuentes y Guzman, Recordacion Florida*, MS., 3.

[7] *Alvarado, Relacion*, in *Barcia*, i. 158; *Oviedo*, iii. 476; *Bernal Dias, Hist. Verdad.*, 174; *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 229.

springs, but the period of refreshment was short. At hand was a yet more formidable native force, led by Prince Ahzumanche, one of the highest among the relatives and officers of the king.

The engagement which followed was exceptionably bloody. The Quichés approached over the extensive plains, and when they had arrived at a position favorable for the Spaniards to make the attack the horsemen charged upon them. But the Quichés were better on their guard than before. Recovered from their panic, and animated by the example of their leader, they displayed greater bravery this time, standing the shock unflinchingly,[8] fighting foot to foot, or banded two and three together, endeavoring by their own strength to overthrow the horses, seizing them by mane and tail, and trying to pull them down, and laying hold of the riders to unhorse them. The Spaniards were indeed closely beset, and for a time it seemed by no means certain that victory would finally declare for them. But what naked power could long withstand the steady fire of arquebuse and cross-bow, the steady fall of sword-blow and lance-thrust!

Relaxing their efforts for a moment, the natives were charged by the cavalry with deadly result, and were trampled under foot by hundreds, and speedily routed. For a league they were followed with great havoc, till they took refuge in a stronghold of the sierra. By pretending flight, however, Alvarado drew them from their position to the open plain, and then wheeled and fell upon them. The carnage for a time was dreadful; the ground was covered with the mangled bodies of the dead and dying, and the waters of the Olintepec ran crimson with blood. And henceforth the stream was called Xequiqel, that is to say, River of Blood.[9]

[8] 'I aqui hicimos otro alcance mui grande, donde hallamos Gente, que esperaba vno de ellos à dos de Caballo.' *Alvarado, Relacion*, in *Barcia*, i. 158. See also for a description of this engagement, *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. v. cap. ix.

[9] 'La mucha sangre de Indios que avia corrido en Rios en *Xequikel* (que por esso se llamó assi).' *Vazquez, Chronica de Gvat.*, 524. '*Xequigel*, que quiere

Among the fallen was Prince Ahzumanche, and a number of the nobility and chiefs. The contest being over, the army encamped for the night at the springs before mentioned. The loss to the Spaniards, as usual, was insignificant.[10]

Let us pause for a moment to review the position of the invaders. They had surmounted with irresistible progress the coast range, had crossed the summit, fought their way down the corresponding slopes, and were within a league of Xelahuh, the great stronghold of the Quichés, on their western confines. All the defences to it had been won, the Zacaha fortifications had been carried, passive nature's majestic guardianship had been overcome, and human opposition had proved futile. Far behind them stood the deadly forest through which they had struggled; over the golden-edged hills, the rugged steep by which they had made their way hither. Around them now were open pine woods,[11] and at their feet the wide cultivated plains of the table-lands on which the sun shed its uninterrupted rays. Dotted with towns and parti-colored with maize-fields and orchards, silver-threaded by streams, the landscape displayed before the Spaniards the picture of a paradise. And this beautiful realm now lay helpless in the conqueror's grasp, its very air[12] becoming traitorous by refreshing and in-

decir rio de sangre.' *Juarros, Guat.*, ii. 250. This last author states that from the river Zamalá to the Olintepec six battles were fought, but that this was the most strongly contested and the most bloody. Compare *Alvarado, Relacion*, in *Barcia*, 158; *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 174; *Fuentes y Guzman, Recordacion Florida*, MS., 3-4; *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 229.

[10] 'Murió vn señor de quatro que son en Vtatlan.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 229. Besides Prince Ahzumanche, two principal lords of Utatlan were slain in the battles of the pass—the one Ahzol, a great captain, and a relative of the king, and the other Ahpocoh, his shield-bearer, whose office in the army was of the highest. *Juarros, Guat.*, ii. 250; *Bernal Dias, Hist. Verdad.*, 174. The words Ahzol and Ahpecoh are not, however, patronymics, but titles.

[11] The district is called El Pinar by Juarros, *Guat.*, ii. 248; and El Pinal by Vazquez, *Chronica de Gvat.*, 524.

[12] 'Corriendo la Tierra, que es tan gran Poblacion como Tascalteque, i en las Labranças, ni mas, ni menos, i friisima en demasia.' *Alvarado, Relacion*, in *Barcia*, i. 158.

vigorating the invaders, bracing their nerves and inspiring their hearts to new enterprise.

At dawn the Spanish camp was astir; and while the voices of Christian priests chanting praises to God for past victories floated over the hideous battle-field, Christian soldiers were buckling on their armor for the further butchering of helpless human beings who had done them no harm. A hermitage and a town were established at Zacaha, the former under the charge of Friar Francisco Martinez de Pontaza,[13] whose memory was ever after fragrant in those parts, the latter under the direction of Juan de Leon Cardona.[14] The natives of the subjugated neighborhood finally came in and helped to swell the numbers of the town, which was called Quezaltenango.[15]

These measures taken,[16] the army advanced on Xelahuh,[17] only to find it abandoned. The inhabitants, terror-stricken at the success of the invaders, had fled to the mountains. Alvarado took up his quarters in the deserted city, where for six days he remained, resting and reconnoitring.[18]

[13] Vazquez visited this hermitage at Zacaha in 1690, and there saw a picture of the virgin, which had been brought by the conquerors, and was known as La Conquistadora, for a description of which the reader can consult *Chronica de Gvat.*, 9. In his time the shrine was a place greatly revered. It was a current belief that some member of the priestly order, the object of devotion, was interred there, a strong supposition prevailing that the remains were those of the first bishop of Guatemala; but this is wrong, for Bishop Marroquin died in the Episcopal palace at Guatemala. The remains were probably those of the priest Pontaza. *Chronica de Gvat.*, 8–10, 526.

[14] The descendants of this conquistador were still living in the same locality in the time of Vazquez, who describes them as raisers of small stock, as poverty-stricken as the descendants of the conquered natives. *Id.*, 8–9.

[15] Four years later the town was removed to the present site. *Id.*, 7–8; *Juarros, Guat.*, ii. 241. The meaning of the term Quezaltenango is the 'place of the quetzal,' the American bird of paradise, called 'trogon' by the naturalists. The name was of Mexican origin, and was probably applied not only to the district but to the city of Xelahuh.

[16] During a stay of two to three days. *Fuentes y Guzman, Recordacion Florida*, MS.

[17] Four years later the inhabitants were removed to the new town of Quezaltenango, which the Indian population still call Xelahuh.

[18] On the authority of a manuscript of sixteen leaves found at San Andrés Xecul, a town not far from Quezaltenango, Juarros states that on the second day four caciques humbly surrendered themselves, and owing to their influence the inhabitants peaceably returned and tendered allegiance. *Guat.*, ii. 240–1. No mention of such an event is made by Alvarado, Bernal Diaz, or

Tecum Umam was an ambitious prince and a brave commander. With no small concern he had seen defeated one after another the forces sent against the foe, and he now resolved to take the field in person. About noon on the seventh day of their sojourn at Xelahuh the Spaniards saw converging to that point from every quarter dense masses of warriors.[19] Well aware that his great strength lay in the cavalry, Alvarado with a large part of his force[20] hastened to occupy an open plain, three leagues in length, at no great distance from the city. Tecum Umam was shrewd enough to comprehend the manœuvre, and before the last Spaniard was a bow-shot from camp the Quiché army in two principal divisions was upon them. Alvarado had divided his cavalry into two bodies, commanded respectively by Pedro Puertocarrero and Hernando de Chaves, who were directed to assail at different points one of the opposing bodies when well in position, while the infantry, commanded by himself, were to engage with the other. The onset was terrible. Through and through the dense columns rush the horsemen, heedless alike of the flint-tipped arrow, the javelin with fire-hardened point, and the slung pebble. Resistance was not possible. Plunged through and hurled to earth, crushed beneath the horses' hoofs, the broken ranks of this division sought the protection of the other. Thus half of Tecum's last hope was lost, while the other half was fast dwindling. Early in the combat the Quiché king had recognized

Herrera; and Vazquez distinctly states that these four chiefs were won over, with some difficulty, after the final battle and the death of Tecum. Though Brasseur de Bourbourg follows Juarros, I incline to the opinion that the pacification of Xelahuh was subsequent to the battle which is yet to follow.

[19] Twelve thousand of whom were from the city of Utatlan. *Relacion*, i. 158. Juarros says the first contingent contained 16,000 men. *Guat.*, ii. 251. Bernal Diaz gives the whole number as more than 16,000. *Hist. Verdad.*, 174. Herrera uses the indefinite but safe expression 'vn gran exercito de Quazaltenalco.' dec. iii. lib. v. cap. ix.

[20] The numbers are differently given. Alvarado says there were 90 horsemen; Juarros, 135 horse; Herrera, that the whole force consisted of 80 horse, 200 infantry, and a strong body of Mexicans. Bernal Diaz uses the general expression, 'with his army.'

the conspicuous figure of the mounted Spanish commander, and as Tecum now saw his forces broken by the cavalry, he determined upon one last desperate effort. Gathering around him a few chosen warriors, he threw himself in person upon Alvarado, and with his own hand so wounded his horse that the Spaniard was obliged to fall back and mount another. A second and a third time the undaunted warrior assailed his superior foe, till pierced by Alvarado's lance he fell, staining with his life-blood the ground he had fought so bravely to defend.

It was not often that the heavenly powers deigned to help the poor natives in their dire struggle with the steel-clad Europeans, as was so frequently the case with the Spaniards. The gods usually prefer fighting on the strongest side; but here we find an exception. It is my duty to relate, as a truthful historian, that during the mortal combat between these two leaders an eagle with great pinions was observed by the Quiché army circling round and round the Spanish commander, ever and anon swooping down upon him, and with beak and claw attacking him about the head. It was the *nagual*, the guardian spirit of Tecum Umam. But less strong than Alvarado's lance, it was discomfited at the moment of the monarch's death, and disappeared from the sight of the vanquished Quichés.[21]

Contrary to the usual course pursued by natives in warfare, the fall of their commander did not immediately disperse the Quiché warriors, but seemed rather to enrage them; for the moment after there fell upon the Spaniards such a blinding tempest of javelins as would have delighted the Spartan Dieneces. It was but for a moment, however; it was their last expiring effort, for soon the cavalry came thundering on their flanks, dispersing and slaying after the usual fashion. For two leagues along the plain they were pursued by

[21] Such is the legend long retained among the Quichés. *Guatemala, Chronica de la Prov.*, i. 13; *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 641.

the horsemen, who then turned and rode back, repeating the carnage over the same field. The slaughter was particularly bloody at a stream on one side of the plain, and the commander proudly refers to it in his despatch.[22] The infantry captured a vast multitude which had taken refuge from the insatiate horsemen on a hill near by.

Thus ended another day in the annals of the grand extermination, a day dark indeed for the noble Quiché nation, but of which European progress and propagandizing might well be proud.[23]

By this crushing defeat the Quichés were humbled and their confidence in their deities, not to say themselves, was weakened. Though in great grief at the loss of their chief and the triumph of the Spaniards, an opportunity was given them through the preaching of the priests Torres and Pontaza to embrace the religion of their conquerors. Four captive chieftains[24] of Xelahuh were baptized and received their liberty. Christian raiment with swords was then given them and they were entertained at the table of Alvarado.[25] After this they were sent out as missionaries to their affrighted brethren, bringing quite a number to a knowledge of the Savior. They also aided in erecting a more suitable hermitage at Zacaha, and in building houses for the Donatís.[26] Nay

[22] 'I nuestros Amigos, i los Peones hacian vna destruicion, la maior del Mundo, en vn Arroio.' *Alvarado, Relacion*, i. 158.

[23] Vazquez asserts that this engagement took place on the 14th of May, 1524, while the despatch by Alvarado reporting the event to Cortés is dated more than a month earlier, April 11th.

[24] It is difficult to arrive at any approximation to the number of slain during the series of engagements on the Pinar. Vazquez is the only authority who ventures to put down figures. 'Viniendo sobre el Exercito Christiano... de trece mil, en trece mil, cada dia, aquellos...Barbaros tan imperterritos á la muerte, y al estrago que las Catholicas armas hacian en su numeroso Exercito, quedando muertos mas de diez, y doze mil infieles, encendiendo en los que quedauan viucs...que açoradas con la vertida sangre de sus compañeros avivaban mas su rabia, para embestir con irracional despecho á las Españoles.' *Chronica de Gvat.*, 5. See also *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 159.

[25] The names of these caciques, given by Juarros, were Calel Ralak, Ahpopqueham, Calelahau, and Calelaboy, as supplied by the manuscript previously mentioned in note 17, this chapter.

[26] So they called the Spaniards, as the soldiers of Alvarado, generally known by the name of Tonatiuh, the initial 'T' being changed by the Quichés into 'D.' *Vazquez, Chronica de Gvat.*, 524.

more; in their growing enthusiasm they suggested that the place where Tonatiuh had gained his crowning victory, and over which still hung the odor of corruption and blood, the blood of their slain countrymen, should be called by the name of Espíritu Santo.

CHAPTER XXIV.

DOWNFALL OF THE QUICHÉ NATION.

APRIL, 1524.

UTATLAN, CAPITAL OF THE QUICHÉS—ITS MAGNIFICENCE—THE ROYAL PALACE AND PYRAMIDAL FORTIFICATIONS—PRIVATE APARTMENTS AND GARDENS—PLAN TO ENTRAP THE SPANIARDS—A FEAST PREPARED—THE ENEMY INVITED—THE TREACHERY DISCOVERED—MASTERLY RETREAT OF ALVARADO—THE QUICHÉ KING AND NOBLES ENTRAPPED—THEY ARE MADE TO GATHER GOLD—AND ARE THEN DESTROYED—UTATLAN BURNED AND THE COUNTRY DEVASTATED—SUBJUGATION OF THE QUICHÉS COMPLETE.

UPON the central plateau, near the present town of Santa Cruz del Quiché, stood Utatlan,[1] the ancient capital of the Quiché nation. It was surrounded by a deep ravine, and could be entered only at two points. To one of these entrances over thirty stone steps led up an almost perpendicular cliff; to the other a narrow artificial causeway, connected at one point by a bridge which could be easily destroyed. The city was further strengthened by the grim fortress of Atalaya, four stories in height, and the pyramidal fortification of El Resguardo,[2] one hundred and twenty feet high. In wealth and splendor Utatlan, in which twenty generations of the present dynasty had reigned, vied with the city of the Aztec kings

[1] Also called Gumarcaah. It is represented to-day by the town of Santa Cruz del Quiché, which is situated so near the ruins of the ancient city that it might be considered an outlying suburb. About the middle of the sixteenth century Utatlan was entirely abandoned and the inhabitants removed to Santa Cruz. *Juarros, Guat.*, i. 66; *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 647.

[2] *Juarros, Guat.*, i. 66–7; *Alvarado, Relacion*, i. 159; *Ramirez, Proceso contra Alvarado*, 32. See also *Native Races*, ii. 744, 788–9. Atalaya and Resguardo are Spanish terms, the first signifying 'Watch-tower' and the other 'Guard.'

and the gardened capital of the Incas. In its centre stood the royal palace, surrounded by the imposing residences of the nobles, and beyond, the humbler dwellings of the common people. The palace was one of the most magnificent structures of Central America. It was built of hewn stone of various colors, mosaic in appearance, and its colossal dimensions, and elegant and stately architectural form, excited mingled awe and admiration.[3]

Within the lofty portals the quarters of the household guards, surrounding a spacious barrack yard, were first presented to view. Dusky warriors, lancers, and archers, clad in wildly picturesque garbs of dappled tiger-skins or sombre bear-hides, in brilliant plumes and polished arms, with silent tread measured the well paved court. In the principal apartments near at hand the various arms and paraphernalia of battle lay ready for immediate use, while on the walls hung hard-won trophies of war. Next lay the residence of the unmarried princes, and beyond this the palace proper, containing besides the apartments of the monarch the council-chamber, with the gorgeous throne canopied with costly tapestry of feather work of rare designs and wrought with cunning skill; also the royal treasury, the hall of justice, and the armory. Three separate suites of rooms, for morning, afternoon, and night, were each day occupied by the monarch, and all these more private apartments looked out upon delightful gardens, with trees, and flowers, and fruits, and in their midst menageries and aviaries, with rare and curious collections. Beyond lay the separate palaces of the monarch's queens and concubines, with their baths, and gardens, and miniature lakes; and lastly the maidens' college, in which were reared and educated the female offspring of royal blood.

[3] *Torquemada*, i. 311. The frontage of the palace was 376 paces, while its depth reached 728 paces. The chronicler Fuentes visited Santa Cruz del Quiché for the purpose of investigating the ruins, from which, as well as from manuscripts, he gathered much information.

And all this was but one pile of buildings, the largest, it is true; but there were others of no mean pretensions, the residences of the nobles and of the wealthy trading class. Of a truth Utatlan was a fine city, and a strong and noble one. And must it now be yielded to the spoiler? Is there no hope? None. Then perish all, for who would live with king and country gone; and with its occupants, also this fair capital which so long has harbored kings. Ah! if this strong trap could but be baited, and the white foxes enticed thereto and strangled. Rare thought! It were worth dying a dozen times to see these braggarts but once die. And so the Quiché cunning ones determined. In general council it was agreed that the Spaniards should be invited to a feast, and while there the city should be burned and brought down upon their heads!

By the death of Tecum Umam his son Oxib Quieh[4] succeeded to the throne. His situation was not an enviable one. The best troops, in fact the very flower of the nation, had been destroyed or scattered. His father, with numbers of the first men of the land, had fallen, without having in a single instance gained a battle or baffled the foe. Their puny efforts were as gnats stinging or destroying a band of wild boars.

Yet the grandson of the great Kicab Tanub would not abandon the field without a struggle. The council might burn the city if they chose. And though their hopes and the prospects of success were great, the king and his nobles relaxed none the less their efforts to raise fresh troops. Should the plan fail, they would again take the field. Not only did Oxib Quieh draw all the forces possible from his own provinces, but he adopted every means to smooth the differences that existed between himself and the neighboring provinces. By these exertions at length a strong league was formed, and again the natives in

[4] Juarros calls him Chignanivcelut.

formidable numbers were ready to do battle for their gods and their country at the proper moment.

These preparations completed, an embassy with presents of gold was despatched to greet the conqueror, to sue for peace, and to tender their king's submission as vassal to the king of Spain. Alvarado was also invited to the court of Utatlan, where the king was waiting to offer in person his allegiance and entertain with all due honor the redoubtable Spaniard. Alvarado graciously accepted both the presents and the invitation, and made presents in return, and on the following day set out with his army to pay the promised visit. It was quite natural on both sides, the invitation and the acceptance. Here were war and a conquered country; here the conquered with overtures of peace; and so the Spaniards marched into the trap without suspicion.

But as they passed along the narrow causeway and came to the bridge, certain soldiers[5] fancied they saw where it had been recently weakened. When the attention of Alvarado was called to it he made no alarm, nor did he turn a moment from his course. He relished the flavor of such an adventure, and grasping his sword the tighter he commanded the strictest caution and the closest observation. On entering the city the suspicions of the Spaniards were confirmed. The men were armed; the women and children had been withdrawn; there were few provisions at hand and little valuable merchandise in the storehouses; in many buildings throughout the city brush and firewood had been deposited, while the anxiety displayed in the uneasy deportment of the natives themselves could not be disguised. It was observed, too, that the streets were so narrow and the houses so compact that it would be impossible for the cavalry to move; and lastly, the Quezaltenango allies who accompanied the Spaniards obtained

[5] Francisco Flores claims that he and Juan de Oriza made the discovery. *Ramirez, Proceso contra Alvarado*, 32, 34.

and brought to Alvarado positive information of the intentions of the Quiché chiefs.[6]

Not only are prompt measures now necessary, but they must be such as will not arouse the suspicions of a most suspicious foe, whose keen eyes are watching every movement. Without formally summoning a council Alvarado moves in holiday mien among his officers, dropping here a hint and laying there a stern command; meanwhile, outwardly undisturbed, he rides forward into the nest of nobles awaiting him and greets them with a frank smile amid renewed protestations of friendship. This done he looks about for the disposal of the horses. They are worshipful brutes, in some respects the equals and even the superiors of men; they are not given to feasting like men, but they must not be forgotten at the feast. Their greatest delight will be to feed upon the open plain; he will conduct them there and return without delay. Greatly disconcerted the nobles press the Tonatiuh to immediate entertainment, which even now awaits him; under the direction of the soldiers they will provide the best care for the noble animals. By no means, Alvarado intimates; the horses will never forgive him if he neglects them on so important an occasion. Thus all the Spaniards return over the causeway, and the weakened bridge, and with a feeling of intense relief reach the plain in safety.

Now for a sweet morsel of revenge. While gathering grass for the horses the soldiers are fired on from the ravines and thickets, and one Spaniard, a servant of the commander, is killed. The king and his nobles, who remain near the city entrance, on witnessing the outrage from this distance are distressed, and take measures to prevent hostile demonstrations on the part of their people. Alvarado pretends to regard it all as

[6] Bernal Diaz states that some Indians of Quezaltenango warned Alvarado that they intended to kill them all that night if they remained there, and that they had posted in the ravines many bands of warriors, who, when they saw the houses in flames, were to unite with those of Utatlan and fall on the invaders at different points.

of no moment, and continues his attitude of confidence and cordiality with the chiefs. It is unfortunate, this accident of the servant; but after what has happened probably the feast had better be postponed. As a further mark of friendship and esteem, will Oxib Quieh and his companions look in upon the camp of the Spaniards? Poor boy! So easily caught, and in a trap, a steel one, quite different from the bungling bridge-drop at Utatlan. Now may all men open their eyes and judge as gods, for these present must die!

The mask is thrown aside, and the avenger in his wrath stands revealed. Oxib Quieh and his caciques are seized and charged with their treacherous intentions. Their condemnation is a matter predetermined, but execution is delayed a little that the tiger may sport with his prey. Little gold has been gathered on this expedition, and it may be well to put upon the scene in Guatemala the grand drama of Montezuma not long since performed at the Mexican capital. The prisoners shall have their lives if they gather much gold. This done, they shall have their lives if they gather more gold. And when the kingdom is stripped of its gold and the Spaniards become impatient, a great fire is built, into which those of the prisoners who are not hanged are thrown alive; and the smoke ascends to heaven as grateful incense to their god.[7]

[7] It is possible that Oxib Quieh was hanged, and not burned, though Alvarado makes no mention of such weakness on his part, but states distinctly 'Yo los quemé.' *Relacion*, i. 159. Bernal Diaz, however, asserts that through the intercession of Fray Bartolomé Olmedo a respite of two days was granted the unfortunate king, during which time he was converted and baptized, and that his sentence was commuted to hanging. *Hist. Verdad.*, 175. This view is taken by Salazar y Olarte, *Conq. Mex.*, 125–6, and Juarros, *Guat.*, ii. 253, but not by Ixtlilxochitl, *Horribles Crueldades*, 67. At the trial of Alvarado this act of barbarity constitutes one of the charges, and the testimony tends to prove that no exception was made in favor of any one of the victims. The witness Francisco Flores, mentioned in note 5, this chapter, states that one of the nobles was spared, because he had disclosed the plot. His testimony may, however, be founded on a respite granted to Oxib Quieh, incorrectly understood by Flores. *Ramirez, Proceso contra Alvarado*, 32. Alvarado informed Cortés that the victims made full confession of the plot before they were put to death, and his use of the expression 'Como parecera por sus confesiones' would seem to indicate that the confessions were taken down in writing and forwarded to Cortés. *Relacion*, i. 159. In conclusion, Brasseur

Notwithstanding these merciless lessons, during which three of the Quiché kings, of three several generations in direct line of succession, had been sacrificed, hostilities were speedily renewed. A fierce attack was made on all sides, the natives issuing in great numbers from the many ravines which intersected the neighboring ground, and the assault was obstinately maintained for some time; but the artillery[8] committed such dreadful destruction, opening through their dense masses lanes strewn with mutilated bodies and torn-off limbs, that they speedily recognized the futility of their attempts, and fled back to the gulches. Keeping ever to inaccessible ground, and avoiding open engagement,[9] they harassed the army incessantly, by cutting off stragglers and inflicting harm in any way that they were able. At length Alvarado determined upon the plan of burning their city and devastating the country; and he sent to the friendly king of the Cakchiquels, requesting a contingent of troops to assist him in dislodging the Quichés from their fastnesses. Four thousand warriors were at once sent[10] by the submissive lord, with

de Bourbourg says that only the monarch and the heir presumptive were burned, which is at variance with Juarros' expression, 'Ni las muertes de sus primeros capitanes, ni las de sus dos Reyes, executadas por los Castellanos,' *Guat.*, ii. 253, and also with the testimony of Flores, who says, 'E los prendio a todos...e despues los quemo.' *Ramirez, Proceso contra Alvarado*, 32. Las Casas affirms they were burned alive without any form of trial. *Regio. Ind. Devastat.*, 35.

[8] *Juarros, Guat.*, ii. 253. Alvarado never alludes to his artillery in this or any future campaign of the year, though he repeatedly speaks of the arquebusiers. Juarros, so far as I can discover, is the only author except Brasseur de Bourbourg who mentions artillery.

[9] 'I es la Tierra tan fuerte de quebradas, que ai quebradas que entran docientos estados de hondo, i por estas quebradas no pudimos hacerles la Guerra.' *Alvarado, Relacion*, i. 159.

[10] His object in making this demand was twofold: he wished to test the Cakchiquel king's feelings toward him, and at the same time to increase his native forces, who would be useful in this work. *Alvarado, Relacion*, i. 159. According to Brasseur de Bourbourg the princes of the Cakchiquel nation met with much opposition from their subjects in supporting the Spaniards, and the nobles refused to supply the troops demanded by Alvarado. In this embarrassment the Ahpozotzil raised 4000 warriors in his capital. *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, 648. Bernal Diaz, followed by Juarros, gives a different account from that of Alvarado, which is followed in the text. It is to the effect that the people of Guatemala, hearing of Alvarado's repeated victories, and learning that he

which additional force, and the energetic measures he pursued, Alvarado carried on the process of subjection with effect. The warlike Quichés, their city burned,[11] their crops destroyed, hunted from one retreat to another, driven from their lands, at length were forced to yield. Alvarado received their overtures with generosity. He pardoned the repentant in his great mercy, and promised them their lives, at the same time ordering them to return and occupy their lands. He moreover released two captive sons of the royal line and put them in possession of their father's realm, the leading monarch being named Sequechul.[12]

Thus was terminated for a time the struggle of the Quichés for independence—a struggle that ceased only with the destruction of their principal nobility and all the bravest warriors of the nation. To their obstinate valor the conqueror himself bears testimony,[13] and recognizing the difficulties of his position, and how man of himself can do so little, he begs Cortés to order in the Mexican capital a procession of all the clergy, so that the virgin might help him. And further, would he "please take care to inform his Majesty how we are serving him with our persons and means, and at our own cost, in order that his Majesty may reward

was stationed at Utatlan, sent an embassy with presents of gold, offering their services against the Quichés, with whom they were at enmity. These were accepted by Alvarado, who, to test their sincerity, and also because he was ignorant of the road, asked and received assistance across the many gullies and through the difficult passes. *Hist. Verdad.*, 175.

[11] 'Mandè quemar la Ciudad, i poner por los cimientos.' *Alvarado, Relacion*, i. 159.

[12] Derived from *cé*, 'one,' and '*quechul*,' a bird similar to the flamingo, for a description of which see *Native Races*, iii. 374. His native name was Tepepul, *Id.*, v. 566, but I have preferred to use his Mexican name in order to avoid confusion, as another Tepepul, king of the Zutugils, will appear later in the narrative. The date of this submission of the Quichés must have been a day or two before the 11th of April, on which day Alvarado wrote his despatch to Cortés, stating that he would leave for the city of Guatemala on the same day, which was a Monday. Juarros states that Alvarado remained eight days, Bernal Diaz seven or eight, in Utatlan, occupied in the pacification of the surrounding tribes. *Guat.*, ii. 254. Herrera states that the war terminated on the 25th of April, which can only be explained by supposing that Alvarado did not leave Utatlan on the 11th, as he intended. *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. v. cap. x.

[13] 'Estamos metidos en la mas recia Tierra de Gente que se ha visto.' *Relacion*, i. 160.

us?" Nor did the lieutenant fail to report that his majesty's interests had been carefully attended to, all captives taken in the war having been branded and reduced to slavery.[14] The royal fifth of these captive Quichés had been delivered to the treasurer, Baltasar de Mendoza, who sold them at auction for the better security of the revenue.

[14] *Relacion*, i. 159; *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 175.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE CAKCHIQUELS AND ZUTUGILS MADE SUBJECTS OF SPAIN.

APRIL–MAY, 1524.

MARCH TO THE CAKCHIQUEL CAPITAL—WITH A BRILLIANT RETINUE KING SINACAM COMES FORTH TO MEET THE SPANIARDS—DESCRIPTION OF PATINAMIT—OCCUPATION OF THE CAKCHIQUEL CAPITAL—EXPEDITION AGAINST TEPEPUL, KING OF THE ZUTUGILS—THE CLIFF CITY OF ATITLAN—A WARM BATTLE—ENTRY INTO THE STRONGHOLD—RECONCILIATION AND RETURN TO PATINAMIT—LOVE EPISODE OF ALVARADO.

THE lieutenant-general was now ready to advance, and on the 11th of April, 1524, he left Utatlan for Patinamit, the capital of the Cakchiquels.[1] The weak and yielding Sinacam,[2] king of the Cakchiquels, had already sent with his troops a present of gold to Alvarado, and renewed his assurances of allegiance. He now prepared to meet him with such stately pomp as would be sure to gratify his future master. By this means he hoped his tottering throne might be secured to him. Servility and profuse hospitality would surely win their hearts, he thought; and then, with the powerful strangers on his side, he might laugh at his enemies.

[1] Alvarado's line of march on this occasion seems to have been confounded by different authors with routes followed by him at later dates. Juarros says that he did not pass through the towns of the coast, but along the Itzapa road; for in a land title possessed by the Indians of Parramos, extended in the year 1577, on the 10th of November, in a reference to a plain on said road, this expression occurs: 'Where they say the camp of the Spaniards was pitched when the Adelantado D. Pedro de Alvarado came to conquer this land.' *Guat.*, ii. 255. By these remarks Juarros supports Fuentes' opinion that the capital of the Cakchiquel nation was situated on the slopes of the Volcan de Agua. I am, however, persuaded that the encampment mentioned in the land title took place later, on the occasion of Alvarado's campaign southward.

[2] Vazquez calls this ruler King Ahpotzotzil, *Chronica de Gvat.*, 68, which was only his title. His proper name was Sinacam, by which he was called in the books of the cabildos of Guatemala. *Juarros, Guat.*, ii. 256. Brasseur de Bourbourg gives his name as Belehé Qat.

As the Spanish army approached his capital he issued forth with native pageantry to meet it. He was borne aloft by his nobles on a litter, beneath a canopy which dazzled the eye with blazing ornaments of gold and changing hues of quetzal feathers, and round him were the members of the royal family in litters scarcely less conspicuous than his own, while a large body of warriors, with their plumed head-dresses and warlike apparel, marched in the rear and on either side. Alvarado's greeting was not of that unalloyed cordiality which Sinacam had hoped. The Spaniard was suspicious. He had but just escaped destruction, and the late danger had taught him discretion. What he had observed on the march had not tended to inspire confidence or promote peace of mind. All along the route despoiled corpses of slain Indians had met his sight, and the ground was discolored with human blood. Large bands of armed warriors were everywhere seen, and it was evident that the whole country was in arms. But fear was no part of Alvarado's character; therefore, when the king came near, he calmly dismounted, approached him with courteous mien, and with expressions of esteem placed in his hands a rare and curious piece of silver jewelry; then he asked with sombre brow, "Why dost thou seek to do me harm, when I come to do thee good?" Informed of the meaning of the words so seriously addressed to him, and conscious of his own faithful intentions, Sinacam, with calm yet somewhat severe dignity thanked him first for the present, replying, "Quiet thy heart, great captain, scion of the sun, and trust in my love." It was then explained to Alvarado that the warlike demonstrations he had discovered were directed against a rebellious vassal, who, with the aid of the kings of the Quichés and the Zutugils, had revolted and attempted to make himself a ruler.[3]

[3] *Juarros, Guat.*, ii. 254–5. The account given by the Cakchiquel manuscript of this conversation differs somewhat from the above, stating that it

Alvarado professed to be satisfied, and permitted himself to be escorted by the monarch to the capital.[4] Patinamit,[5] like Utatlan, was situated in a naturally

took place in the palace; that the martial aspect of the population, and the number of warriors, excited the suspicions of Alvarado; and that on the night after his arrival, agitated by his apprehensions, he suddenly entered the royal apartments, followed by his officers. His unexpected presence caused great confusion, and the nobles in waiting rallied round their sovereign. The conversation then followed, when Sinacam spoke thus: 'Would I have sent my warriors and braves to die for you and find a tomb at Gumarcaah if I had such treacherous intentions?' In his explanation, also, the king states that the armed troops were intended to be directed against the provinces of Itzcuintlan and Atitlan, with which nations the Cakchiquels were at war. *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, 650–1.

[4] Bernal Diaz, or his editor, here introduces Friar Bartolomé de Olmedo. His story is this: When the Spaniards arrived at Guatemala, Alvarado told the friar that he had never been so hard pressed as when fighting with the Indians of Utatlan, describing them as most brave and excellent warriors, and at the same time claimed to himself the merit of having done a good work. The friar chided him, and said it was God who had wrought the deed; and in order that he might regard it as good, and aid them in future, it would be well to give thanks to him, appoint a holiday, celebrate mass, and preach to the Indians. This injunction was carried out, and resulted in the baptism of more than 30 natives in two days. Others also were anxious to be baptized when they perceived that the Spaniards held intercourse more freely with the converts than with others. *Hist. Verdad.*, 175.

[5] Patinamit, or Iximché, called by Alvarado the city of Guatemala. Juarros is in doubt as to the site of the ancient Cakchiquel capital. Remesal makes no mention of it, though he speaks of the founding of the Villa de Guatemala. Fuentes argues that it was not Patinamit, but a city on the slope of the Volcan de Agua, occupying the same position that San Miguel Tzacualpa occupied when he wrote. His reasons are, first, the preservation of the Indian name Guatemala, indicating that the Spaniards did not found a new town, but occupied the existing city; the custom of the Spaniards being to give Spanish names to cities founded by them, as Trujillo, Granada, Cartago, and others, while those cities which were already founded retained their native names, as Mexico, Cuzco, Tlascala, and the like. Again, as observed elsewhere, the word Guatemala is derived from *Coctecmalan*, which means *Palo de leche*, milk-tree, commonly called *Yerba mala*. This is found only at Antigua Guatemala, and within a league around, in which space, therefore, the capital must have stood. But it was not situated where Antigua Guatemala stands, because that place was always called *Paxchoy*, or Great Lagoon; nor where the Pueblo of Ciudad Vieja stands, which locality was called *Atmulunca*, meaning Gushing Water. Therefore it must have been on the spot where stood the city of the Spaniards, which was destroyed in 1541, and where now exists the little village of Tzacualpa, which name in itself is an additional argument in favor of this supposition, inasmuch as its meaning is Old Town. The third argument of Fuentes is based on the improbability that the Spaniards would found a city in an unpopulated district when the court and capital of the Cakchiquels were at their command. Consequently the court of King Sinacam was situated where the Spaniards first established themselves, that is where Tzacualpa stands. See also *Juarros, Guat.*, ii. 255–9. Vazquez maintains that this capital was the city Patinamit, antonomastically so called, meaning the 'metropolis' or 'the city' par excellence. The locality on which it was built was called 'Iximché,' and in his own time Ohertinamit, which means Old Town. The Mexicans who came with the Spaniards called it Quauhtemali, meaning rotten tree, from an old

impregnable position. It occupied an elevated plain, surrounded by ravines, the side of which nearest the city was perpendicular to a depth of five or six hundred feet. Across this chasm, at one point only, could entrance into the capital be gained, by means of a narrow causeway, which was closed by two gateways of stone,[6] one on each side of the city wall. This isolated plateau was about three miles long and two broad. The chronicler Fuentes describes the remains of this city with much minuteness, leaving vivid impressions of its former grandeur. On one edge of the natural platform, according to that writer, were the ruins of a magnificent building one hundred paces square, of extremely well hewn stone. In front of this edifice extended a plaza, on one side of which were the remains of a splendid palace, and in close proximity the foundations of many residences.

worm-eaten Iximché tree. To distinguish it from the Ciudad de Santiago founded by the Spaniards, it was afterward named Tecpan Guatemala, that is, Palace or Royal House of Guatemala, a meaning different from that given by Fuentes, who says that Tecpan means 'above,' *encima*, as Tecpan Atitlan, a town situated on a more elevated site than Atitlan. The city Tecpan Guatemala still exists about half a league distant from the old site. Vazquez, moreover, supports his opinion on the extent and magnificence of the palace and public buildings indicated by the ruins, which he visited in person; and also on the fortified position of the place. *Chronica de Gvat.*, 7, 10, 68, 73; *Juarros, Guat.*, ii. 243, 256–7. That the arguments of Fuentes are fallacious, and that Vazquez is right, Alvarado's own despatches prove almost to a certainty. In his report to Cortés, dated 11th April, at Utatlan, he says, 'Embiè à la Ciudad de Guatemala, que està diez Leguas de esta,' and afterward informs Cortés that on that day he will leave for the city of Guatemala, 'Yo me parto para la Ciudad de Guatemala Lunes once de Abril.' At the commencement of the next despatch he writes, 'Yo, Señor, partì de la Ciudad de Uclatan, i vine en dos Dias à esta Ciudad de Guatemala.' Now this 'city of Guatemala' was the capital of the king of the Cakchiquels, and where Alvarado was entertained by him, as will be told in the text, and it was ten leagues from Utatlan, a distance which would occupy the army two days, as stated by Alvarado; for it was difficult ground to march over, being intersected by numerous ravines. *Vazquez, Chronica de Gvat.*, 7. The site proposed by Fuentes is nearly twice the distance from Utatlan, and could not have been reached by the Spaniards in the short period of two days, except by very exhausting and forced marches, to which it is most improbable that Alvarado subjected his men when on a visit to a friendly power. Again, Alvarado reports that when on his expedition against Atitlan he left the city of Guatemala and by a forced march entered that territory the same day—'I anduve tanto, que aquel Dia llegué a su Tierra'—a distance that could be accomplished from the existing ruins of Patinamit, but apparently not from the Volcan de Agua.

[6] Juarros calls it 'chay.'

The city was divided by a ditch running north and south, more than eight feet deep, and surmounted by concrete breastworks three feet high. This was the dividing line between the dwellings of the nobles and those of the commoners. The streets were straight and wide, and extended in the direction of the four cardinal points. To the west was a mound dominating the city, on the summit of which stood a round building five to six feet high, resembling the breastwork of a well. Around this the judges held courts; but before their sentences could be executed they had to be confirmed by the sacred oracular stone, which was preserved in a shrine in a deep gulch. It is described as of a black diaphanous material, more precious than the ordinary building material. In its gloomy transparency the demon made visible the judgments that were to be passed. If no manifestation occurred, the accused was released; otherwise the sentence was carried into effect on the same mound where the judges sat in deliberation. This oracle was consulted also in matters of war.[7]

King Sinacam's reception of the guests in this his capital and court fully equalled his promises. Sumptuously lodged, and bountifully supplied with all the luxuries the land could produce, Alvarado himself admits that they could not have met kinder treatment in their own land.[8] For eight days the Spaniards feasted,[9] and in return Sinacam succeeded in obtaining the aid of his powerful friends against his hostile neighbors. Frequent conversations were held relative to the subjugation of the Zutugils, and to

[7] *Juarros, Guat.*, ii. 243–4. This author adds that Bishop Marroquin, having heard of this stone, caused it to be cut into a square and consecrated as part of the high altar in the church of Tecpan Guatemala. Stephens saw it and says that it is a piece of common slate. *Incid. of Travel in Cent. Am.*, ii. 150.

[8] 'Donde fui mui bien recibido de los Senores de ella, que no pudiera ser mas en Casa de nuestros Padres; i fuimos tan proveidos de todo lo necesario, que ninguna cosa hovo falta.' *Alvarado, Relacion*, i. 161.

[9] On this occasion Friar Juan de Torres converted and baptized many. *Vazquez, Chronica de Gvat.*, 7.

insure this happy consummation Sinacam expatiated on the contemptuous pride of Tepepul, king of Atitlan,[10] and his further wickedness in not tendering allegiance to the Teules.[11] It seems that the Zutugil ruler had incurred the hatred of Sinacam by giving assistance to his rebellious vassal, Acpocaquil,[12] and making nocturnal incursions into the Cakchiquel territory by means of canoes. These outrages were prompted partly by his reliance on the impregnable position of his city, situated on the hanging cliffs above Lake Atitlan, seven leagues from Patinamit. Alvarado required little persuasion to engage in his favorite pastime of gold-hunting and blood-letting. He was well aware of the supercilious nature of Tepepul, and had already determined to visit him in person. While at Utatlan he had sent four messengers to the court of Atitlan, bearing the usual requirement; but the haughty monarch, instead of paying the respect due to so important a demand, put the messengers to death. This ruffled Alvarado, though it did not dishearten him. "I think," he writes to Cortés respecting this city, "that with the help of our Lord we shall soon bring it to the service of his Majesty."[13]

Alvarado would help King Sinacam, but first he would like some money for travelling expenses. This reasonable request could not be refused; not only was the treasure house of Patinamit emptied, but the entire district, so far as possible, was stripped of its gold, jewels, and whatever the Spaniards regarded as

[10] Atitlan, in the Pipil language 'Correo de Agua,' or 'Water Courier.' This is according to Juarros, who states that the place was also called Atziquinixai, which in the Quiché language signifies 'House of the Eagle,' from the device of the kings, who wore as their royal emblem an eagle fashioned from the plumes of the quetzal. *Guat.*, 245. Ternaux-Compans wrongly interprets it 'watercourse,' 'cours d'eau.' *Voy.*, série i. tom. x. 416.

[11] Its real meaning, however, is 'heroes' or 'demigods.'

[12] An insurrection of the principal cities of the monarchy had been promoted by this cacique. These cities, according to Vazquez, were Tecpan Atitlan and others of that province, while Fuentes believes them to have been Tecpan Guatemala and its dependencies. *Juarros, Guat.*, ii. 277.

[13] *Alvarado, Relacion*, i. 160.

desirable.[14] After this the Spaniards were ready to pass into the next district and levy like tribute, with or without bloodshed.

In order to proceed with regularity, Alvarado again sent envoys to Atitlan, demanding that Tepepul should cease hostilities against the Cakchiquels, who were the allies of the Teules, and again the ruler displayed his contempt by putting to death the messengers.[15] Thereupon Alvarado set out with sixty cavalry, one hundred and fifty infantry, and a large body of Cakchiquels, commanded by their chiefs.[16] Meeting no opposition he advanced with thirty horse to the height above the lake, and descended over difficult ground to a level plain that lay in front of a fortified rock in the water. This was approachable only by means of a narrow causeway, intersected at different points by wooden bridges. Near by the enemy were now discovered drawn up in two bodies, each eight thousand strong. They advanced at once to the attack, armed with lances, bows and arrows, and other weapons, protected, moreover, by cotton corselets.[17] As the rest of his forces were not far behind, Alvarado did not hesitate to charge, and when the in-

[14] 'Le dieron muchos presentes de oro y plata y joyas en gran cantidad.' *Ramirez, Proceso contra Alvarado*, 7, 25, 28 et seq.

[15] 'A los quales mataron sin temor ninguno.' *Alvarado, Relacion*, i. 161. Bernal Diaz states that Alvarado sent messengers on three several occasions. *Hist. Verdad.*, 175.

[16] Bernal Diaz affirms that Alvarado took with him more than 140 soldiers, of whom twenty were cross-bowmen and arquebusiers, and 40 horsemen, with 2000 Guatemalans. It must, however, be concluded that the statements of the 'true historian' with regard to the conquest of Guatemala cannot be relied on as exact, since he admits that he was not present: 'Y esto digo, porque no me halle en estas Conquistas.' *Hist. Verdad.*, 175–6. Brasseur de Bourbourg also states that 2000 Cakchiquels, commanded by the Ahpotzotzil and the Ahpoxahil, accompanied the Spaniards. *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 652. Juarros, gives the forces as consisting of 40 horse, 100 foot, and 2000 Guatemalans. It is quite evident that this author never consulted Alvarado's despatches, judging from the many instances of chronological, numerical, and other differences. Alvarado says he marched so rapidly that he reached the territory of the Zutugils the same day on which he left the city of Guatemala. Juarros writes, 'Caminaba á convenientes jornadas.' *Guat.*, 278. Salazar follows Bernal Diaz. *Conq. Mex.*, 131.

[17] Juarros states that these forces were stationed upon the peñol, or insular rock, but were so harassed by the cross-bowmen that they sallied and gave fight to the Spaniards on the plain. *Guat.*, ii. 278.

fantry soon came up the engagement became general. For some time it was most obstinately maintained, and numbers of the Spanish soldiers were wounded. The cavalry, however, succeeded as ever in breaking the enemy's lines, relieving the hard-pressed foot-soldiers, who thereupon rallied and renewed their efforts so vigorously as soon to send the enemy rushing for the stronghold. The pursuing horsemen arrived at the causeway as soon as the fugitives; here they were obliged to dismount, as the place was impassable for horses; yet they followed the Indians so closely that no time was given to destroy the bridges, and the Spaniards entered the fort with them. The infantry soon came up, and though the Zutugils struggled desperately to maintain their position, the volleys of the arquebusiers made such havoc in their ranks that at last they plunged into the lake and swam to a neighboring island, whence many of them escaped before the tardy arrival of three hundred Cakchiquel canoes.

That evening, after sacking all the houses on the rock, Alvarado pitched his camp in a field of maize. On the following morning he implored divine protection and marched against Atitlan. He found the city abandoned, his capture of what they regarded as an impregnable stronghold in the lake having so discomfited the Zutugils that they dared not contend with him for their city. At mid-day he took up position in the capital, and at once set about to overrun and devastate the country; but it was so rugged that the men could with difficulty move, and he was obliged to content himself with destroying some plantations of maize and cacao.[18] He succeeded in making a few captives, three of whom were despatched to King Tepepul with the usual demand of submission, accompanied by threats in case of refusal. Perceiving the necessity, the Zutugil monarch gracefully yielded,

[18] 'I por la mucha agrura de la Tierra, como digo, no se mato mas Gente.' *Alvarado, Relacion*, i. 162.

whereupon the conqueror became gracious. He complimented the Zutugils for their bravery, pardoned their offences, and exhorted them to remain faithful, and to make no more war on such of their neighbors as were the recognized subjects of the king of Spain. To give efficacy to his words he built a strong fort in a suitable position, and left in it four hundred and eighteen men, Spaniards and Mexican allies, under the command of Héctor de Chaves and Alonso del Pulgar. Then he returned to Patinamit.[19]

Within three days the lords of the lake district presented themselves, with presents of gold and raiment. They expressed joy at becoming vassals of his majesty of Spain, for wars and woes should thenceforth be unknown among them. The Spanish commander was extremely affable as he presented his visitors with some glass trinkets, of great value in their eyes, and dismissed them with every demonstration of affection.[20]

Perhaps one reason why the play of Helen of Troy was not oftener performed by the Spanish conquerors in America was on account of the cheapness of women there. There might be lacking gold, or pearls, or provender, but seldom was a people found so poor that they could not furnish the army a liberal supply of

[19] About the middle of May, according to the Cakchiquel manuscript. Bernal Diaz states that Olmedo preached the gospel to the Indians, and celebrated mass on an altar which they erected. The friar also put up an image of the virgin, which Garay had brought and given him when he died. *Hist. Verdad.*, 176.

[20] *Alvarado, Relacion*, in *Barcia*, i. 161–2; *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 175; *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 230–1; *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. v. cap. x.; *Oviedo*, iii. 480–1; *Juarros, Guat.*, ii. 277–80; *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 652–5. In a memorial addressed by the chiefs of Atitlan to Philip II., and dated February 1, 1571, it is stated that when Alvarado came into the country he was received in a friendly spirit at Atitlan; that no one took up arms against him, but that valuable presents were made, while each town and village paid tribute according to its means. Numbers of their principal men accompanied him on his future campaigns, and lost their lives in his service. *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, série i., tom. x., 419–20. Though the Atitlan campaign was less sanguinary than the previous ones, this contradiction of all accounts, in stating that the Spaniards were peaceably received, must have proceeded from anxiety on the part of the natives to gain some favor or obtain some redress.

pretty slave girls. Less is found in the chronicles of this kind of traffic than of the traffic in gold and the traffic in pearls. The merchandise of morality, or rather of immorality, was less portable than the other kinds. Women were to use and throw away; gold would keep; while pearls were usually a staple article in the Spanish nation.

Now the pious Alvarado, next to his delectable master Cortés the most pious pirate in all the Indies, had tasted every iniquity condemned in his most holy scriptures except that invented and acted by the sweet psalmist of Israel. He had severally broken every commandment of the decalogue, then he had put them together and had broken them in every conceivable combination. But while maidens were so plump and plenty he had never felt the desire, like good King David, to go after the wife of any Uriah the Hittite. But while enjoying the luxurious hospitality of the Cakchiquel capital, with a world to give for a new sensation, Alvarado's eye fell on the beautiful Suchil,[21] wife of King Sinacam. In some respects it was the Israelitish tale reversed, for Sinacam was by no means a poor man in respect of women, nor was Suchil his only ewe lamb. The susceptible heart of the dashing commander was smitten by the graces of this queen, and he resolved to possess her. Being a conqueror, with a king for a slave, he might have obtained his desire by the simple demand; but in those days there was something sacred in royalty, even in heathen and captive royalty. Sinacam was now an acknowledged subject of Spain, and as such possessed rights; besides, that was not the way set forth by the bright exemplar of his faith.

Upon some pretext, therefore, Sinacam was arrested and put in irons. Gold was then demanded, and yet

[21] One witness at the trial of Alvarado in 1528–9 states that he heard this person was a sister of the king, but from the statement contained in the charge, and supported by many witnesses, it can only be inferred that she was one of the wives of the monarch. *Ramirez, Proceso contra Alvarado*, 7, 22, passim. Brasseur de Bourbourg's version is that Suchil was the wife of one of the highest dignitaries of the crown. *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 656.

more gold. It was the old method of making the penalty supply the place of guilt and condemnation. Then Suchil was seized, I do not say unwillingly, for the Spanish commander was fair and fascinating, and the Cakchiquel queen was after all but a woman. Above all things on earth, or beyond the earth, Sinacam regarded her—and for her restoration he offered more jewels, and pretty maidens, ay, the daughters of chieftains, by the hundred. Alvarado refused the prayer but not the offering. When love had cooled he released the king and went his way.[22]

[22] The defence set up by Alvarado when charged with this outrage is exceedingly weak. He had been deceived by the Cakchiquel nobles, he said, who, not wishing him to march farther south, made false representations regarding the difficulties he would meet with. A Spanish soldier named Falcon reported that a slave girl described the country as fair and rich; upon which Alvarado commanded her to be brought forward. This was persistently refused by the chiefs, until he seized one; then an Indian girl of noble birth was produced, but not the right one. 'He, however, importuned them much,' and finally Suchil was delivered up to him. The reader will appreciate the probability of this story when he considers how likely it was that the Cakchiquel nobles would seek to deter Alvarado from proceeding against their national enemies. *Ramirez, Proceso contra Alvarado.* See question and charge, xvii. and xix., pp. 7 and 57, Alvarado's reply, p. 77–8, and testimony.

CHAPTER XXVI.

EXPEDITION TO SALVADOR.

1524.

CAMPAIGN AGAINST ITZCUINTLAN—A ROUGH MARCH—THE TOWN SURPRISED—DESPERATE DEFENCE—ALVARADO DETERMINES TO EXPLORE STILL FARTHER SOUTH—CROSSING THE RIVER MICHATOYAT—THE SPANIARDS COME TO ATIQUIPAC, TACUYLULA, TAXISCO, NANCINTLAN, AND PAZACO—THE TOWNS DESERTED—POISONED STAKES AND CANINE SACRIFICE—ENTER SALVADOR—MOQUIZALCO AND ACATEPEC—BATTLES OF ACAJUTLA AND TACUXCALCO—BLOOD-THIRSTINESS OF THE CONQUEROR—ENTRY INTO CUZCATLAN—FLIGHT OF THE INHABITANTS—RETURN TO PATINAMIT.

WHILE receiving at Patinamit, after the Zutugil campaign, the fealty of numerous chieftains of the southern coast provinces, Alvarado was told that the district of Itzcuintlan[1] defied him. And with their refusal to accept the benefits of Christian civilization certain irritating expressions of contempt were reported to have been uttered by the ruler of the province. Chiefs of other tribes who wished to pass through it, in order to tender allegiance to the Spaniards, were deterred and insulted, and the conqueror was challenged to enter the land.[2] Somewhat ruffled by these bold proceedings, the impetuous commander marched against Itzcuintlan with all his available force, Spanish horse and foot, and a large body of Quichés and

[1] The native name of the chief town, Panatacat, was known in the time of Vazquez as *Isquintepeque*. Alvarado calls it *Iscuyntepeque*, *Relacion*, i. 162; Herrera, *Yzquintepec*, dec. iii. lib. v. cap. x.; Gomara, *Izcuintepec*, *Hist. Mex.*, 231. Its modern appellation is Escuintla. See also *Native Races*, v. 607.

[2] 'Diciendoles, què adonde iban, i que eran locos, sino que me dejasen à mi ir allà, i que todos me darian Guerra.' *Alvarado*, *Relacion*, i. 162; *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. v. cap. x.; *Gomara*, *Hist. Mex.*, 231.

Cakchiquels.[3] It was a very rough country through which he had to pass. Roads there were none, other than mere tracks through the thick woods, for intercourse with Itzcuintlan had been almost entirely closed, owing to incessant war; but these circumstances favored a secret entrance into the hostile territory. For three days they forced their way through an uninhabitable tract almost closed to man by tropical undergrowth, which required constant application of axe and knife, so that one day they were unable to proceed more than two leagues. On reaching the province it was found covered with thick plantations alternating with swamps. Such ground being no place for horses, the arquebusiers took the front, and advanced upon the town from three different quarters. It was raining heavily at the time, a shower preliminary to the season of rain, and the sentinels had retired, so that the surprise was complete.[4] Unable to arm or unite, the inhabitants fled to the woods to escape the swords of the conquerors. In the fort, however, which commanded the town, a considerable body of warriors had gathered, who offered a determined resistance, wounding many Spaniards and causing great loss to the Indian auxiliaries. After five hours of unavailing attempts to gain possession of the stronghold, the enraged Alvarado set fire to the place. The brave defenders appear to have escaped, thanks to the heavy rain and the proximity of the surrounding woods. Indeed, according to Alvarado's own

[3] Juarros, followed by Brasseur de Bourbourg, states that the army, when in Itzcuintlan, consisted of 250 Spanish infantry, 100 cavalry, and 6000 Guatemalan and other Indians. *Guat.* (ed. London, 1823,) 229. Now, Alvarado a little later in this campaign states that he had 150 infantry, 100 horse, and 5000 or 6000 Indian auxiliaries. This number of infantry is more probably correct than that given by Juarros. Alvarado had only 300 infantry when he left Mexico, and, though few had been killed, numbers were wounded, and he had left garrisons at various places. *Relacion*, i. 163. That he should leave Itzcuintlan with 250 Spanish foot-soldiers and lose 100 of them in a few weeks is a supposition that cannot be entertained. Juarros appears to have followed Gomara, *Hist. Mex.*, 232, who gives the above figures.

[4] No summons of surrender was sent, which omission was brought forward as a charge against the commander at a later date. *Ramirez, Proceso contra Alvarado*, 7, 57 et seq.

statement, he did no harm beyond burning the town.[5] The subjection of the district was not yet accomplished, however, and messengers were sent to the ruler with the usual summons and threats. If they persisted in keeping aloof and refusing to submit, their lands and cornfields would be devastated, and they and their children made slaves. This menace had the desired effect; the cacique and his chiefs submitted and swore obedience, and during the eight days Alvarado remained in this place a number of the surrounding towns sent in their allegiance. But the restless spirit of both leader and men was not to be satisfied with the subjugation of one province only. The lieutenant-general had heard exciting accounts of immense cities and wonderful palaces, and discovery was almost as attractive to him as pacification. He had already informed Cortés that it was his intention to winter fifty or one hundred leagues beyond Guatemala. As an additional incentive he had received positive information that a march of twenty-five days from Guatemala would bring him to the end of the land: if that should prove to be the case he was confident of finding soon the famous strait, for which so many were searching.[6] Besides the strait he desired also to find a harbor where he could construct vessels for exploring the coast at a later date. Already a great soldier, he desired to become also a great discoverer. Even the rainy season, which has just set in, should not deter him, though his difficulties would be greatly increased thereby.

Starting southward, then, from Itzcuintlan, the first difficulty encountered by the army was the River

[5] Juarros states that this was a night attack, and that the inhabitants were asleep when the Spaniards entered; Bernal Diaz says that it occurred in the morning.

[6] 'Tambien me han dicho, que cinco Jornadas adelante de vna Ciudad mui grande, que està veinte Jornadas de aqui, se acaba esta Tierra...si asi es, certisimo tengo que es el Estrecho.' *Alvarado, Relacion*, i. 160. Pelaez erroneously makes this campaign follow the reduction of Mixco, Sacatepeque, Mazatenango, etc. *Mem. Guat.*, i. 45–46. Vazquez thus describes it: 'Sin dejar las armas de las manos, ni dia alguno de batallar en los Pueblos de la Costa, corrió como un rayo, el y su Exercito.' *Chronica de Gvat.*, 7.

Michatoyat,[7] which could be crossed only by bridging. The first town reached was Atiquipac,[8] where the Spaniards were amicably received, but at sunset the people abandoned their homes and fled to the mountains.[9]

[7] Laet, Ogilby, and Kiepert write *R. Michatoya.*

[8] Called *Atiepar* by Alvarado; *Caetipar* by Gomara; *Atiquipaque* by Juarros; *Aticpac* by Brasseur de Bourbourg; and by Ixtlilxochitl, in *Horribles Crueldades*, 69, *Cala.* Alvarado states that both the language and race of people were here different.

[9] *Ramirez, Proceso contra Alvarado*, 7–8 et seq. The account given by Juarros differs so much from Alvarado's that I can give the former but little consideration in the text. It is to this effect: After crossing the river the Spaniards were attacked by a large body of Indians, and an obstinate battle ensued, in which Alvarado was dismounted by a chief, who wounded his horse with a lance. Alvarado then attacked the Indian on foot and killed him. The victory was for some time doubtful, but passed finally to the Spaniards. On the following day they entered the deserted town, where before long they were again attacked by a fresh body of the enemy. Cooped in the narrow streets, the Spaniards could not act, and retreated to open ground, where they soon threw the Indians into disorder.

Alvarado's despatches to Cortés, *Relacion de Alvarado*, form the base of that portion of the conquest of Guatemala which begins with the departure of the Spaniards from Soconusco and terminates with the founding of the Ciudad de Santiago at Patinamit. Two only of these reports are extant; that there was at least one more is certain from the opening line of the first, wherein Alvarado states that he had written from Soconusco; 'de Soncomisco escrivi à Vuestra Magestad.' It might be supposed, from the expression 'Vuestra Magestad,' that the letter was addressed to the king of Spain; the conclusion, however, proves that such was not the case, as Alvarado requests Cortés to report his services to his Majesty. 'Magestad' is probably a misprint for 'Merced,' or an incorrect reading of the manuscript. These despatches were first published at Toledo, October 20, 1525, with the fourth report of Cortés to the king of Spain. They were afterward translated into Italian by Ramusio and published at Venice in 1565. In 1749 Barcia, a member of the royal council, reproduced them, in Madrid, in his collection of the works of the chroniclers, and it may be remarked that Ramusio's translation does not always agree with this Spanish edition. Ternaux-Compans translated Ramusio's version into French and published the letters at Paris, in 1838, in his Collection of Voyages. Alvarado's style is clear and simple, terse and vigorous, and his descriptions are vivid. That he did not report all his proceedings to Cortés is evident from the *Proceso contra Alvarado*, already frequently quoted, in which numerous acts of cruelty, outrage, and embezzlement are charged against him. Yet there is no just reason to doubt the truthfulness of his narrations so far as they go, since they are supported by good authorities. It is suppression and not misrepresentation of facts that can be charged against him. In these two despatches the writer has portrayed his own character most clearly. His energy, recklessness, and indomitable will, his bravery, religious superstition, and ambition, are all distinctly displayed; but in bold relief, prominent above all other traits, is recognized his cruelty: whenever the carnage on the battle-field has been unusually dreadful he delights to report it to Cortés, sometimes even mentioning the matter twice; and when the natives have managed to escape him with comparatively small loss, he regretfully enters into explanations and gives the reasons why so few lives were taken. These despatches are particularly interesting for their evidence relative to the site of the first city founded by the Spaniards in Guatemala. They moreover correct many errors committed by Remesal,

There was no time to be wasted with them, for the roads might at any time be rendered impassable by the rains, and so the army pushed forward after branding a few unfortunates as slaves,[10] the commander taking every precaution in the disposition of his forces for the security of baggage and the protection of the auxiliaries. The next town reached was Tacuylula, standing to-day under the same name. The reception here was similar to the former, except, perhaps, that the natives detected the quality of their visitors more quickly than did the people of Atiquipac. Within an hour they had all fled.[11]

From Tacuylula they advanced to Taxisco, where, according to Alvarado's report, the inhabitants appeared friendly.[12] They passed the night in the town, with every precaution against attack, for it was strong and populous, and the Spaniards were under no little apprehension of an assault. They were unmolested, however, and left on the following morning for the town of Nancintlan.[13] For better security the commander placed ten horsemen in the rear and an equal number in the centre with his baggage, while with the remainder of the cavalry he led the van. He had advanced between two and three leagues when a fierce assault was made upon his rear, wherein a number

Fuentes, and Juarros, who, strange to say, could never have seen these reports, or even Oviedo's almost verbatim copy of them. Another narrative of the conquest was written by Gonzalo de Alvarado, which work Pelaez, *Mem. Guat.*, i. 47, considers that Herrera must have seen. It was never published; Juarros thus describes it: 'MS. de Gonzalo de Alvarado, que paraba en poder de D. Nicolas de Vides y Alvarado, su descendiente.'

[10] *Ramirez, Proceso contra Alvarado*, 7–8 et seq.

[11] 'Me recibieron de paz, i se alçaron dende à vna hora.' *Alvarado, Relacion*, i. 163.

[12] Juarros states that the army halted near the city, and was almost immediately attacked by three strong bands of natives, one descending from the heights of Nextiquipac, another from Taxisco, and the third from Guazacapan. It required all the skill and strength of the Spaniards to resist the combined onset. But the division from Guazacapan abandoned the field, while that which came down from the mountains was broken and put to flight; whereupon the Taxisco party submitted, and the town remained in the possession of the Spaniards. *Juarros, Guat.* (ed. London, 1823), 231.

[13] Called by Alvarado *Nacendelan*, and *Necendelan* by Gomara; in Mercator's Atlas, 1574, *Nacendelen*, and in the *West-Indische Spieghel*, 64, *Nacelelan*. Its modern name is Nancintla.

of his Indian allies were killed, and, what he deplored still more, a great quantity of his baggage, stores, and material was carried off.[14]

This was a grave loss, and the commander immediately sent his brother, Jorge Alvarado, with forty or fifty of the cavalry to attempt a recapture. On arriving at the scene of the late disaster this officer fell in with a large body of warriors[15] and put them to flight, but recovered none of the lost effects. In the mean time the army arrived at Nancintlan, and Jorge Alvarado having returned with little or nothing accomplished, Puertocarrero[16] was sent back with a detachment of foot-soldiers. The second attempt was as unsuccessful as the first. The fact is, the country was all in arms; the natives had retired to mountain fastnesses, whence they issued forth to attack as occasion offered. Nancintlan had also been abandoned, save by the principal men who were detained as prisoners. During the eight days' stay[17] here, Alvarado sought in vain to induce the people to return, and, as he could delay his march no longer, out of pure spite the dastardly commander burned the town and his prisoners.[18]

The Spaniards now advanced to the neighboring

[14] These consisted of cloth, cross-bow strings, horseshoes, nails, and other iron articles. Alvarado states at a later date that the nails and horseshoes were cast with copper by the Indians, who believed that the iron would melt with it. *Ramirez, Proceso contra Alvarado*, 79–80. The clothing, he says, could not be recovered, as it had been torn up for breech-clouts. *Relacion*, i. 163; *Oviedo*, iii. 483.

[15] Herrera affirms that they were from Nancintlan, and had the custom of fighting with little bells, 'sendas campanillas,' in their hands. Juarros states that all inquiries to discover the reason of this practice have been useless. *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. v. cap. x.; *Juarros, Guat.* (ed. London, 1823), 232; also *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 232.

[16] Referred to as Don Pedro, one of Cortés' most trusted officers. See *Hist. Mex.*, chap. vi., this series. He is mentioned more than once by Alvarado, and important commands were intrusted to him. *Relacion*, i. 163–4.

[17] Juarros says this stay was made at Guazacapan, a town passed on the way to Nancintlan. The army would have been, thus far, about 25 days on the campaign of discovery: Four days from Patinamit to Itycuintlan, eight days at this latter place, four days in passing through the towns of Atiquipac, Tacuylula, and Taxisco, to Nancintlan, and eight at this latter place.

[18] *Ramirez, Proceso contra Alvarado*, 8, 58, 79 et seq. Brasseur de Bourbourg is of opinion that only certain of the chiefs were captured after having fled, and that they were hanged. *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 660. I give the narrative as derived from the evidence in Alvarado's trial.

town of Pazaco.[19] The lieutenant-general had already received an invitation from the chiefs, with protestations of friendship, which could hardly have been sincere, for as the Spaniards approached the town their advance was interrupted by short poisoned stakes, ingeniously hidden in the ground.[20] The roads, also, were found to be closed near the town, with all possible impediments to an advance. As they entered the place, the spectacle of a canine sacrifice, a ceremonial significant of hatred and defiance, met their gaze.[21] Nor were hostilities long delayed. At a signal the natives suddenly appeared, shouting their shrill war-cries, and threw upon the Spaniards so heavy a discharge of arrows, lances, and stones, that it was with difficulty they held their ground. Slowly but surely, however, Spanish weapons and coats of mail prevailed, and the Indians, unable to stand before them, fled to the surrounding heights, amidst the attendant horrors of pursuit.[22]

The army thereupon passed across the La Paz River[23] into what is now the state of Salvador, first entering Moquizalco,[24] and then they went to Acatepec.

[19] The present town of Pasaco, called *Pacoco* by Oviedo, iii. 483, and *Pazùco* by Herrera, dec. iii. lib. v. cap. x., and Gomara, *Hist. Mex.*, 232.

[20] These were placed slantwise, and projected two or three fingers' width above the surface. They were smeared with so noxious a poison that if but a drop of blood were drawn the wounded man died insane, on the second, third, or seventh day, suffering intense thirst. *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. v. cap. x.; *Native Races*, ii. 744.

[21] *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. v. cap. x. On a previous occasion they had met with this indication of hostility, but in this instance they seem to have had an opportunity of witnessing the ceremony. *Alvarado, Relacion*, i. 163.

[22] 'I seguimos el alcance todo lo que se pudo seguir.' *Alvarado, Relacion*, i. 163. Juarros states that this victory did not decide the conquest of the district; some towns submitted, but others retained their liberty. Among those which sought for peace was the large town of Tejutla, four leagues from Guazacapan, which was taken possession of as an arsenal. After the conquest it gradually lost its ancient importance, and was abandoned about the middle of the seventeenth century.

[23] Near Bay of Sonsonate. See maps of Colon, 1527, and Ribero, 1529, having at or near this point *r. Ciego;* also Kiepert's *Map of Central America*, 1858. *R. Paza* forms the boundary between Salvador and Guatemala. Paza is evidently an abbreviation of the native name Pazaco, and Paz a Spanish corruption of Paza.

[24] Alvarado calls it *Mopicalco;* Herrera and Gomara, *Mopicalco.* Brasseur de Bourbourg remarks that it seems to correspond with the present village of Nahuizalco, not far from Sonsonate, in Salvador. *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 661.

Both of these towns received the strangers hospitably, but the inhabitants soon fled, overcome by terror at the cruelties committed. Angered by this continual desertion, Alvarado ordered the Indians to be pursued, and as many of them as could be seized were branded as slaves. He then hastened forward, directing his march to Acajutla.[25] On arriving within half a league of the town he encountered a mighty host drawn up in battle array to oppose him, their ranks extending over a wide plain that lay before the city.

[25] Mentioned by the conqueror as Acaxual, 'donde bate la Mar del Sùr en èl.' *Relacion*, i. 163. Gomara calls it *Acaiucatl;* Herrera, *Cayacatl;* and Oviedo *Acarval*, while Ixtlilxochitl gives it the name of *Acayncatl*. Its modern appellation is Acajutla. Juarros incorrectly states that Alvarado did not discover it before 1534. *Guat.*, i. 254. Fernando Colon, 1527, and Diego de Ribero, 1529, write *las matas*. Mercator's atlas, 1574, town and bay *Acaxutla;* Ogilby, 1671, *Pto d' Acaxutla;* Laet, 1633, *Po de Acaxutla; West-Indische Spieghel*, 1624, *Caxulta;* Jefferys, 1776, *Sonsonate* or *Trinidad City*, *Rio St Jago*, and the southern point *Izalcos*, southern cape *Pt de los Remedios*, northern cape *Pt Dacaxutla*, on the coast near the latter point *Guacapa*, and in the interior *Chiquimula*. A little north river and city *las Esclavos;* Kiepert, 1858, *B. de Sonsonate*, also a like named city on the *R. St Jago*. On the coast, *Acajutla* city, and eastward, *P. de los Remedios*, *Puerto Libertad*, and *Pt de la Concordia*. The coast is called *Cuesta del Balsamo*.

It was indeed an inspiriting sight for an Indian fighter. Times had been somewhat tame for the last few days, but here was the promise of rare sport, indeed. Alvarado, who was in advance with the cavalry, approached to within a cross-bow shot, and then halted for his infantry to come up. As he ran his experienced eye over the forests of spears, and marked the magnitude of the hostile array, he felt that all his coolness and all his skill would be required to save his army that day. War plumes waved from the heads of thousands, and battle devices were scattered as far as the eye could reach, while the feathered banners floating above the parti-colored bands threw over all an air of peculiar brilliance.[26] The foe had chosen, too, an advantageous position. In their rear thick woods offered easy refuge in case of need. Yet already, before they were his own, Alvarado began to plan that none should escape him. He stood there like a hunter overlooking a band of antelope, and thinking how he could best secure them all. Of what advantage was it to Charles, or Cortés, or even to these panting wolves themselves, that this ill fated multitude to the last man should die?

As the remainder of his forces[27] came up, Alvarado advanced a little nearer to the enemy. The Indians manifested no inclination to leave their position; they appeared to be awaiting attack. Alvarado then feigned retreat, which the army performed in perfect order, though in apparent haste,[28] the commander himself having charge of the rear. The result was as he anticipated. The duped natives eagerly pursued; at

[26] 'Parecian bien con los sacos como eran blancos, y de colores, con muy buenos penachos q̄ lleuauan en las cabeças.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 232.

[27] It is on this occasion that Alvarado gives the number of his forces. Ixtlilxochitl says there were not more than 7000 Mexicans and Tezcucans... and Alvarado had not more than 250 Spanish foot and 100 horse, and some few thousand Quauhtemaltecs. *Horribles Crueldades*, 69.

[28] Gomara states that Alvarado dared not attack them, because they were so strong and well drawn up, but that the Indians charged the Spanish army as it was moving by. *Hist. Mex.*, 232. Ixtlilxochitl's account is similar to that of Gomara: 'Pasaron por un lado del ejército de los enemigos; y como los vieron á la otra parte, envistieron con ellos.' *Horribles Crueldades*, 69–70.

last, they thought, these beings maledict are afraid. And they flew at them with wild demonstrations of joy at the expected victory, making in their onset such a roar as would have appalled any but veteran troops. In their blind enthusiasm they grappled and struggled with the retiring cavalry, seizing the horses' tails and the riders' stirrups. Their arrows rattled thick like hailstones against the metal armor of the soldiers, or with angry hiss passed them by, reaching to the farthest end of the Spanish army. For some time this movement continued over the level plain, on which no obstacle interposed to prevent its successful achievement.[29] After thus drawing the enemy away from the friendly wood, and to such ground as best suited the purpose, the order was given; the Spanish army wheeled and fell on the unprepared foe like a storm of Sodom. Sennacherib's hosts before Jerusalem met no more complete destruction than the army of warriors before Acajutla that day. Incased in cumbersome cotton armor, they could not flee, and when overthrown by the charging horsemen they could not rise again.[30] As they lay helpless on the ground the infantry and auxiliaries would cut and pierce them as if they had been swine, following as zealously as possible the example of Alvarado, who, severely wounded[31] and out of humor, vented his malignant spleen upon these home-defenders. Ah! war is a glorious thing; and grand that civilization which refines and ennobles war!

[29] Brasseur de Bourbourg, misled by Ternaux's translation from Ramusio of Alvarado's letter, says: 'Sans que l'inégalité du terrain permît aux Espagnols de leur opposer beaucoup de résistance.' *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 662. See also *Alvarado, Relacion*, i. 164, and *Alvarado, Lettres*, in *Ternaux-Compans*, série i. tom. x.

[30] For armor they wore a sack, with sleeves reaching down to the feet, of hard twisted cotton, three fingers in thickness. *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 232; *Alvarado, Relacion*, i. 164; *Native Races*, ii. 742.

[31] He had been pierced through the thigh with an arrow, which was shot with such force as to penetrate the saddle. His leg was shortened in consequence to the extent of four fingers' width, and he remained lame for life. *Alvarado, Relacion*, i. 164. Remesal erroneously states that Alvarado received this wound in Soconusco. *Hist. Chyapa*, 7.

The revenge of the chivalrous commander was ample; not one of all that multitude of warriors was left alive upon the field.[32] When the extermination was finished the victorious army entered Acajutla, and remained there five days caring for their wounded, of whom there was a great number; then they passed on to Tacuxcalco.[33] Pedro Puertocarrero had been sent forward to reconnoitre, and succeeded in capturing two spies, who reported that the warriors of this town and its dependencies were assembled in large numbers to oppose their advance, whereupon the scouting party proceeded until they arrived within sight of the enemy. - Gonzalo de Alvarado, who led the van, his brother being ill of his wound, presently came up with forty of the cavalry, and drew up in order, waiting for the main body to arrive. The commander, though still suffering severely, mounted a horse as best he could and issued his orders. The Indians were drawn up in one solid phalanx; he would assail them on three sides at once. Thirty of the cavalry, under the command of Gonzalo de Alvarado, were to attack the right, his brother Gomez was ordered to lead twenty more against the left, while Jorge[34] was to charge the front with the rest of the forces.

These arrangements made, he took his post on elevated ground above the battle field. Even his stout heart sank somewhat within him as he viewed the scene. One portion of the plain was covered with a forest of tall spears,[35] and the compact body of foemen

[32] This is Alvarado's own statement: 'I fue tan grande el destroço, que en ellos hicimos, que en poco tiempo no havia ninguno de todos los que salieron vivos;' and lower, 'I en caiendo la Gente de pie, los mataba todos.' *Relacion*, i. 164. Gomara says, 'Y casi no dexaron ninguno dellos viuo.' *Hist. Mex.*, 232.

[33] Tacusocalco. *Oviedo*, iii. 484.

[34] The three brothers who accompanied Alvarado from Mexico are now brought more into notice. There are three other Alvarados mentioned by Fuentes in his list of conquerors, but their names do not correspond to those of the other brothers of the lieutenant-general. *Fuentes y Guzman, Recordacion Florida*, MS., 25–7; *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 14.

[35] 'Que verla de lejos era para espantar, porque tenian todos los mas lanças de treinta palmos, todas en Arboledas.' *Alvarado, Relacion*, i. 164. Herrera adds that the spears were poisoned: 'Las lanças eran mayores, con yerua.' dec. iii. lib. v. cap. x.

told him that they were even more numerous than the army he had defeated a few days before.[36] His apprehensions were in no wise lessened as he watched his forces draw near the enemy and observed how immovable they stood, and without sign of fear. But what seemed to him most strange was that his own men hesitated to charge. He afterward ascertained that between the opposing lines lay a narrow meadow which the Spaniards mistook for a swamp, and delayed their onset until they had assured themselves of the firmness of the ground. Presently the stirring cry of Santiago! was heard, and Alvarado's heart swelled within him: his passion for human blood appears to increase with the slaughter of his tens of thousands, and the lately gay and gallant cavalier is becoming a monster delighting in carnage and butchery, killing men for the mere pleasure of it. With a feeling of fierce delight the wounded man now watched his army break into the Indian columns. He marked the rout and bloody pursuit, and noticed with satisfaction how the plain became streaked with dead bodies in the track of the fugitives and pursuers, which ghastly line was soon over a league in length.

Taking possession of the town, the Spaniards remained in it for two days, and then moved on to Mihuatlan.[37] All the towns and villages hereabout were found deserted; the natives seemed to have discovered that there was no chance of success in the field, and no escape from oppression when once their liberty was lost. At Atecuan[38] the commander was met by envoys from Atlacatl, the king of Cuzcatlan, bearing proffers of friendship, which were received with satisfaction, for the delay and fatigue of battle with the reward of empty towns, however pleasur-

[36] 'Peleò despues con otro exercito mayor, y mas peligroso.' *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. v. cap. x.

[37] Called by Alvarado, *Miaguaclan;* by Herrera, *Mautlan;* by Ixtlilxochitl and Gomara, *Mahuatlan.*

[38] Atehuan, *Alvarado, Relacion*, i. 164; Lechuan, *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. v. cap. x.; Atlechuan, *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 232; Athehuan, *Oviedo*, iii. 484.

able, seemed profitless.[39] So far, indeed, Alvarado seems to have effected little with respect to the actual conquest of the country. His line of march was marked by heaps of slain, by burned cities and deserted villages,[40] but as for native subjects of his Majesty, or Christian converts, or colonies, or any permanent advantages, they were few. If, now in the very heart of the country, he could gain a faithful ally, a second Sinacam, pacification might become more permanent and profitable. To this end he directed his march toward Cuzcatlan,[41] the capital of that country, a large and beautiful city, inhabited by a considerable population, and, according to the report of the conquerors, hardly second to Patinamit.

Although the Indians along the road manifested their friendliness by supplying the Spaniards with fruits and fresh provisions in abundance, and although they were cordially welcomed into the city by the chiefs, yet on taking up their quarters the whole population rushed to arms, and a few hours after the city was deserted.[42] All efforts at reconciliation on the part of Alvarado were unavailing. Summons to obedience and menaces were equally disregarded, and a formal requirement was sent, coupled with the

[39] 'Yo los recibí pensando que no me mentirian como los otros.' *Alvarado, Relacion*, i. 164. Oviedo, on the contrary, says, 'Pensando que mentirian, como los otros.' i. 485.

[40] 'Los mas de los pueblos fueron quemados e destruidos.' *Ramirez, Proceso contra Alvarado*, 26 et seq.

[41] Written *Cuitlachan* by Gomara and Ixtlilxochitl. Cuzcatlan, meaning Land of Jewels, *Juarros, Guat.*, i. 23, was the ancient name of the province, as well as the city represented by the modern San Salvador. *Native Races*, v. xii. In *Ogilby's America*, 1671, is written town *S. Salvador*, and south of it a town *La Trinidad;* Laet, 1633, *S. Saluador*, and on the opposite side of the river *La Trinidad*, and in the interior to the north a city *Gratias a Dios;* Jeffreys, 1776, *San Salvador* or *Cuzcatlan*, west *Nexapa Guaymoco*, east *Chontales*, north *Istepec;* Kiepert, 1858, *San Salvador*, state, town and volcano.

[42] The Spaniards entertained some suspicions of treachery. Brasseur de Bourbourg states that the prince and all his suite were seized and kept prisoners. *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 664. The testimony of Alvarado's letter tends on the contrary to prove that they escaped from the town with the rest of the population: 'I mientras nos aposentamos, no quedò Hombre de ellos en el Pueblo, que todos se fueron à las Sierras. È como vi esto, Yo embiè mis Mensageros à los Señores de alli à decirles, que no fuesen malos.' *Relacion*, i. 164. Compare, however, *Ramirez, Proceso contra Alvarado*, 9 et seq.

usual conditions; but no reply came. Then the invaders tried force, but for once they were baffled. For fully seventeen days the most strenuous exertions were made to subdue them, during which time several sanguinary encounters occurred, wherein a number of Spaniards were wounded and eleven horses killed, the auxiliaries suffering severely. Thus even the occupation of the capital failed to secure the primary object of the invasion.

Alvarado now perceived that with the present force he never would be able to subjugate these Cuzcatecs, and he saw that his position was becoming critical. The rainy season was now well upon him, the roads were becoming bad, and every day would render retreat more difficult. The return march extended over several hundred miles, and he could not expect to meet with much hospitality or assistance. He decided, therefore, to return to Guatemala. But before he set out he would make legally secure his claim upon the vassalage of the Cuzcatecs. With this view he instituted a process against them in the form prescribed by law, and summoned them to surrender. As no attention was paid to his proclamation, proceedings were closed after the legal time had expired and sentence was passed. They were pronounced traitors and their chiefs condemned to death.[43]

This solemn ceremony ended,[44] Alvarado was ready to depart from the country, though not till he had branded all he could lay hands upon. He was some-

[43] *Alvarado, Relacion*, i. 164–5; *Ramirez, Proceso contra Alvarado*, 58–9 et seq. Brasseur de Bourbourg, regardless of all Spanish evidence, boldly assumes that the king 'ainsi que tous les seigneurs de sa cour' were in fact put to death, *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 666–7, when in reality they were fugitives in the mountains and merely condemned. It is absurd to suppose that in the Cuzcatlan charge, No. xxvi., referred to above, Alvarado's accusers would have failed to bring against him the deaths of the king and chiefs.

[44] The branding of slaves at Cuzcatlan was one of the charges brought against Alvarado at his trial. The Spaniards appear to have seized upon a number of the natives when they first entered the town. *Ramirez, Proceso contra Alvarado*, 9–59, passim. Las Casas uses these words: 'Stigma enim Regium, iis, qui non evaserunt, inustum est. Ego etiam præcipuo totius civitatis viri filio vidi imprimi.' *Regio. Ind. Devastat.*, 38.

what chagrined at his failure to draw the Cuzcatecs into the fold; but he would return again. Indeed, this was imperative, for the Cuzcatlan campaign had been quite unproductive[45] in securing either wealth or dominion. From Itzcuintlan to Cuzcatlan there was scarcely a town that would not require a second subjugation. An additional cause of vexation lay in the statement of natives that no strait existed toward the south.[46] On the other hand he was gratified to learn of great cities beyond, built of stone and lime, and inhabited by dense populations, and he promised himself due compensation from them for his present disappointment. Of his homeward march particulars are unnecessary. That the way was difficult and that the soldiers suffered much we may be sure.[47] Pinched by hunger, drenched by rain, midst the lightning and the thunder, they beat their way back over the soft soaked ground, braving the heavens and the earth which seemed to have risen against them. At night, if no deserted town afforded shelter, the worn-out men, after partaking of scanty fare and shivering in wet clothes round feeble camp fires, threw themselves upon the swampy ground to sleep. Yet with all their sufferings they did not scruple to destroy fields, burn such villages as fell in their way, and so reduce others to the same sad plight as themselves. Sweet to us are the misfortunes of others!

[45] 'Huuo poco despojo.' *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. v. cap. x. 'Poco oro y riquezas hallaron en este viage.' *Ixtlilxochitl, Horribles Crueldades*, 70.

[46] 'I supe de los Naturales como esta Tierra no tiene cabo.' *Alvarado, Relacion*, i. 165.

[47] 'Padecieron hartos trabajos, hambre y calamidades los nuestros, y los españoles.' *Ixtlilxochitl, Horribles Crueldades*, 70; also *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 232.

CHAPTER XXVII.

REVOLT OF THE CAKCHIQUELS.

1524–1525.

RETURN OF THE ALLIES TO MEXICO—FOUNDING OF THE CITY OF SANTIAGO—THE CAKCHIQUELS OPPRESSED BEYOND ENDURANCE—THEY FLEE FROM THE CITY—DIFFICULTY IN AGAIN REDUCING THEM TO SUBJECTION—REINFORCEMENTS FROM MEXICO—CAMPAIGN AGAINST MIXCO—CAPTURE OF THAT STRONGHOLD—FIGHT WITH THE CHIGNAUTECS—SUPERHUMAN VALOR OF A CAVALRYMAN—CONQUEST OF THE ZACATEPEC VALLEY—EXPEDITION AGAINST THE MAMES—DEFEAT OF CAN ILOCAB—ENTRY INTO HUEHUETENANGO—SIEGE OF ZAKULÉU—SURRENDER OF CAIBIL BALAM.

PEDRO DE ALVARADO with his army arrived at Patinamit from his southern campaign some days previous to the 28th of July, 1524.[1] The Mexican allies were soon dismissed and returned to their homes, bearing despatches to Cortés. The general was greatly pleased with the tidings from his lieutenant, and sent him two hundred more Spanish soldiers, to aid in the colonization of those parts.

Almost immediately after their return to the capital of the Cakchiquels the Spaniards proceeded to appropriate the territory and make preparations for its government. A Spanish city was founded at Patinamit under the name of Ciudad del Señor de Santiago.[2]

[1] Alvarado's report of the campaign bears this date, and as he mentions in it that on his return he founded the 'Ciudad del Señor Santiago,' he must have arrived at least several days previous to the above date. Brasseur de Bourbourg, after pointing out a misconception of Fuentes, exhibits some confusion in his own mind as to dates and time. *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, 667.

[2] Vazquez observes, 'Llegó á *Vulvusya* que oy llaman Almolonga; y auiendo en la falda de su bolcan assentado el Real a los 25 de Jullio de 1524, diò su primer ser a la Ciudad de Guatemala, con Nõbre de Villa que le duró muy pocos dias.' *Chronica de Gvat.*, 7. Remesal also states that the city was

The ceremonies were conducted with great pomp. According to Remesal, on the 25th of July, St James' day, the army was drawn up in battle-array to the sound of fife and drum. The morning was unusually fine, and the sun flashing its rays upon burnished armor added splendor to the scene. The cavalry were specially conspicuous for the brilliancy of their dress and ornaments. After repeated volleys by the arquebusiers mass was celebrated by Juan Godinez, the chaplain, and all joined devoutly in the service. With due ceremony the new town was dedicated to their patron Santiago.

The municipal officers were then appointed by Alvarado. The first alcaldes were Diego de Rojas and Baltasar de Mendoza. Four regidores were nominated, whose names were Pedro Puertocarrero, Hernan Carrillo, Juan Perez Dardon, and Domingo

founded on the slopes of the Volcan de Agua, at a place called Panchoy, which signifies Great Lagoon, the valley there being surrounded by mountains. The material of which the first houses were built consisted, he says, of forked posts for the corner pillars, of canes and mud for the walls, while the roofs were thatched with dry grass. By the aid of the Mexicans they were rapidly thrown up. A sufficient number for the accommodation of all the army being completed, they waited for the day of the Apostle Santiago, in order to found the city on that day and dedicate it to their patron saint. It fell on Monday, the 25th of July, when the founding was consummated. *Remesal, Hist. Chyapa*, 4. I have elsewhere shown that Patinamit was the city which Alvarado called Guatemala. Now there is positive evidence from his own despatch that he founded the city of Santiago at or upon that same city of Guatemala. 'Antes acorde me bolver à esta Ciudad de Guatemala,..asi que Yo soi venido à esta Ciudad...hice, i edifiquè, en nombre de su Magestad, vna Ciudad de Españoles, que se dice la Ciudad del Señor Santiago,' he writes. The use of the expression 'esta Ciudad de Guatemala' in other portions of the despatch proves that it was written at the capital of the Cakchiquel king, while at the conclusion it is dated thus: 'De esta ciudad de Santiago, à veinte i ocho de Julio de mil i quinientos i veinte i quatro Años.' Thus it is clear that the city of Guatemala and the city of Santiago were one, and that Alvarado appropriated to himself Sinacam's capital. *Alvarado, Relacion*, i. 161–2, 165–6. It may be here stated that in direct opposition to Alvarado's application of the term ciudad to the new settlement, both Vazquez and Remesal assert that it was a villa, the latter adding that it retained this title eighteen days, and was erected into a city on the 12th of August. *Remesal, Hist. Chyapa*, 4, 6. Pelaez says the city was called 'Ciudad de Santiago de los caballeros,' but not till November 22, 1527. Vazquez affirms, *Chronica de Gvat.*, 11, that it was so called on the 29th of July, 1524, while Remesal gives August 12th of the same year. Pelaez, in his introduction to vol. i., states that Guatemala took its name from the expression of Guhatezmalhá, that is to say 'the hill which throws out water.' From the acts of the cabildo we know that it was called a city on the 29th of July, 1524. *Arévalo, Actas Ayunt. Guat.*, 8.

de Zubiarreta,[3] while Gonzalo de Alvarado was elected alguacil mayor.[4]

The municipality having thus been formed,[5] the Spaniards for the next three days devoted themselves to festivities and rejoicing. On the 12th of August[6] there was an enrolment of colonists, of whom a list of one hundred has been preserved.[7] To the sacred patron was also built and dedicated a church, of which

[3] *Fuentes y Guzman, Recordacion Florida*, MS., 25; *Arévalo, Actas Ayunt. Guat.*, 7; Zabarrieta, according to Remesal.

[4] This right to appoint alcaldes and regidores was maintained and exercised by Alvarado whenever he was present, as is proved by the cabildos of 1525 and 1526. *Remesal, Hist. Chyapa*, 4. *Arévalo, Actas Ayunt. Guat.*, 11–18.

[5] The cabildo, as an assumption of its official prerogatives, entered into session the same day, and arranged legal prices for provisions. *Remesal, Hist. Chyapa*, 4. On July 27th we find that an act was passed regulating the blacksmith's rates. Two dollars was to be his charge for making 100 nails, the iron being furnished to him. The charge for shoeing a horse one gold dollar, and the same for bleeding. It is curious to observe that the price of horseshoes in Alvarado's army in April, 1524, was $190 a dozen, at which rate they were bought and sold in his camp. *Alvarado, Relacion*, i. 160. Remesal says that operatives, knowing the necessity of their services, charged what they liked. The tailor charged a real a stitch, and shoemakers worked only at such high wages that while soling other people's shoes with leather they might have used silver for their own; and the blacksmith could have made his tools of gold had he wished. On the 12th of December, 1524, the cabildo deemed it necessary to establish fixed rates for labor of all kinds. The measures adopted were punctually carried out by those in power. The regulations were modified as time required, and every two years, at most, new rates were adapted to the condition of affairs, with which even the lords of estates were compelled to comply. The artisans, however, still contrived to cause the other colonists much inconvenience by refusing all payment for work except in gold coin, the tailor otherwise retaining his customer's clothes, even on a feast-day, and the shoemaker his shoes. This state of things lasted till 1529, when the corporation on the 19th of February made the aboriginal currency of the country, cacao, feathers, and clothing, legal tender. *Hist. Chyapa*, 6; *Arévalo, Actas Ayunt. Guat.*, 8–67, passim. Another of the first acts of this new corporation was the appointment of a town-crier, his salary being fixed at $100 a year. *Id.*, 7–8. With regard to this office of crier, Remesal states that it had to be accepted by the person selected to fill it under pain of death. *Hist. Chyapa*, 4. On the present occasion the person chosen was Diego Diaz, who strongly objected to the calling, but was compelled to accept. Remesal, with his death penalty, goes beyond the act of the corporation, which says 'so pena de cient azotes.' *Arévalo, Actas Ayunt. Guat.*, 8. As an instance of the dearness of provisions, we find an act passed on the 6th of May, 1525, limiting the price of eggs to one gold real apiece. *Id.*, 12, 14.

[6] *Arévalo, Actas Ayunt. Guat.*, 8. But Remesal, who is continually at variance with the best authorities, says on the 29th of July.

[7] Vazquez says there were enrolled as settlers at the founding less than 200 Spaniards, for, though very few had fallen in battle, detachments had been left at Quezaltenango and Patinamit. With regard to this latter place it must be borne in mind that Vazquez believed the city to have been founded on the Volcan de Agua. *Chronica de Gvat.*, 10–11; see also *Arévalo, Actas Ayunt. Guat.*, 8–19.

Juan Godinez was left in charge, and one Reynosa sacristan with a salary of sixty dollars a year. The surrounding lands were then distributed in encomiendas. In making these grants Alvarado must have entertained some misgivings as to their validity and as to his future position and authority in the conquered provinces, for in a despatch to Cortés he complains that according to reports meeting him on his return from the southern campaign the king had appointed a governor other than himself of the new territory, and upbraids Cortés for not having duly reported his services to his Majesty, at the same time begging him to do so.[8]

That the Cakchiquel nobles should regard with indignation this arbitrary disposal of their lands and vassals was but natural. They had already observed that friend and foe were much the same in the hands of the voracious Spaniards, whose aggressive and outrageous action now convinced them that the friendly bearing of their king had gained for their nation no more, nay less, consideration than that vouchsafed the conquered Quichés, who had fought manfully for independence. So it was, in truth, with regard to all the conquerors in America, though not so expressed in words: those who fought for their rights must die or suffer enslavement because they offered opposition to the spoilers; those who did not fight were contemptible things, unworthy a white man's consideration. Believing in their promises, the Cakchiquels had received the Spaniards and had accepted their sovereign; but they were not prepared to go so far as to surrender themselves, their wives and little ones, their lands and their religion. Death might be the result of revolt; judging from what they had seen it probably would be; nevertheless they would revolt and die. How high the high hand of the taskmasters had been raised we know not; but we know that within a few short months after Alvarado's return and the

[8] 'Cortes...confirmo los repartimientos, y ayudo a pedir aquella gouernacion.' *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 233; see also *Herrera*, dec. iii. lib. v. cap. x.

founding of his unstable city[9] the Cakchiquels rose to a man against the tyrants. The crowning grievance also is known. Exaction after exaction had been made. The temples and palaces of Patinamit had been forced to contribute their gold and silver ornaments until there was nothing left. Then a large amount of gold[10] was demanded of the king and nobles within a stated time, which it was out of their power to supply. In their efforts to obtain the so much desired yellow substance from auriferous streams they brought in glittering pyrites, mistaking them for gold.[11] Alvarado, furious with rage, summoned the king and his courtiers before him. "Why," he passionately exclaimed, "have you not brought the gold and silver that I demanded of you? If I receive not soon all the gold and all the silver of your towns, you shall have the choice of being hanged or burned alive!" Then with a brutality that Caligula might have gloried in he tore with his own hand from the nostrils of Sinacam and two princes at his side the golden ornaments they wore as badges of their high rank.[12] This indignity cut the unhappy natives to the heart, and bending their disgraced heads, bitter tears mingled with the blood which fell at the feet of the Christian. "It is my will," added Alvarado, "that the gold and silver be here within five days. Woe betide you if you bring it not!" and with a coarseness that equalled his heartlessness he dismissed them from his presence.

[9] It will be seen in the narrative that the Spaniards were soon obliged to abandon Patinamit and locate elsewhere, and that the city of Santiago had no permanent site until its establishment in Panchoy in 1527.

[10] 'Pedro de Alvarado les mando que dentro de cierto termino le diesen mill hojas de oro de a quinze pesos cada hoja.' *Ramirez, Proceso contra Alvarado*, 59. Brasseur de Bourbourg states that the king and royal family were commanded to bring vases filled with the precious metals, and to deliver up even their crowns and personal ornaments. *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 673.

[11] The Indians appear to have brought in pyrites not unfrequently. Las Casas, speaking of the Cuzcatecs, says: 'Indiani igitur magnum hastarum ex orichalcho inaurato, numerum, quæ aureæ esse videbantur...congregarunt. Capitaneus eas Lydio lapide probari jussit, cumque orichalcum esse cerneret,' etc. *Regio. Ind. Devastat.*, 38. 'Alvarado no tomava syno oro fino e lo rescebia por el toque.' *Ramirez, Proceso contra Alvarado*, 59.

[12] See *Bancroft's Native Races*, ii. 732.

Nobles, priesthood, and people were already of one mind. The priests in particular, seeing the desecration of their temples and the threatened suppression of their religion, put forth all their efforts to rouse the Cakchiquels from the vile thraldom. And while the nobles and people proceeded as best they were able to collect treasures to meet the last demand from the neighboring towns, the priesthood succeeded in completing plans and preparations for revolt. They spread the report that their deity, offended at the sacrilegious actions of the Spaniards, had appeared to his ministers, announcing the speedy destruction of the strangers. A priest of Chamalcan now presented himself before Sinacam and his court. "I am the lightning!" he cried, with subdued vehemence, "and I will strike the Castilians. With fire will I destroy them! When I shall cause the sound of the sacred drum to be heard in the city, let the king leave it and withdraw to the other side of the river, for on the seventh day, Ahmak, will I strike the Spaniards!" These bold and confident words had their effect. In their deep affliction the Cakchiquels believed their god would help them, else of what value were gods? and they secretly made all ready for the time the signal should be given. The Spaniards do not seem to have had any suspicion of the intentions of the Cakchiquels. On the very evening of the uprising Alvarado, pacified with the gold that had been brought him, entertained Sinacam and a large number of princes and nobles at a banquet, a splendid banquet, whereat the guests feasted on their own of which they had been despoiled. That night, while the Spaniards were asleep, heavy after their revelry, the signal drum was sounded. The whole population, men, women, and children, arose and silently withdrew with their king and nobles from the city. It is not the only time in the world's history that a people have abandoned home and fled from persecution, trusting in religious faith. Now may the god in whom they

trust help them, for all other hope they have left behind! Crossing the ravine they turned and awaited the expected miracle; all through the remainder of the night they watched for the lightning and the fire, straining their eyes afar, to the remotest corners of the heavens, to catch the first faint gleam of that sacred flame which should bring them deliverance. But alas! there was no light save that of the morning sun, which came to dispel all hope. God and priest alike had deceived them; or rather they themselves were deceived, had not understood aright, or were not worthy of aid, or their desire would come in some other way—so their teacher might have said. Now it remained only for them to perish, for they would return, never![13]

Alvarado well knew the meaning of this action when he heard of it. And as he walked through the city, the empty houses and deserted streets told him plainly enough that his atrocious system of oppression had driven to despair a nation that had welcomed him with all kindness and hospitality. The immediate cause and incentive to revolt, the action of the priest, being explained to him, he hoped when the Cakchiquels had discovered how vain was the hope in their god that they would return to their homes again, and for ten days he remained inactive. But all attempts at reconciliation were repelled; they would rather die at war with the Christians than live at peace with them. Ah well! then they must be slain; and as a religious and patriotic duty Alvarado took the field against them. It was a long and bloody war that followed. If the Quichés and Zutugils had confederated with the Cakchiquels, it is safe to surmise the Spaniards would have been

[13] Brasseur de Bourbourg gives August 27, 1524, as the date of this abandonment of Patinamit by the Cakchiquels. *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 676. This date would be about two months earlier than that assigned to the event in Alvarado's evidence for defence, where it is shown to have occurred six or seven months after his seizure of Queen Suchil. *Ramirez, Proceso contra Alvarado*, 100, 146–7, passim.

repelled. With a scarcity of provisions,[14] and a reduced number of Mexican auxiliaries, hemmed in and harassed, it is hardly possible that they could have fought their way out of the country. But the rejection by Sinacam of the earlier proposals of the Quichés, and his alliance with the invaders, still rankled in their breasts, and they now cared little which of their detested foes ate the other. As it was, the war proved not the one-sided affair of late so common. The Cakchiquels displayed a skill and bravery in battle such as the Spaniards had not experienced in these parts. In front of their lines they dug deep holes in which they planted pointed stakes, and concealing them with coverings of grass and light earth, received behind them the charging cavalry. Many a Spaniard and many a horse found death or frightful wounds, impaled in these pitfalls.[15]

On the battle-field the natives displayed a desperate courage. With their deep hatred they would if possible envenom their arrows and darts, and as they hurled them on the foe they shouted, "Take gold, Tonatiuh, take gold!" Thus the contest was carried on with great animosity on both sides, and the Cakchiquels, now more united among themselves, and joined by many neighboring tribes, long maintained the struggle. Though their own land suffered from the ravages of the Spaniards, they had their revenge in devastating the territories of the Quichés and Zutugils; for these nations had been so weakened in their contests with the Spaniards that they could no longer meet the Cakchiquels in the field. And, indeed, under this widely extended process of devastation the Spaniards began to suffer hunger. Alvarado was obliged to

[14] The high price of food during this war is evident from an act of the cabildo, passed May 6, 1525, limiting the charge for a hog weighing 120 pounds to twenty pesos de oro, equivalent to nearly $300 of our day; while eggs were one real de oro each, that is over $1.50. *Arévalo, Actas Ayunt. Guat.*, 13–14.

[15] Las Casas tells a frightful story of reprisal, wherein the Spaniards drove all their captives, man, woman, or child, into these staked pits. *Regio. Ind. Devastat.*, 36.

abandon his new city at Patinamit during the latter part of this year, 1524, and to make his head-quarters for a time at Xepau,[16] round which the country was less desolate.

The Spaniards were indeed sorely pressed, and many Christians were killed and wounded. But about the beginning of 1525 he received reinforcements from Mexico which enabled him to proceed rapidly with the reduction of the revolted provinces. Returning to Patinamit, he subjected the several districts one after another to fire and sword, till the land was one wide scene of desolation

It was during, or immediately after, the suppression of this revolt that the Spaniards accomplished perhaps their greatest achievement during the whole Guatemalan conquest. This was the storming of the city of Mixco, deemed impregnable.[17] Mixco was one of the most important strongholds in the Cakchiquel kingdom, being so fortified by nature as to require little from art. Situated on an eminence surrounded on all sides by precipices, it was accessible only by a steep path, wide enough for but a single person, and interrupted here and there by places which could only

[16] Brasseur de Bourbourg imagines this place to have been situated in the Zutugil territory. *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 678.

[17] Brasseur de Bourbourg takes the view that both the later Zacatepec war and the capture of Mixco occurred during the suppression of the Cakchiquel revolt. But he seems to me somewhat inconsistent. He makes the subjugation of the Cakchiquels last 'pendant plusieurs mois' after Alvarado's return to Patinamit, and yet a little later he points out that during the first months of the year 1525 Salvador was reconquered and a Spanish town founded there. *Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 680–1. It is scarcely to be supposed that a second campaign into Salvador could have been undertaken while the Cakchiquel war was going on. Moreover, according to his interpretation of the Cakchiquel manuscript, the town of Zumpango was one of many which submitted to the Spaniards after the destruction of Mixco; and, as will be seen later, the reduction of Zacatepec was owing to the hostile incursions from that district against Zumpango while Alvarado was absent on a campaign. The Cakchiquel manuscript is the production of Francisco Ernandez Arana Xahila, and contains a brief history of the Cakchiquel nation from the earliest times. The author was the grandson of King Hunyg of the Ahpotzotzil line, and it is written in his hand down to the year 1562, from which time it is continued somewhat further by Francisco Gebuta Queh, of the same family. Brasseur de Bourbourg, *Bib. Mex. Guat.*, 13, says that it was translated into French in 1856 at Rabinal in Guatemala.

with difficulty be climbed.[18] On the top of this eminence was a great plain, capable of supporting a population of eight or nine thousand.

Learning that the Mixcans had determined to resist Spanish rule, and were encouraging other tribes to fortify themselves in similar impregnable positions, Alvarado regarded the reduction of the place as an absolute necessity. He therefore sent an advance force of two companies of foot-soldiers and one of cavalry, under the command of his brother Gonzalo, to invest Mixco until he should be able to assume command in person. The captains commanding under Gonzalo, Alonso de Ojeda, Luis de Vivar, and Hernando de Chaves, were men of high courage and experience; yet they not only accomplished nothing, but suffered so much from the stones and arrows of the enemy,[19] provisions likewise beginning to fail, that Gonzalo was about to raise the siege when the lieutenant-general arrived with reinforcements.[20] Although fully recognizing the difficulty and danger of the undertaking there were two incentives which urged Alvarado forward to its achievement: he loved what was difficult and dangerous, and he well knew that there could be no permanent subjugation of the country with this stronghold in the hands of the enemy. A council of war was held and the capture of Mixco resolved on. The first attempt was unsuccessful, as were indeed the second and third, until days and weeks went by without any seeming progress. Then the Spaniards tried stratagem, and while feigning an assault by means of scaling-ladders at a place where the precipice was lower

[18] This city had been founded by the Pocoman Indians, during their early wars with the Quichés and the Cakchiquels, the site selected being on account of its natural strength. *Native Races*, i. 787; *Juarros, Guat.*, ii. 245. It was situated in the valley of Xilotepec, on a ridge between the Pixcayatl and the Rio Grande de Motagua, the former river being a tributary of the latter, and meaning 'guardian stream.' *Juarros, Guat.*, ii. 350; *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 680.

[19] Juarros states that two defenders, by rolling stones down the steep path from the heights above, could prevent an army from entering. *Guat.*, ii. 284.

[20] Fuentes says 30 cavalry, serving on foot, and 200 Tlascaltecs. *Recordacion Florida*, MS., 14–5.

than elsewhere, they suddenly made a rush up the pathway, which they hoped to find undefended. The Mixcans were prepared, however, and received the Spaniards with such heavy discharges of missiles that they were forced to retire in confusion. While the officers were in consultation shortly after, a strong body of native warriors was reported near at hand, which proved to be Chignautecs, allies of the Mixcans.[21] Their intentions were evident, and soon the two armies were engaged in hot contest. Notwithstanding that great havoc was made by the arquebuses and cross-bows, and still more by the cavalry, the Chignautecs maintained the fight with such stubbornness that after the loss of a large number of Tlascaltecs and the wounding of many Spaniards a retrograde movement was decided on.

Upon an occasion like the present, where the object to be gained, the taking of a stronghold, partook more of the nature of single combat than of general battle, here and elsewhere upon a campaign of this kind, it was not uncommon to see feats of individual prowess cropping out on both sides. It was the field of glory to the soldier, limited usually to the field, as the world was the general's field of glory. I will mention one such exhibition in connection with this fight against the Chignautecs. In the hazardous retreat one of the cavalrymen, García de Aguilar, is in the extreme rear, subject to the fiercest assaults of the pursuing warriors. In truth, his body is interposed between the two contending armies. Obviously, if the enemy cannot put him out of the way they are unable to harm the others; every effort is therefore made to maim his horse, or otherwise to capture him; and he is at length cut off from his comrades and quickly surrounded by over four hundred of the dusky foe, each eager to inflict the *coup de grace*. But Aguilar is by no means vanquished yet. Though presently unseated,

[21] *Macario, Xecul MS.*, 7; *Juarros, Guat.*, ii. 285.

he maintains for some time a desperate struggle, striking with deadly effect upon the enemy. Then he loses his sword, and nothing remains to him but a dagger. It is not in this instance the bravery of the man that astonishes so much as his extraordinary muscular power. The horse, by kicking and plunging, prevents capture, while Aguilar, circumscribed by threatening death, exhibits almost superhuman strength. No blow dealt to kill or stun, no attempt to seize him, can stop the quick stroke of that strong right arm as it drives the keen steel straight into the assailants' vitals. With wounds and ever increasing exertion, however, he grows weaker; but capture signifies immolation. To be gazed at, helpless on a heathen altar, an offering to odious gods—the thought is horrible—and the fatal dagger is still, by swift movements, driven to the hilt. And now the battle cry of Santiago to the rescue! rings in his ears and tells of succor; he hears a leaden sound, as of crushed bone and flesh, and the whistle of descending blades, and knows that help is at hand. Six horsemen have plunged into the unequal contest, and they scatter the swarthy foe like sheep. They gather round their countryman, support his exhausted frame, and carry him wounded and faint to a place of safety. The courage, strength, and skill of this single man, and the valor displayed in his rescue, so impressed the Chignautecs that they retired disheartened, regarding their efforts of no avail against such beings,[22] and they returned to their homes.

The siege had now lasted a month. On the third day after the retrograde movement, which resulted in

[22] In this engagement, for the Indians were pursued after Aguilar's rescue, more than 200 Chignautecs fell, says Juarros. On the side of the Spaniards many Tlascaltecs were slain, among whom were two illustrious chiefs, Juan Xuchiatl and Gerónimo Carrillo—the Spanish name of this Indian chief—while of the Spaniards themselves a considerable proportion received severe wounds. *Guat.*, ii. 285. Besides Aguilar and the three captains, whose names are given in the text, Fuentes mentions also Gutierre de Robles and Pedro de Olmos as having greatly signalized themselves in this action. *Recordacion Florida*, MS., 16.

victory, the Spaniards determined to make another attempt upon the place, and were on the point of assault when an ambassador arrived from the Chignautecs tendering their submission, and bringing the customary presents of gold, green plumes, and costly mantles. It was, however, stipulated on their part that this act of allegiance should be kept secret until the fall of Mixco; at the same time the envoy intimated that their caciques would communicate privately to Alvarado a secret that would be of service to him. Alvarado received this message favorably, and sent back the emissary with every mark of consideration, expressing his willingness to hear what the chiefs had to say.

The distance from Mixco to Chignauta was nine leagues; and in three days, during which Alvarado had refrained from active operations, the principal caciques arrived at his camp. They were attended by a large retinue and a number of natives bearing presents of great aboriginal value and a large quantity of provisions. The disclosure made by the caciques was to the effect that there existed a subterranean passage from the stronghold, having an outlet in the woods near the river bank. By this the Mixcans could escape, they said, even if the Spaniards succeeded in storming the height. The outlet they were willing to disclose, as they owed no allegiance to the Mixcans, who had incited them to take up arms against the Spaniards. They moreover suggested that an ambuscade should be placed near the mouth.[23]

A force of forty men, cross-bowmen and cavalry, commanded by Alonso Lopez de Loarca, was accord-

[23] Fuentes, who wrote between 1690 and 1700, gives a partial description of a cavern, the entrance to which was on a small ridge by the side of the ruins of Mixco. The door-way was of clay, three feet wide and three high. Thirty-six stone steps led down to a spacious chamber, having at its end another flight of stairs, down which no one had passed far, for the reason that the ground began to tremble as the explorer proceeded. Eighteen steps had, however, been descended, and an arched opening on the right side discovered, leading by six steps into a long cavern. No further explorations had been made. Ubi sup., cap. ii.; *Juarros, Guat.*, ii. 350–1 *Native Races*,; iv. 119–20.

ingly despatched to the exit of the passage,[24] and thereupon Alvarado determined once more to attempt to storm the place. The front man of the storming line bore a shield, and behind him followed a cross-bowman; then succeeded another shield-bearer, supported by an arquebusier. This alternate order afforded protection and at the same time admitted of assault.[25] The file thus formed was led by Bernardino de Arteaga, who had asked for the dangerous post as a favor, and succeeded in covering his name with honor. Calling on God and Santiago, they began the ascent of the narrow ridge, which widened as it joined the cliff. While moving as rapidly as possible, so that the showering stones and arrows might have less effect, they nevertheless plied cross-bow and arquebuse with deadly effect. They had almost reached a wider place in the ridge, where four men might walk abreast, when the gallant Arteaga was felled with a heavy stone, breaking his leg, but with indomitable will he struggled on, supported by his comrade Diego Lopez de Villanueva.[26] Despite the terrible resistance they reached the broader space near the cliff, which was packed with defenders so eager for a blow at the assailants that many were crowded off the precipice by those behind. But the stormers were by this time enabled to fall partially into line and ply their blades. A hand-to-hand contest followed, and the ground soon became thickly strewn with the bodies of slain Mixcans, among which were heaps of lopped-off heads and limbs. More Spaniards and auxiliaries came rapidly forward to aid in the slaughter as ground could be cleared for them to stand on. The

[24] The distance of the outlet from the camp must have been considerable, as Fuentes states that a day was allowed for the arrival of Loarca's force at the cave. *Fuentes y Guzman, Recordacion Florida*, MS., 17.

[25] The account given by Fuentes is somewhat confused. From his version on page 17 the reader is led to suppose that Loarca's party were to ascend by the cavernous passage, and in the order given in the text, while on page 19 he states that those who fled by the cave were attacked by the party 'stationed in ambush.'

[26] Fuentes says that Lopez de Villanueva and two others quickly took his place.

natives fought with desperation, but height after height was lost to them, until their victorious foe gained at last the plain above. There the Spaniards found fresh forces to oppose them. But the Mixcans were by this time overawed by the extraordinary achievement of the Spaniards; and as they marked these merciless white foemen, the first who had ever planted foot within the precincts of their famed and formidable stronghold, as they saw them moving onward and upward, invincible as fate, it is no wonder that their hearts sank with despair. Their opposition was wholly spiritless; they broke and fled at the first charge. What followed was frightful, surpassing even the terrible scenes to which these man-killers on both sides were accustomed. To escape the fierce onslaught of the Spaniards some of the Mixcans plunged headlong down the cliffs, the dull thud of their bodies, as they struck upon the rocks, sounding ghostly echoes in the ravine below. Some attempted escape by the now deserted path by which the assailants had come, but these were captured by the camp guard. Some fled by the subterranean caverns, but were pursued and many taken prisoners before they reached the outlet, while those who had previously withdrawn thither with the women and children, under the care of several caciques, on emerging at the outlet were assailed by Loarca, and most of them captured.[27]

Thus terminated this remarkable exploit of the conquerors. The city was burned, the stronghold destroyed, and the population removed to the site of the present town of the same name, situated in the Valle de las Vacas.[28]

It was not long after the fall of Mixco that the

[27] *Tezump, Quiché MS.*, 7; *Juarros, Guat.*, ii. 284–8; *Fuentes y Guzman, Recordacion Florida*, MS., 14–9.

[28] The Mixco of to-day is distant from the present city of Guatemala about two leagues, and nine or ten leagues from the ruins of the Mixco destroyed by Alvarado. Its destruction was followed by the submission of various towns, among which, according to the Cakchiquel MS., were Xilotepec, Yampuk, Papuluka, and Zumpango.

conquest of the Zacatepec Valley was accomplished. The towns of this district were subject to the king of the Cakchiquels, but many of them, especially Zacatepec, had thrown off their allegiance and declared themselves independent, indignant at Sinacam's alliance with the Spaniards.[29] They had, moreover, repeatedly shown their hostility to those towns which had submitted to Spanish rule, by making incursions into their lands, and carrying off their women and children to the sacrifice.[30]

After the suppression of the revolt and the re-establishment of Spanish power in the Patinamit district,[31] the caciques of Xinaco and Zumpango remonstrated with the Zacatepecs, saying that they were now under the protection of the children of the sun, and should appeal to them if the depredations on their lands did not cease. The unfortunate men who carried this message were summarily sacrificed on the altar stone, all save one, whose life was spared that he might carry back the reply of the Zacatepecs: "Let the children of the sun bring to life again the dead envoys. As for ourselves, we will not submit to an unknown people, but will destroy all the villages of the caciques before their allies can render assistance." Nor were they slow to carry out their threat.

A large force invaded the territory of Xinaco and Zumpango, and began to slay and lay waste. The natives sent to Guatemala to implore assistance. Alvarado was at this time absent on his second campaign

[29] *Cakchiquel MS.*, 5; *Juarros, Guat.*, ii. 281; *Fuentes y Guzman, Recordacion Florida*, MS., 12. Jimenez makes a marginal note in the manuscript of Fuentes, stating that 'this is false, because they had rebelled previous to the arrival of the Spaniards and made their capital at Yampuk.' *Fuentes y Guzman, Recordacion Florida*, MS., 12–3.

[30] Fuentes asserts that they were wont to celebrate their feasts, during which these victims were immolated, on hills in full view of the Indians who were friendly to the Spaniards, in order to provoke them.

[31] Juarros assigns too early a date, January 1525, for the events which follow, but he appears to be quite unconscious of this first Cakchiquel revolt. *Guat.*, ii. 281. Jimenez has made a marginal note in the manuscript of Fuentes as follows: 'This town,' meaning Xinaco, 'was founded some time afterward—therefore this is false.'

to Salvador,[32] carrying out his former intention to return and bring the stubborn natives to a recognition of Spaniards' rights. Nevertheless, one thousand Cakchiquels and ten arquebusiers, under the command of Antonio de Salazar, a most competent captain, were at once despatched to the scene of action, while Alvarado was advised of what had occurred. Hostilities had already begun before these troops arrived. For three days the Zacatepecs maintained the conflict with great bravery, though with considerable loss. But now the Spaniards received a reinforcement of ten arquebusiers, twenty horsemen, and two hundred Tlascaltecs and Mexicans, commanded by Pedro Gonzalez Nájera. The contest thereafter was not so evenly balanced, and the Zacatepecs sustained several defeats. On the fifth day, however, they adopted the plan of attacking in columns one thousand strong, successively relieving each other, so that fresh men continually kept up the battle, each column when relieved retiring to the rear.[33] These tactics enabled them to maintain the fight during the whole of that day, and they inflicted no little loss on the Spanish forces. Early in the morning the Spaniards took the field, apparently in disorder and much reduced in numbers. Encouraged by the success of their new manœuvres, the Zacatepecs attacked with contemptuous confidence. The Spaniards gave way and retreated

[32] Fuentes states that the Spaniards at this time were engaged in the Atitlan war. *Recordacion Florida*, MS., 13. This is a mistake. Atitlan was subdued in 1524, and Alvarado, who gives a detailed account of the affair, would have mentioned this war with the Zacatepecs had it occurred at that time. Juarros says Alvarado was engaged in the Atitlan war or that of the Pipiles. *Guat.*, ii. 282. This latter conjecture is doubtless right. There is evidence that Alvarado undertook his second campaign along the coast against Salvador during the early part of 1525, conquered the country, and founded the city of San Salvador. No records of the events remain, but from an act of the cabildo of Guatemala, dated the 6th of May, 1525, we learn that one Diego Holguin had previously left the city to 'reside in the villa de San Salvador, of which he was alcalde.' *Arévalo, Actas Ayunt. Guat.*, 13.

[33] Fuentes, followed by Juarros, states that this was done by the advice of an aged Indian named Choboloc. He had observed that the Spaniards did not engage with all their forces at once, but always kept a body of men in reserve, and suggested to the chiefs of his nation the adoption of similar tactics.

toward a thickly wooded ravine. The Zacatepecs now felt sure of victory, and in their impetuous pursuit allowed themselves to be drawn into the defile, where a large body of their enemies were lying in ambush. Suddenly assailed on both sides, their disorderly ranks were routed with great slaughter. Numbers were also taken prisoners, among whom were many caciques. This battle terminated the war. The whole Zacatepec valley submitted to the authority of the Spaniards; and in order to insure future obedience a garrison of ten Spaniards and one hundred and forty Tlascaltecs was stationed at Zacatepec, under the command of Diego de Alvarado, the caciques being detained as hostages.[34]

About the middle of the year 1525 Sequechul, king of Utatlan, represented to Alvarado that his father Oxib Quieh had not been so guilty as he had supposed of the treacherous plot to destroy the Spaniards the year previous, but that Caibil Balam,[35] king of the Mames,[36] was more to blame, as the instigator of the attempt. At the same time he offered to provide the invading forces with guides if Alvarado would undertake the conquest of that kingdom and punish Caibil Balam. Whether Sequechul's object was revenge for his father's cruel death or favor with Alvarado is of little consequence; the mention he made of the broad lands and great wealth of the province fell pleasantly on the lieutenant-general's ear, and he willingly acceded to the king's proposal.

The expedition was placed under the command of Gonzalo de Alvarado, and consisted of eighty Spanish

[34] *Fuentes y Guzman, Recordacion Florida*, MS., 12–14; *Juarros, Guat.*, ii. 281–3.

[35] This ruler, says Gonzalo de Alvarado, displayed in his person the nobility of his blood and was about 40 years of age. *Alvarado, Gonzalo de, Memoria*, MS.; *Juarros, Guat.*, ii. 319.

[36] The Cakchiquels are said to have applied the word Mem to the Maya-speaking tribes. This word, meaning 'stutterers,' was corrupted by the Spaniards into Mames. They occupied that portion of the country which lay between the Quiché territory and Chiapas, now the province of Totonicapan. See *Native Races*, ii. 128, v., passim.

infantry, the captains being Antonio de Salazar and Francisco de Arévalo, together with forty cavalrymen and two thousand native auxiliaries, drawn from various districts, whose commanders were Jorge de Acuña, Pedro de Aragon, Bernardino de Oviedo, and Juan de Verastigui. These forces were, moreover, accompanied by three hundred pioneers, with axes and picks, while a large number of Indian carriers bore with them an ample supply of provisions besides the baggage. Early in July the army marched to Totonicapan, a town on the confines of the Mame territory, which was made the base of operations. The usual difficulties of such undertakings here began. It took the invaders no less than eight days to cross the mountain range between that place and the Rio Hondo. The season rendered their labors the greater, for the rain, day after day, poured down in torrents. Up steep ascents, down dangerous gullies, they toiled, now winding in single file along the edge of a precipice, now plunging over soft treacherous ground up to the knee in mud. On reaching the Hondo[37] they bivouacked for two days in the dripping sunless woods on the bank of the river, which, swollen by the ceaseless rains, for a time defied their passage. At length they succeeded in crossing, and presently emerged from the forests upon an open plain, and descried on an eminence the Mame town of Mazatenango. It was a well fortified place, surrounded by a barricade of heavy timber, behind which, on a terre-plein of mud and straw, a great multitude of warriors were drawn up. A wide stretch of swampy ground, not differing in appearance from the rest of the plain, debarred approach to this side of the town. As the invading army drew near, the Mames with hisses and shouts of defiance challenged attack, in the hope of inducing them to charge into the swamp. Gonzalo de Alvarado

[37] The Hondo, during the dry season, is but a small shallow stream. In the wet season, however, it becomes a deep and dangerous river, hence its name, El Rio Hondo, 'the deep river.'

was, however, timely advised of the danger by his guides, and making a detour he assaulted the barricade on the other side, where the ground was firm. The assailants were received with a blinding storm of missiles, which for a long time kept them in check. Their repeated efforts to burst through the defences were baffled, and the auxiliaries were becoming discouraged, when Gomez de Loarca with the cavalry plunged through the palisade. The besiegers, pouring in through the breach, could now fight after their own fashion; and though the Mames offered a brave resistance, they were routed with great slaughter, and their town taken possession of by the conquerors, who placed in it a sufficient garrison as a protection in their rear.

Continuing their march, they encounter at no great distance from Mazatenango an army of five thousand warriors from Malacatan, whereupon Gonzalo takes up a favorable position on the plain.[38] The vanguard of the enemy is composed of slingers and archers, and the main body of spearmen, commanded by the renowned prince Can Ilocab. In perfect order, and with deafening sound of drums and conchs, they approach the Spanish army. As soon as the vanguard has reached a suitable point Gonzalo charges upon them with the cavalry. The arrows strike thick as hail on the mailed breasts of the horsemen, drawing fire therefrom; but the chargers dash through the ranks of the archers, who with stubborn courage disdain to fly, while to avoid the fatal lance thrusts they throw themselves under the horses, only to be crushed and mangled by the iron-shod hoofs. And now the main body of the Mames come up, and the Spanish cavalry have more difficult work. The charge against those solid columns bristling with long spears is only partially successful. The shock is sustained by the Mames with a firmness the Spaniards are little accustomed to. The discomfited vanguard has time to rally, and again the swift stone bruises, and arrows hiss

[38] *Macario, Xecul MS.*, 16; *Juarros, Guat.*, ii. 311. The town still exists.

and shiver on helmet and coat of mail. All the forces on both sides are now in action, and the slaughter of the Mames is dreadful, yet not one inch will they yield. Rushing to close quarters, within their opponents' breastwork of sword-points, and gliding along their lances, they so hamper the Spaniards that they can hardly wield their arms. Bruised and stunned, embarrassed in their movements, the blows of the Spaniards fall more feebly, and they already begin to relax their efforts when Salazar, one of the captains of infantry, seeing the imminent danger, strives to rouse his men with spirit-stirring words. "Where is your valor, Castilians?" he cries. "Does that courage sink which won the blood-stained fields of Mexico and Utatlan? There you achieved renown; lose it not here, nor suffer yourselves to be carried off to die on the altars of these idolaters!" The appeal has its effect. With renewed efforts the infantry mow their way through and through the Mame columns, causing frightful carnage, but the warriors recede not one foot in flight. For still waves in air their prince's banner; his plume nods high above them all, and his voice still cheers them on. As long as he remains they will fight, knowing no defeat. The Spanish captain is not blind to this, for under the great Cortés he has learned that in their leader lies the strength of the warriors, and he recognizes only too clearly that Can Ilocab's death is their one chance of victory. For some time the execution of Gonzalo's purpose has been delayed, but at length by the surging ranks he is thrown near to the magic banner, and then with desperate charge he urges his steed through the resisting guard up to the Mame chieftain, and plunges the lance through his body. This ends the battle, and the Mames, unconquered by sword and lance, on the fall of their prince flee from the field and are pursued as far as their town. The chiefs of the place at once send an embassy to sue for peace, bringing with them a present of gold ornaments, and offering

allegiance, which is accepted. Leaving a garrison in the town, the Spaniards continue their march in the direction of Huehuetenango.[39]

This was an important city of the Mames, where Gonzalo de Alvarado expected warm work, judging from the late formidable resistance. On arrival, however, he found the place abandoned, and such of the houses as had not been destroyed stripped of furniture and utensils, without a handful of provisions. Cavalry troops were sent out in different directions, and one under the command of Gaspar Aleman fell in with three hundred Indian archers, who without hesitation attacked the horsemen, among others wounding Aleman in the face. But they were soon routed, and in the pursuit three prisoners were taken, one of whom was a chief named Sahquiab, a captain in Caibil Balam's army. When brought into the presence of Gonzalo de Alvarado, he informed him that his sovereign had retired to the almost impregnable city of Zakuléu,[40] where, provided with provisions and stores, he deemed himself secure. The captive was thereupon sent by Gonzalo to Caibil Balam with offers of peace and a charitable proposal to teach him the doctrines of the Christian religion. But Sahquiab did not return, nor came any answer to Gonzalo. A second embassy, composed of Indians from Utatlan, was rudely refused audience with a shower of arrows. This exhausted the patience of Gonzalo and he marched on Zakuléu. As soon as his approach was observed by the Mames an army six thousand strong sallied forth to give him battle. The engagement which followed was maintained by the Mames with the same stub-

[39] *Quiché MS.*, 10; *Juarros, Guat.*, ii. 311–13. A city which remains to the present day under the same name.

[40] Like Utatlan and Mixco, this city was situated on a plateau surrounded by ravines. The plateau was twelve miles in circumference, and on it are still to be seen the ruins of Zakuléu, known by the name of Las Cuevas, the caves, about half a league from Huehuetenango. They are only a confused heap of rubbish, overgrown with brushwood. Two pyramidal structures of stone and mortar can, however, be made out. Juarros calls the place Socoleo, which is the present name of a village and stream in the locality. *Guat.*, ii. 313–14; *Native Races*, iv. 128–30.

born valor exhibited in previous fights, and marked by similar carnage. A reserve of two thousand, which sallied during the battle from Zakuléu to the support of their countrymen, made an ineffectual attempt to turn the tide of victory, only adding to the victims; and routed in all directions the Mames fled to their stronghold in the mountains.[41]

Owing to the impossibility of storming so impregnable a place as Zakuléu, Gonzalo closely invested it by stationing troops at the few points where egress seemed possible. On the third day of the siege Diego Lopez de Villanueva, while reconnoitring with a body of cavalry, observed smoke issuing from the woods on the other side of the river.[42] Having crossed with much difficulty, he fell in with three hundred Indians in charge of a large supply of provisions, which they intended to introduce into the beleaguered city, and which Villanueva promptly appropriated.

The inactive warfare soon wore out the patience of the Spaniards, and Gonzalo began to cut a road suitable for cavalry up the most practicable part of the steep. Day by day, from morning to night, the sound of the pick was heard, and the work continued uninterrupted with but little loss to the besiegers, though the heights were thronged with Mames, who used every effort to impede its progress. The cross-bow and arquebuse were far more deadly than the sling and arm-drawn bow, and the Mames suffered heavily.

In the midst of these operations an army of eight thousand mountaineers appeared on the plain, presenting a most unusual spectacle—naked, and hideous with war-paint, unrelieved by plume or ornament of any kind, only by the glitter of their weapons. The Spanish captain immediately made preparation for

[41] The Spaniards lost in this engagement 40 Indians and three horses, while eight soldiers were severely wounded, among them Gonzalo de Alvarado. They collected from the bodies of the slain a great quantity of gold medals. *Alvarado, Gonzalo de, Memoria*, MS.; *Juarros, Guat.* ii. 315–16.

[42] The present Socoleo, a tributary of the river Selegua.

battle. Leaving a sufficient number to protect the work and guard the camp,[43] he advanced against them with the remainder of his forces, and was soon engaged in a desperate struggle. Three several times the ranks of the mountaineers were broken, and as often did they rally and attack with ever increasing fury. Only the steel and cotton armor of the Spanish forces saved them from destruction. As it was, lance and sword, bullet and bolt, reaped the usual harvest, and on the plain, saturated with blood and bespotted with mangled bodies, the Spaniards at last stood triumphant.[44]

Thenceforth the siege continued uninterrupted. The work of cutting the road dragged slowly on, and by the middle of October both besiegers and besieged were undergoing intense suffering. Within the city famine was daily gathering its victims; every eatable substance, to the leather of their shields, had been consumed, and the survivors were feeding on the bodies of the dead. Scarcity of provisions, too, was felt in the Spanish camp. But this was not the worst. The weather was unusually severe; icy hailstorms and keen frosts caused much suffering to the invaders, unaccustomed to the cold of that altitude. Fever and ague also attacked them. From the rain and hail that fell the plain had become a swamp, and day by day Gonzalo saw the number of his haggard troops grow smaller. A more speedy method of reducing the place must be adopted or the attempt abandoned. Accordingly he sent off his sick to Huehuetenango, and stopping work on the road, prepared to make the desperate attempt to storm the place with scaling ladders.[45] He had already constructed a number of these ladders, huge in size and

[43] This guard consisted of 400 Indians and ten picked Spaniards, under command of Antonio de Salazar. *Juarros, Guat.*, ii. 317.

[44] During the battle, which was fought in full view of Zakuléu, the Mames attempted a sally in support of the mountaineers but were repelled by Salazar. *Juarros, Guat.*, ii. 317.

[45] Juarros adds that Gonzalo did not adopt this plan at first for the reason that he wanted to avail himself of his cavalry in the assault. *Guat.*, ii. 318.

wide enough to allow three men to ascend abreast, and was on the point of making the attack when there appeared an envoy from Caibil Balam suing for peace. This unfortunate ruler had previously attempted to escape by night with his family and an escort of the principal chiefs; but having fallen in with a patrolling party, he was wounded in the arm with a cross-bow bolt and compelled to return. And now he had taken counsel with his chiefs on the subject of surrender. He had represented to them that all hope of relief was gone, while his famished subjects were dying around him. Submission alone could save the few survivors. The chiefs had eagerly approved his words, and the tender of submission was made. Gonzalo's satisfaction at this unexpected termination of the siege was indeed great. A spot midway between the gate of Zakuléu and the quarters of the cavalry was appointed as the place of meeting for the settlement of terms, and Gonzalo, accompanied by Loarca, Salazar, Arévalo, and twelve others, there met the humbled Caibil Balam. The Spaniard's reception of the native ruler was friendly in the extreme, and with an embrace, Gonzalo assured him of his love and friendship. Under such kindly treatment, so little expected, the stoical self-command of the weakened warrior gave way, and he wept as he returned the victor's greeting.

The Spaniards then took formal possession of the city in the name of the king of Spain.[46] They destroyed the fortification at the entrance,[47] and made more practicable the road across the ravine. The surrounding country was afterward explored and the towns subjected to Spanish rule. In Huehuetenango Gonzalo de Alvarado stationed a strong garrison, with Gonzalo de Solis as captain, and having taken all the necessary measures for the permanent tranquillity of

[46] *Alvarado, Gonzalo de, Memoria*, MS.; *Juarros, Guat.*, ii. 319. Gonzalo de Alvarado affirms that 1800 Mames perished in the defence of Zakuléu. *Id.*

[47] Juarros states that a stone slab formed the door of the fort, and that this was broken up.

his newly conquered territory, he returned to Guatemala City toward the end of the year.

Henceforth conquest, oppression, and destruction marched hand-in-hand over the country, and the result was a national and social eclipse of the fallen races. Their arts and sciences were soon forgotten; their architectural skill was lost; and from a state of happy development their life as a nation was blotted out. To what extent the progress of the world would have been benefited or retarded, had the aboriginal inhabitants of the American table-lands survived as integral nations, it is impossible to say; but we may question how much the occupation of the country by the Spaniards contributed toward general advancement. It is thought by some that the great Indian nations had reached the limit of their present line of progress when the Spaniards arrived. In Guatemala the individual kings had by long lines of succession arrived at that stage of monarchy when power begets luxury and decay. Without European interference there might have been a relapse and a dark age; and a later view, had discovery been delayed to our own time for instance, might have found Mexico and Central America overrun by savage hordes from the north and ruined cities scattered over the land. To this fancy I am not prepared wholly to subscribe.[48]

[48] The authorities that have been consulted for the history of the conquest of Guatemala are the following: *Cortés, Cartas* [ed. Paris, 1866], 289–90, 304–5, containing information down to the departure of Alvarado for Guatemala; *Alvarado, Relacion*, in *Barcia, Hist. Prim.*, 157–66, and in *Ternaux-Compans, Voy.*, série i., tom. x., 107–50, taken as bases of that portion of the history which includes the entrance into Guatemala territory and succeeding events down to the founding of the city of Santiago; *Oviedo*, iii. 448, 459–60, 475–87, wherein Cortés and Alvarado are closely followed; *Peter Martyr*, dec. viii. cap. v., relating mainly to the narrative of the messengers sent to Guatemala, merely mentioning Alvarado's departure; *Gomara, Hist. Mex.*, 229–33; *Id., Hist. Ind.*, 266–8, which affords but little additional information to that supplied by Oviedo; *Chimalpain, Hist. Conq.*, ii. 100–5, 181–2; *Bernal Diaz, Hist. Verdad.*, 77, 174–6; *Las Casas, Regio. Ind. Devastat.*, 35–40, and *Ixtlilxochitl, Horribles Crueldades*, 66–71. The former of these two last authorities is exceptionally severe against Alvarado, and enumerates numbers of atrocities committed by him and his followers, while the latter prominently brings forward the services of the Mexican auxiliaries, and mentions the excessive hardships and cruelties they suffered. *Id., Relaciones*, 431–3. Herrera, dec. iii. lib. v. cap. viii.–xi., occasionally differs from Alvarado's statements,

but is generally reliable. See also *Lorenzana, Viage*, in *Cortés, Hist. N. España*, 335–6, 369–70; *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, viii. 17; *Arévalo, Actas Ayunt. Guat.*, 7–15; *Ramirez, Proceso contra Alvarado*, passim—which work throws much light upon the doings of the conqueror, though contradictory evidence renders it ofttimes difficult to decide on the merits of a charge; *Ramusio, Viaggi*, iii. 293–8; *Atitlan, Requête de plusieurs chefs*, in *Ternaux-Compans*, série i., tom. x., 415–25; *Suchimilco, Carta de sus caciques*, in *Pacheco* and *Cárdenas, Col. Doc.*, xii., 293–4; *Remesal, Hist. Chyapa*, 2–7, an author unreliable so far as the conquest of Guatemala goes when not supported by other authorities; *Galvano's Discov.*, 156–7; *Voyages, Selection of Curious, Rare, and Early*, 31; *Fuentes y Guzman, Recordacion Florida*, MS., 1–4, 12–19, 25–7, has many errors and is far from reliable; *Vazquez, Chronica de Gvat.*, 1–17, 68, 522–6; *Gonzalez Dávila, Teatro Ecles.*, i. 139; *Juarros, Guat.*, i. 60, 64, 66–7, 79, 253; ii. 240–60, 277–88, 309–20; *Id.* [ed. London, 1823], 10, 29–30, 124–6, 234–6, 378–404, 419–32, 456–69; *Pelaez, Mem. Guat.*, i. 44–7, 64–5, compiled from various authors, and is inaccurate. *Brasseur de Bourbourg, Hist. Nat. Civ.*, iv. 612–719; *Prescott's Mex.*, iii. 273–4; *Help's Span. Conq.*, iii. 242–74; *Calle, Mem. y Not.* 113–5; *Salazar y Olarte, Conq. Mex.*, 124–33; *Niebla, Mem. de Zapotitlan*, MS., 7–8; *Larrainzar, Hist. Soconusco*, 1–14, 17–8; *Zamacois, Hist. Méj.*, iv. 167–74, 182; *Squier's MSS.*, xvi.; *Squier's States Cent. Am.*, 323–30; *Ogilby's Am.*, 236; *Dunn's Guat.*, 261–4; *Laet, Nov. Orb.*, 317–46; *Astaburuaga, Cent. Am.*, 9; *Larenaudière, Mex. and Guat.* [ed. Paris, 1843], 135, 277–85. Minor authorities also consulted are *Russell's Hist. Am.*, i. 389–91; *Robert's Narr. Voy.*, xxi.; *Montanus, De Nieuwe Weereld*, 273; *Crowe's Cent. Am.*, 28–114; *Conder's Mex. and Guat.*, ii. 178, 183–9, 190, 297; *Drie Verschey de Togten*, 18–19, 25–34; *Haefkens, Cent. Am.*, 5–19; *Holmes' Annals Am.*, i. 54; *North Am. Rev.*, xxvi. 132–4; *Wagner, Costa Rica*, 518–22; *Lardner's Hist. Discov.*, ii. 61; *Salvador, Diar. Ofic.*, April, 1876; *Santos, Chronologia Hospitalaria*, ii. 478; *Findlay's Directory*, i. 222; *Modern Traveller, Mex. and Guat.*, ii. 178–90; *Gac. Nic.*, June, 1865, 217; *García, Reseña Geog.*, 6–7; *Bussière, L'Empire Mex.*, 336–7; *Montúfar, Mem. Hist. Rev.*, pp. viii.–x.; *Pineda, Descripcion Geog.*, 10; *Gordon's Anc. Mex.*, ii. 244; *Kerr's Col. Voy.*, 221–34; *Vocabulario Geog.*, in *Cartas de Indias*, 674

YUCATAN
GUATEMALA
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Santo Tomas de Castilla
Tepeapa
Naco
Quin
Buena Esperanza
ZULA
Gracias a Dios
Chalatenango
Metapan
SALVADOR
Mopicalco
Acatipec
Sonsonate
Tacuazalco
Cuscatlan
Ticulapan
Zacat
San Migu
Puerto de Acajutla
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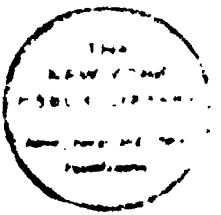

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